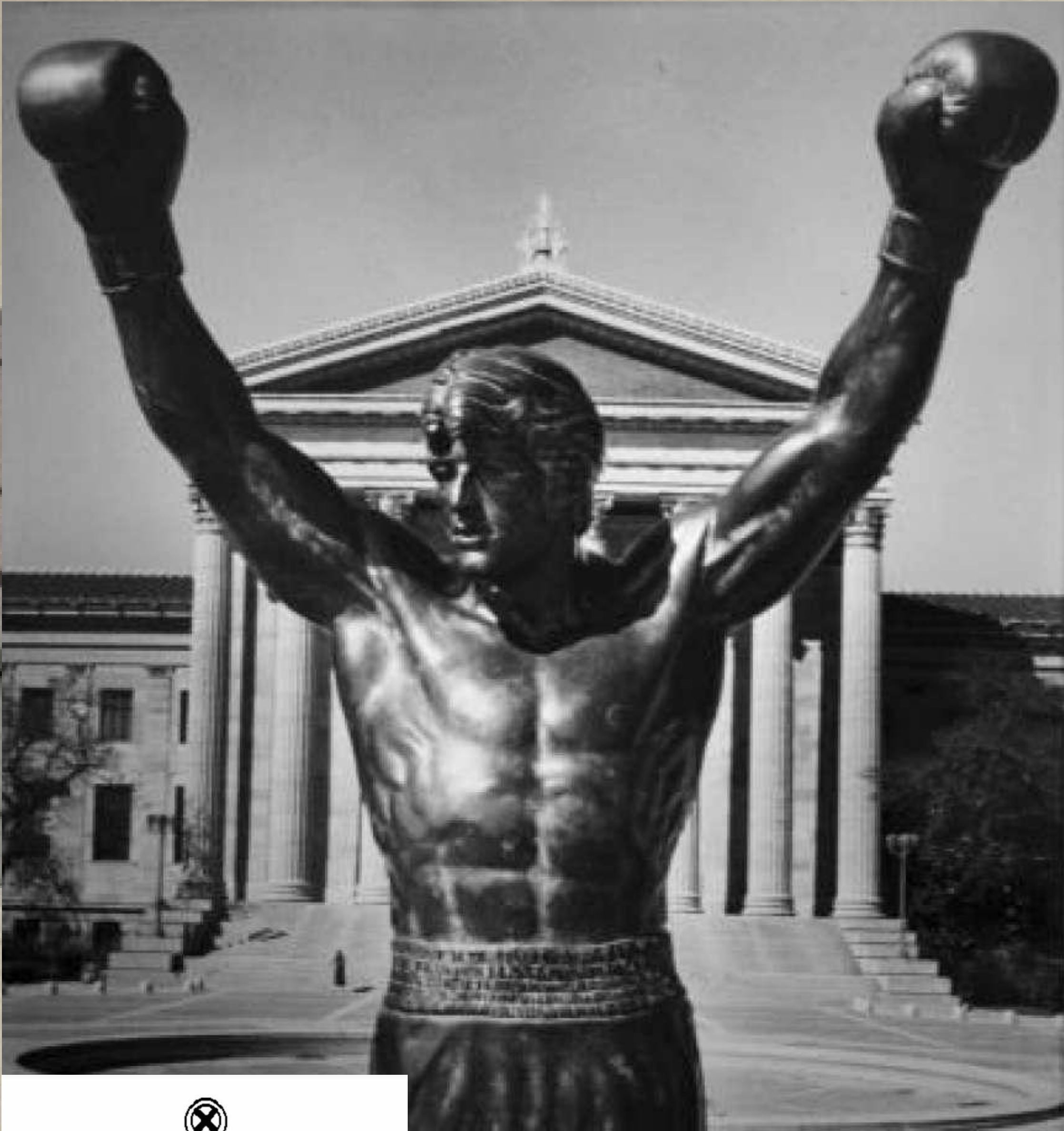


# THE INCREDIBLE ROCKYFELLERS: FIGHTING THE APOSTLES CREED





REVISED  
1975  
EDITION

PUBLISHED BY NAELA

\$1.95

THE INCREDIBLE

# \$ ROCK \$

BY JOEL ANDREAS



...VS. THE  
POWER OF  
THE PEOPLE!

FEATURING...

## AMERICA'S RICHEST FAMILY



"the INCREDIBLE ROCKY"

copyright 1973 joel andreas

★ second edition 1974 ★

★★ second printing 1979 ★★

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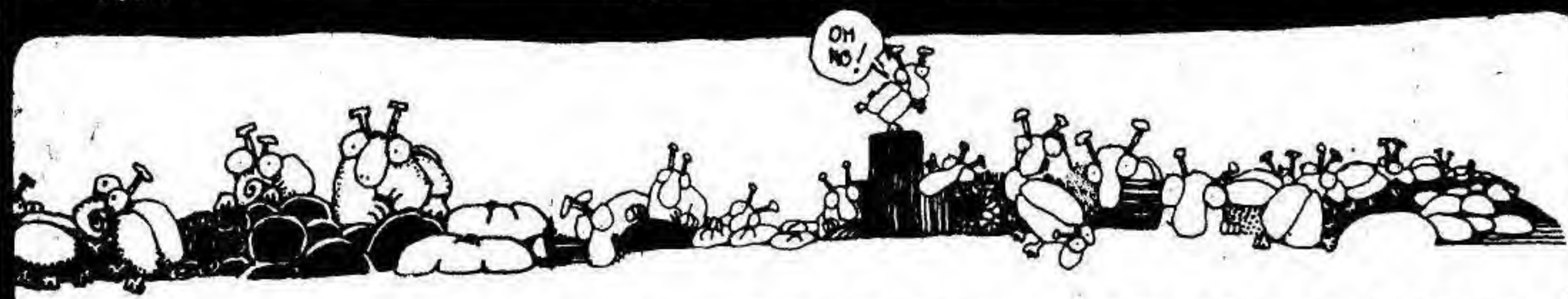
... everything in this book is true!

on page 46 you will find a list of basic resources.  
only words in "quotation marks" are actual quotes.





... HERE THEY COME ...



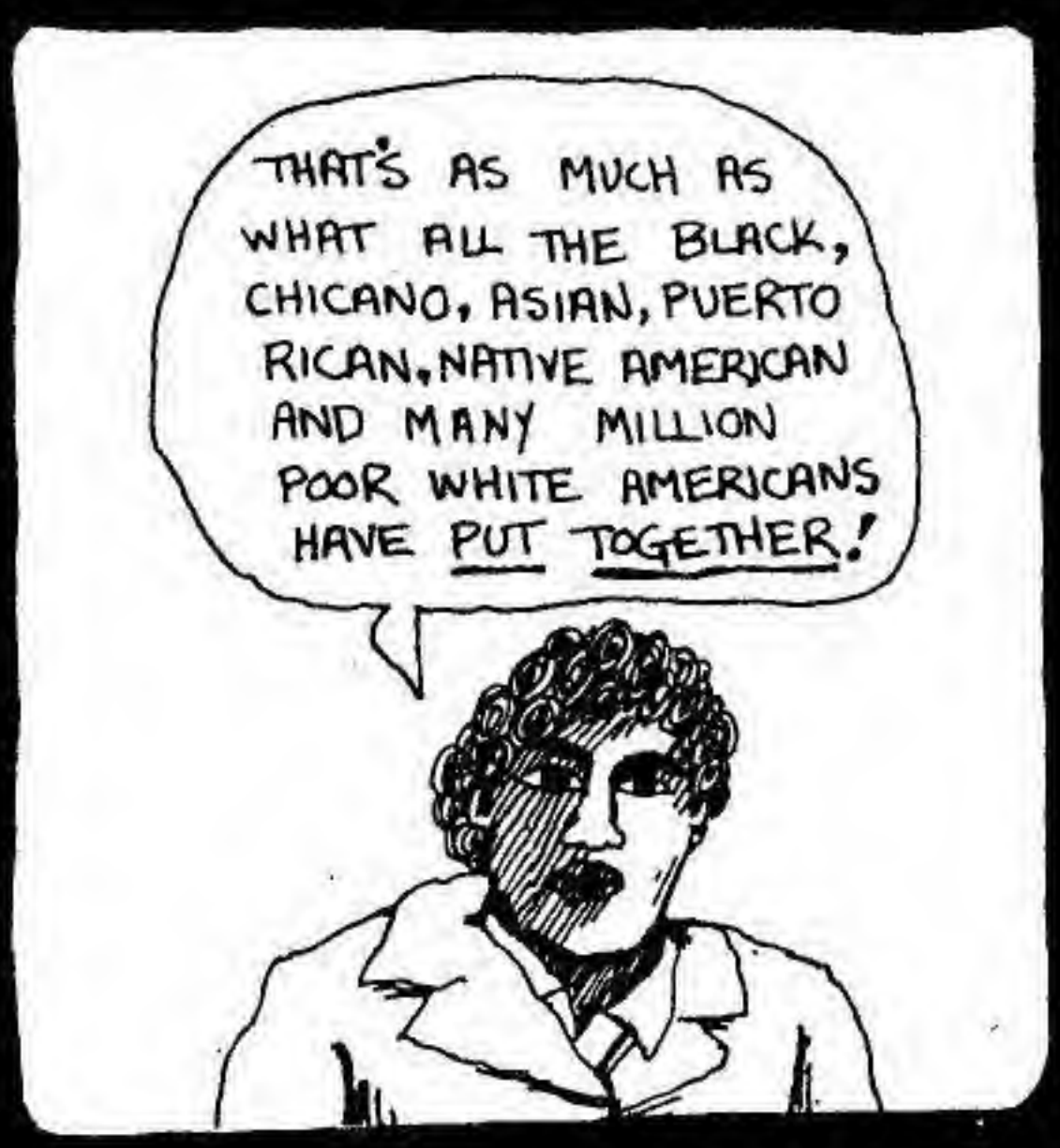
THOSE FABULOUS ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS



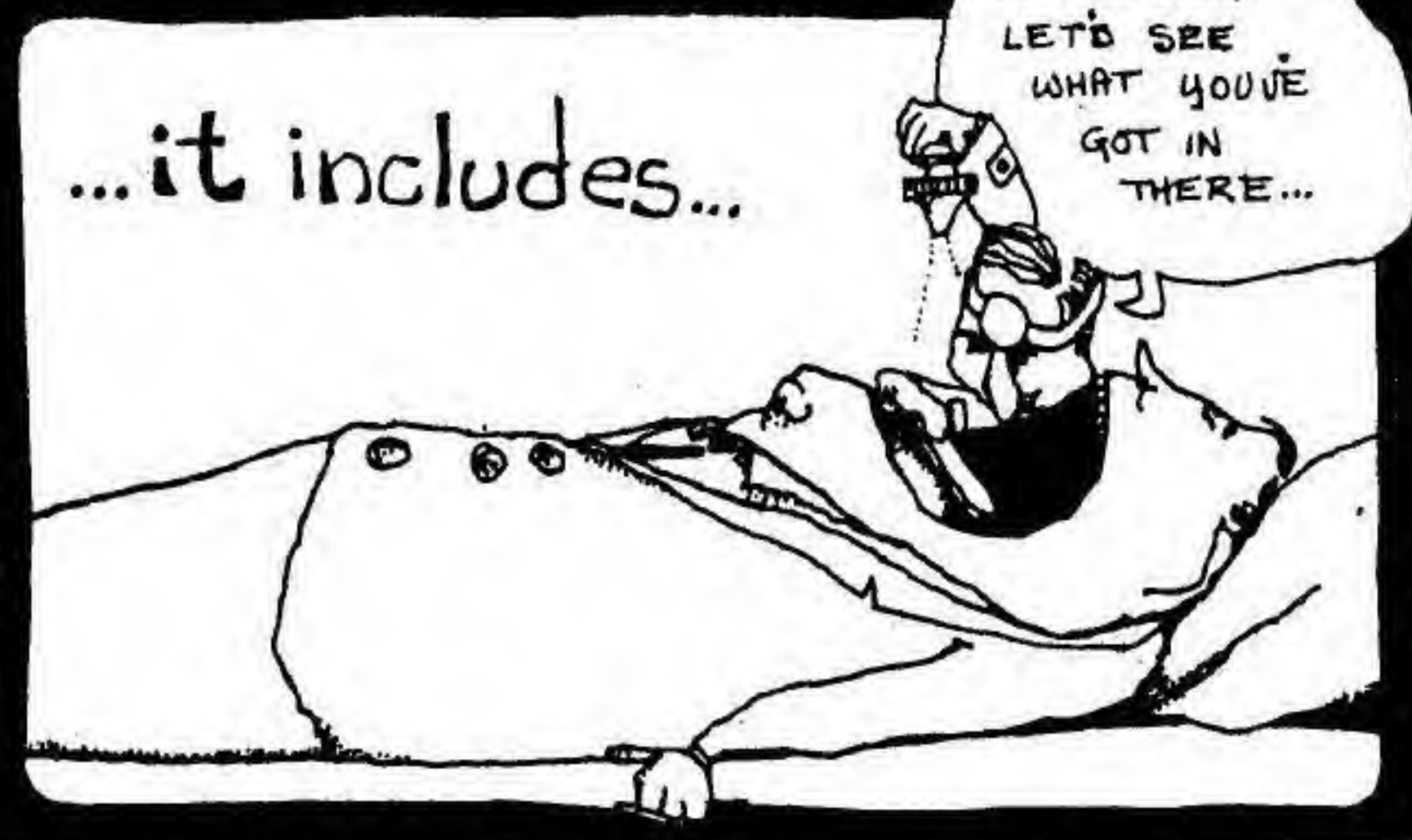
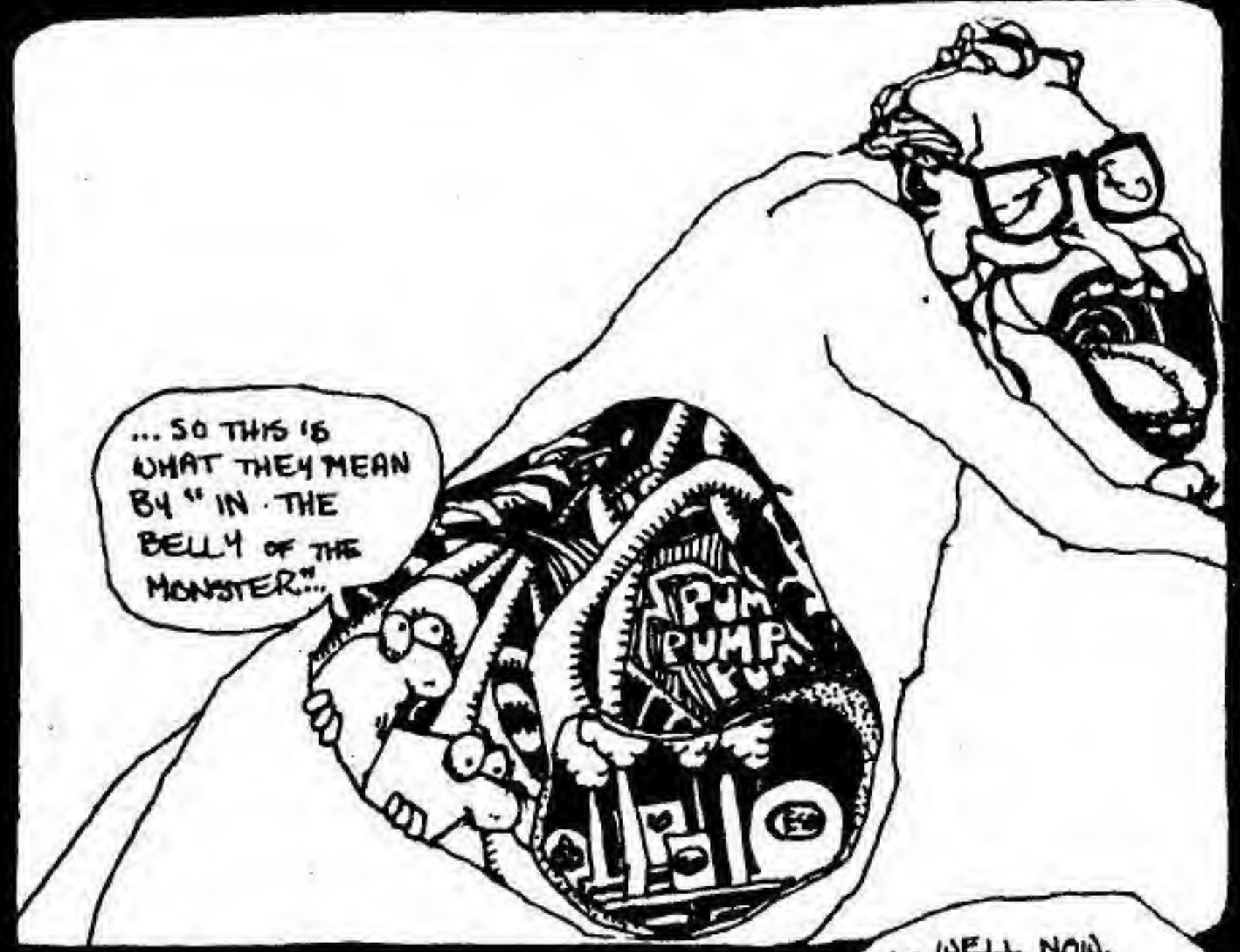




# HOW MUCH MONEY DO THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE?



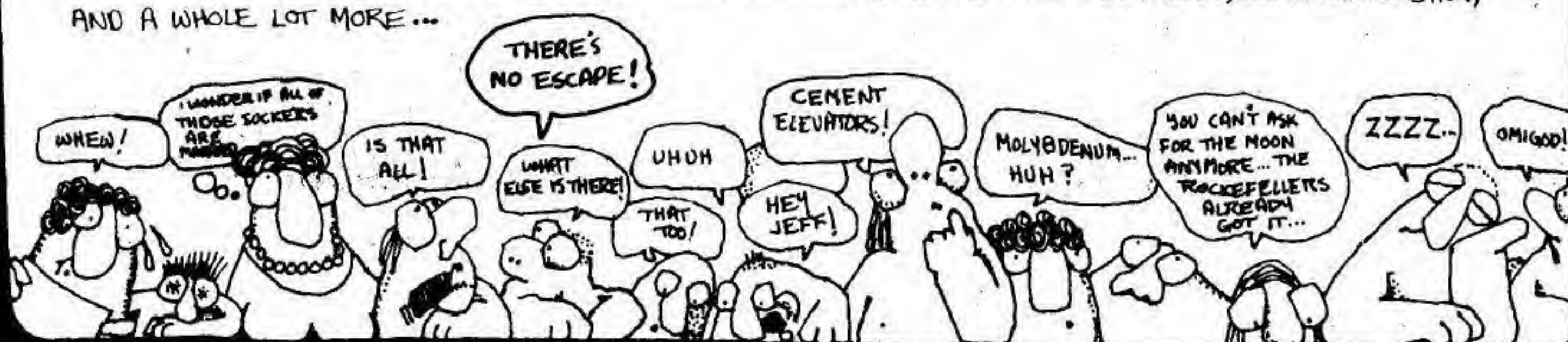
...THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE RICHER THAN ANYONE HAS EVER BEEN BEFORE (AND THEY ARE GETTING RICHER ALL THE TIME)... AND THEIR POWER IS ENORMOUSLY GREATER THAN THEIR WEALTH... THEY HAVE CREATED AN EMPIRE AROUND THEMSELVES WHICH IS LARGER AND MORE COMPLEX THAN ALEXANDER THE GREAT COULD HAVE DREAMED OF... MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WORK UNDER THE ROCKEFELLERS AND THEIR EMPIRE HAS SPREAD TO EVERY CORNER OF THE "FREE WORLD"... THE EMPIRE INCLUDES THE WORLD'S LARGEST BANKS AND INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS AND ITS POWERFUL ARMS GRIP DEEP INTO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT... THE EMPIRE, WHICH ONCE CENTERED ON THE STANDARD OIL TRUST, HAS NOW MULTIPLIED AND DIVERSIFIED INTO A MAMMOTH CONGLOMERATE OF NEARLY EVERYTHING IMAGINABLE...



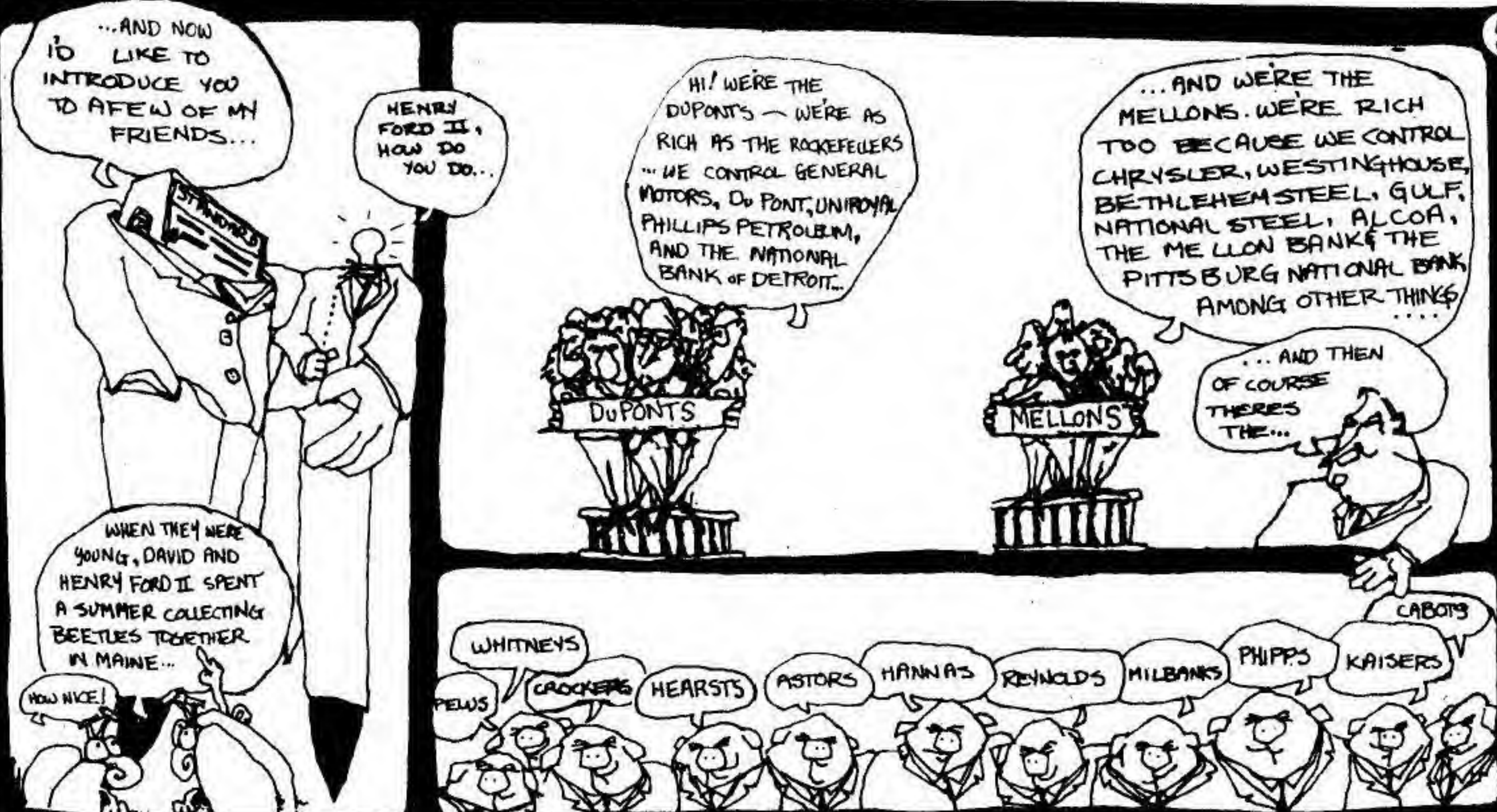




IL, COMPUTERS, STEEL, CHEMICALS, SUGAR, COPPER, MARGARINE, RADAR, NAPALM, NICKEL, TIN, PEANUT BUTTER, DYE, TOYS, "CULTURAL CENTERS", KLEENEX, KOTEX, GAS AND ELECTRIC UTILITIES, INSECTICIDES, CHORUS GIRL GROUPS, LEAD, OFFICE EQUIPMENT, COTTON, PAPER, GOLD, BANKING, PET FOOD, RAILROADS, CHURCHES, SUPERMARKETS, CREDIT CARDS, DIESEL ENGINES, THE URBAN LEAGUE, T.V. NETWORKS, THE BOYSCOUTS, BASEBALL, URBAN RENEWAL, MOLYBDENUM, SILVER, INSURANCE, CORN PRODUCTS, FARM IMPLEMENTS, SOLVENTS, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, CEMENT, ELEVATORS, BOMBS, ZINC, COMMERCIAL AIRLINES, PANTYHOSE, RECORDING, GLASS, CLOTHES, CHICKENS, AIRPLANES, PETRO-CHEMICALS, SHOE POLISH, LOBBIES, PIGS (BOTH KINDS), SODA POP, LAW FIRMS, LOANS, URANIUM, THE 4H CLUB, REFRIGERATORS, SKYSCRAPERS, LUMBER, THE WORLD BANK, T.V. & RADIO STATIONS, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, INVESTMENT BANKS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, MILK, ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT, PUBLISHING COMPANIES, FOUNDATIONS, MEASURING INSTRUMENTS, ANIMAL FEED, GLUE, SOCIAL CLUBS, UNIVERSITIES, FERTILIZERS, ELECTRIC RAZORS, AEROSPACE EQUIPMENT, DEPARTMENT STORES, N.A.T.O., TRUSTS, PLANTATIONS, PHOSPHATE, SULPHUR, LIBRARIES, PRESIDENTS, COCONUTS, THE BOYS CLUB, PLASTIC BAGS, COAL, MANSIONS, RADIOS, FOOD, NATURAL GAS PIPELINES, WATER SOFTENERS, COFFEE, POISONS, TRAVELERS CHECKS, ARTWORK, POLLUTION CONTROL EQUIPMENT, PLATINUM, MOVIES, TANK CARS, PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT, THE URBAN COALITION, AND A WHOLE LOT MORE...

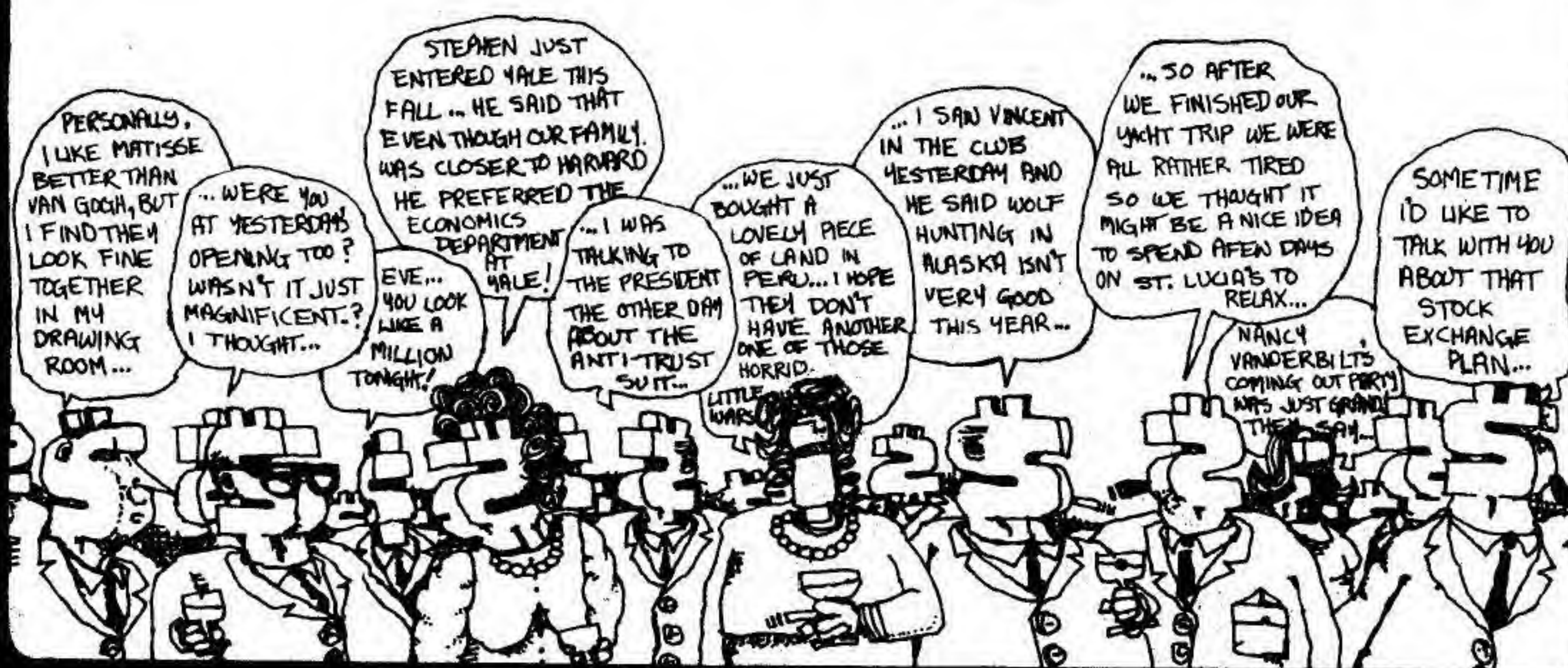






...and a few others...

... at one of David Rockefeller's very expensive, very exclusive, 6,000 person parties:



...EACH OF THESE FAMILIES HAS AN EMPIRE OF ITS OWN (ON A SMALLER SCALE) ACCOUNTING FOR THE REST OF AMERICA'S HUGE CORPORATIONS... AND ALL THE CORPORATIONS AND FAMILIES AND EMPIRES ARE INTERLOCKED, AND INTERCONNECTED AND INTERMARRIED... AND THEY'RE NOT EXACTLY ENEMIES WITH THE ROCKEFELLERS...

...ARE YOU KIDDING? WE'RE BLOOD RELATIVES OF MOST OF THEM!



AND NOW  
JUST TO  
FILL YOU  
IN...

# A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROCKEFELLERS

6



JOHN D.  
ROCKEFELLER I  
1839-1937

... THE FOUNDER OF THE ROCKEFELLER FORTUNE  
WAS JOHN DAVIDSON ... HE ONCE SAID:

" I LEARNED THE PRINCIPLES AND  
PRACTICES OF BUSINESS FROM MY FATHER "



... HIS FATHER MADE MOST OF HIS MONEY  
SELLING:

THE RENOWNED  
DR. WILLIAM ROCKEFELLER'S  
CANCER CURE

... FOLLOWING IN HIS FATHER'S FOOTSTEPS JOHN  
BECAME RICH VERY QUICKLY... OF COURSE HE WORKED HARD  
FOR HIS MONEY... HIS ONLY INTEREST OTHER THAN HIS  
BUSINESS WAS HIS CHURCH... HE WORSHIPPED \$500 BILLS...  
WHEN JOHN BROWN WAS EXECUTED J.D. WAS THE ONLY  
ONE IN CLEVELAND WHO DID NOT CLOSE HIS SHOP IN  
RESPECT FOR HIM... HE WAS CALM, COOL AND  
COLLECTING...



... THEN IN 1870  
OIL WAS  
STRUCK:

... I THINK I'LL START THE

## Standard Oil Company

... STANDARD OIL STARTED OUT  
AS THE LARGEST REFINER  
IN CLEVELAND AND IT  
JUST SORT OF

GREW...

AND

GREW...

AND

GREW...

... THEN J.D. DECIDED:

" FOR THE SAKE OF  
THE ECONOMY WE MUST  
CONCENTRATE THE OIL  
BUSINESS "



... J.D. CREATED A GAME THAT  
SOON BECAME POPULAR:

## MONOPOLY!

... HE BEGAN KNOCKING OUT  
HIS COMPETITORS... HE USED  
EVERY DIRTY NASTY TRICK HIS  
GENIUS COULD THINK UP... AND  
SOON HE HAD CREATED THE...  
STANDARD OIL TRUST!

... AND, OF COURSE,  
HE BECAME THE  
RICHEST MAN  
IN THE  
WORLD...





... AND HE BECAME THE MOST HATED MAN IN THE WORLD...



... PAY UP OR I'LL TAKE YOUR DAUGHTER! ... HEE HEE!



... HE EVEN STARRERD IN ALL OF THE VAUDEVILLE MELODRAMAS... (AS THE VICIOUS LAND LORD VILLAIN)

... THEN CAME THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS WHICH SHATTERED THE STANDARD OIL TRUST INTO A MILLION PIECES AND EVERYBODY WAS HAPPY -



- EVEN J.D. J.D. WAS HAPPY BECAUSE HE STILL CONTROLLED ALL OF THESE COMPANIES - BUT NOBODY KNEW!

which would you rather have - one huge company or 32 big ones?



JOHN DIDN'T WANT TO DIE... HE BUILT HOSPITALS IN ALL OF HIS HOUSES... HE GOT PRETTY OLD BUT HE FINALLY DIED, AT 99, DESPITE SUCKING AT THE BREAST OF ONE OF THE MANY YOUNG MOTHERS HE HIRED TO FEED HIM...

I'M J.D. ROCKEFELLER - WHY SHOULD I HAVE TO DIE?



HIS SON J.D. II DIDN'T DO MUCH. HIS FRIENDS CALLED HIM A "MILKSOP" WHICH MIGHT HAVE MEANT HE WASN'T QUITE AS VICIOUS A PIG AS HIS FATHER...

... BUT HE PROVED HE WAS A TRUE ROCKEFELLER AT...



MILKSOP?

JOHN DAVIDSON ROCKEFELLER II  
1874 - 1960



## LUDLOW, COLORADO APRIL 20, 1914

... J.D. II ("JUNIOR") OWNED SEVERAL COAL AND IRON MINES IN THE COLORADO ROCKIES... HE PAID THE MINERS LESS THAN \$700 A YEAR AND FORCED THEM TO LIVE IN COMPANY HOUSES AND SHOP AT THE COMPANY STORE... THE CAMPS WERE PATROLLED BY ARMED GUARDS AND INFILTRATED BY COMPANY SPIES... IN 1913 9,000 MINERS WENT ON STRIKE... THEY DEMANDED UNION RIGHTS, MORE MONEY, BETTER CONDITIONS, AN END TO THE PRISON CAMP-TYPE SYSTEM AND TO TALK TO JUNIOR... JUNIOR REFUSED TO TALK TO "CONTENTED WORKERS" AND INSTEAD HE BROUGHT IN TEXAS & WEST VIRGINIA GUNMEN, THE COLORADO STATE MILITIA, THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE CAVALRY TO PROTECT HIS MINES...



... THEN ROCKEFELLER'S ARMY ATTACKED... THEY CHARGED THROUGH THE MINERS TENT CAMPS IN ARMORED CARS RAKING THEM WITH MACHINE GUN FIRE AND THEY BURNT ONE CAMP TO THE GROUND... DOZENS OF MEN, WOMEN & CHILDREN WERE SHOT OR BURNED TO DEATH...

... THAT DECEMBER THE COLD, STARVING MINERS WHO SURVIVED GAVE IN TO JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER II...

... THEN TWO YEARS LATER THE NATIONAL GUARD SHOT TO DEATH THREE STRIKING STANDARD OIL WORKERS IN NEW JERSEY...





...THEN  
CAME  
THE  
3RD  
GENERA-  
TION!



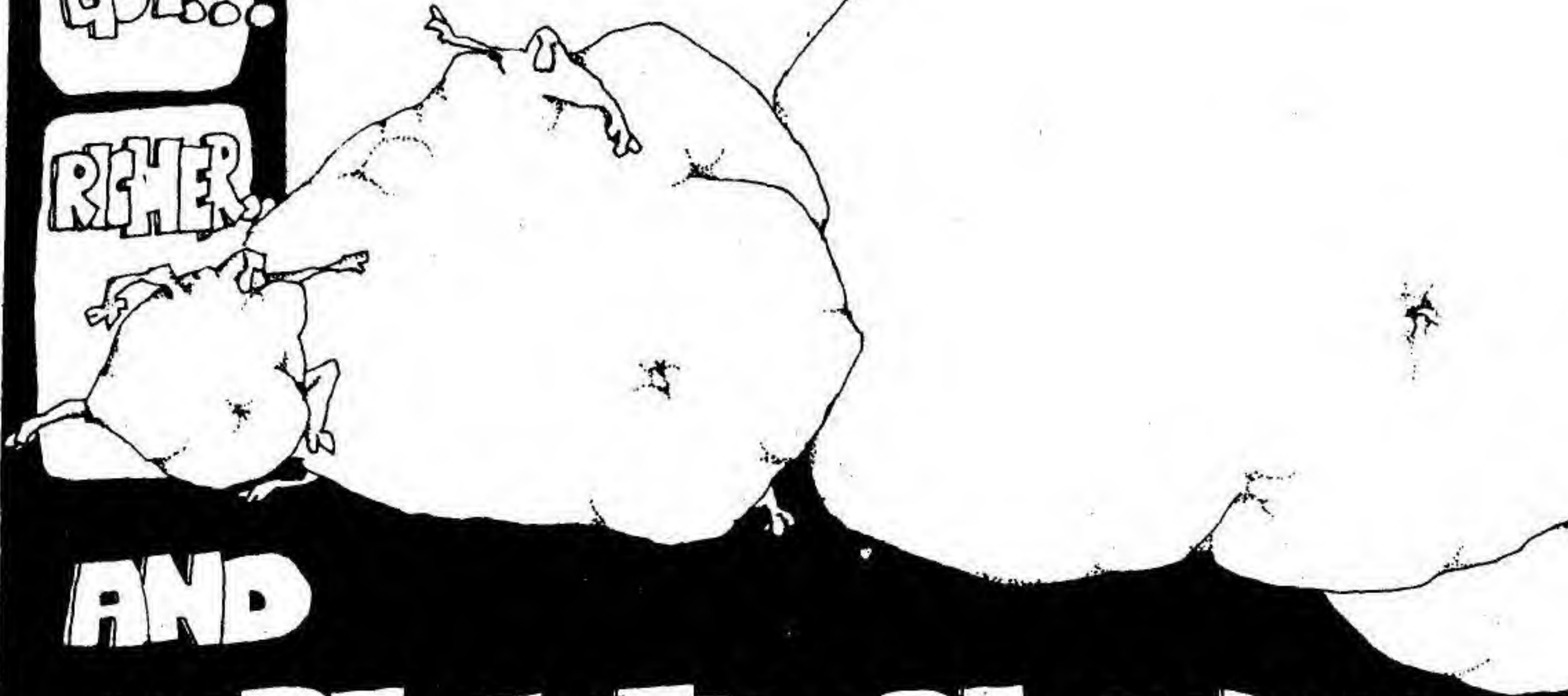
OH BOY! FIVE BOYS AND  
ONLY ONE GIRL! LET'S  
SEE NOW ... YOU'LL GET THE  
BANK ... YOU TWO WILL BE  
GOVERNORS...AND YOU WILL  
GET THE ROCKEFELLER  
FOUNDATION...AND YOU WILL  
BE IN CHARGE OF ALL  
THE MONEY...AND...  
OH YEAH...YOU ABBY-  
YOU WILL MARRY A  
RICH MAN.

...AND  
ALL  
THE  
TIME  
THEY  
GOT...

& RICHER...

& RICHER...

RICHER.



AND

HERE THEY ARE TODAY!



... THE MOST FAMOUS OF THE ROCKEFELLER FIVE, NELSON, WAS NAMED AFTER HIS GRANDFATHER (THE SENATOR) AND HE WAS RAISED AND GROOMED TO BE A POLITICIAN...



... NELSON WENT TO DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, WHERE DESPITE HIS POOR GRADES HE WAS VOTED:  
**"MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED"**



... NELSON'S FIRST IMPORTANT DECISION WAS TO HIRE DIEGO RIVERA (THE FAMED MEXICAN MURAL PAINTER) TO PAINT THE GREAT MURAL FOR ROCKEFELLER CENTER...

... I PAINTED A PICTURE OF LENIN AND A GIRL WITH V.D. ... (SYMBOLIZING LIFE UNDER CAPITALISM) ...



... HEAVENS NO! NOT ON MY WALL! DESTROY IT!



... SAID YOUNG NELSON...

... LATER THAT ELECTION:

"ART IS ONE OF THE AREAS WHERE THERE IS STILL ABSOLUTE FREEDOM"



... NELSON WENT ON TO TAKE MANY HIGH POSITIONS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT... HE BECAME THE FIRST CO-ORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, THEN HE BECAME UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE AND A SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT... HE BECAME A MEMBER OF THE TWO MOST POWERFUL GROUPS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT... THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET...

THAT'S MY SON!



**VICE PRESIDENT NELSON ROCKEFELLER\*1908-**

... THEN IN 1958 NELSON RAN FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK AGAINST AVERELL HARRIMAN... HARRIMAN IS ONE OF THE RICHEST PEOPLE IN AMERICA...

... BUT NO MATCH FOR ROCKY!



ROCKEFELLER "SERVED" AS GOVERNOR FOR NEARLY 15 YEARS...

... AFTER THE ELECTION, A WELL KNOWN FOREIGN PRESIDENT, VISITING THE ROCKEFELLER MANSION, SAID

"THE U.S. IS THE ONLY COUNTRY THAT WOULD ASK THE PEOPLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN A MILLIONAIRE AND A BILLIONAIRE"

"YES... IT'S A GREAT COUNTRY... IT COULD ONLY HAPPEN HERE!"



... REPLIED ROCKY...

... HOW DOES ROCKY GET ELECTED YEAR AFTER YEAR?

IT AIN'T EASY!



... THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE SPENT MORE MONEY KEEPING NELSON ROCKEFELLER IN OFFICE THAN HAS EVER BEEN SPENT ON ANY OTHER GOVERNOR

... IT HAS COST THEM A FULL 27 MILLION DOLLARS SINCE 1962...

IT COST THEM OVER \$7 MILLION FOR THE 1970 CAMPAIGN ALONE... (MORE THAN 10 TIMES WHAT HIS OPPONENT HAD TO SPEND...)



# Rocky's Record

... SINCE HE ENTERED THE POLITICAL RING NELSON HAS COMPILED ONE OF THE MOST AMAZING AND CONTROVERSIAL RECORDS OF ANY POLITICIAN...

... WELL HE DIDN'T TAKE ANY BRIBES!



... DURING HIS FIRST TERM ROCKY SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT AND CONVINCING PEOPLE TO BUILD BOMBSHELTERS... AFTER FAILING TO GET EVERYONE TO BUILD THEMSELVES BOMBSHELTERS ROCKY TOOK \$8 1/2 MILLION IN TAXES AND BUILT ONE NEAR HIS CAPITOL IN ALBANY... AT LEAST HE WAS GOING TO BE SAFE!

PAY UP!



... AFTER RUNNING ON AN ANTI-TAX PLATFORM THE FIRST THING ROCKY DID AS GOVERNOR WAS INVENT A NEW TAX

WHICH EXCLUSIVELY HIT ONLY THE 300,000 POOREST FAMILIES IN N.Y...

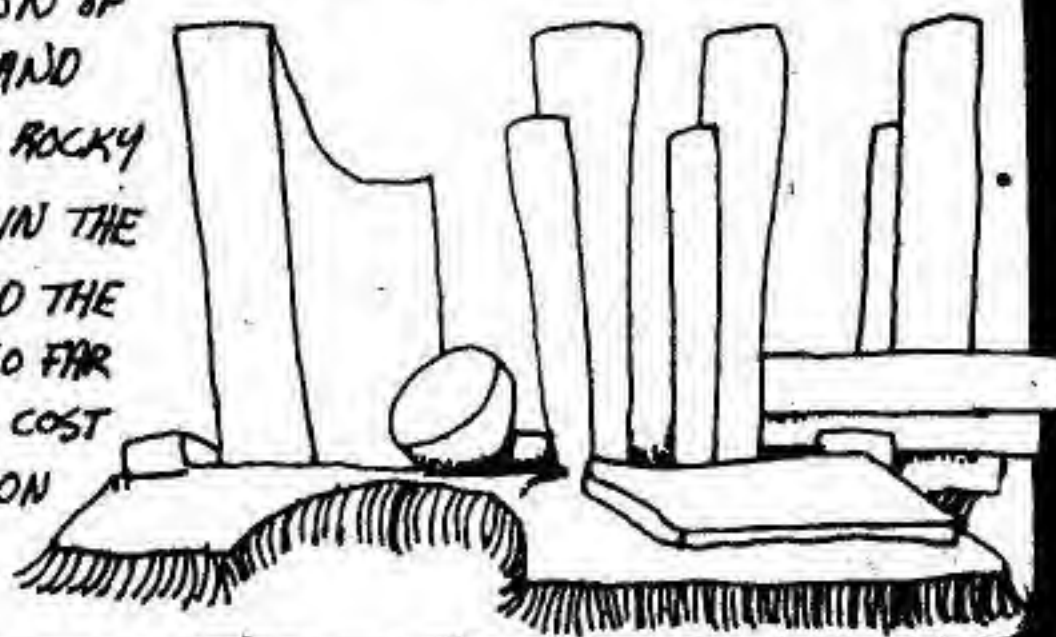
THEN, AFTER AGAIN PROMISING NOT TO RAISE TAXES HE WAS RE-ELECTED AND RAISED THE SALES TAX (WHICH AGAIN HITS THE POOR THE HARDEST) AND IMMEDIATELY SET UP A COMPLICATED SALES TAX DODGE FOR HIMSELF CALLED "GREENROCK FARMS"... MEANWHILE ROCKY HAS BRAGGED THAT HE HAS CUT NEW YORK'S CORPORATE TAX SHARE IN HALF AND HE HAS SEVERELY LIMITED THE TAX RATES FOR THE VERY RICH (SUCH AS OUR FAVORITE GOVERNOR...)... IN OTHER AREAS ROCKY HAS VOTED AGAINST A RAISE IN THE MINIMUM WAGE AND HE WAS THE ONE MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CUTTING NEW YORK'S WELFARE PAYMENTS...

... ROCKY, THE NATIONAL LEADER OF THE CRUSADE TO KEEP OIL BURNING CARS, HAS BROKEN ALL RECORDS FOR ROAD-BUILDING IN NEW YORK STATE... ONE OF HIS MORE CONTROVERSIAL ROADS IS A \$250 MILLION, 6 LANE EXPRESSWAY TO HIS MANSION...

YOUR HIGHWAY TAXES AT WORK!

## the infamous ALBANY MALL

... EVER SINCE NELSON WAS A LITTLE KID HE'S WANTED TO BUILD HIMSELF A PALACE... HE WANTED TO BUILD THE BIGGEST, MOST BEAUTIFUL, MOST EXPENSIVE PALACE IN THE WORLD... AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT HE'S BUILT AS HIS STATE CAPITOL IN NEW YORK... IMAGINING HIMSELF AS LOUIS XIV DESIGNING VERSAILLES, OR AN EGYPTIAN PHAROAH BUILDING A GREAT PYRAMID ROCKY HAS ORDERED THE MOST MASSIVE BUILDING PROJECT IN WESTERN HISTORY... A 100 ACRE MARBLE SCULPTURE... AFTER DESTROYING A HUGE SECTION OF ALBANY'S BLACK COMMUNITY AND DISPLACING 9,000 PEOPLE ROCKY BEGAN BUILDING HIS DREAM IN THE EARLY 1960'S... HE ESTIMATED THE COST AT \$250 MILLION... SO FAR ROCKY'S ERECTOR SET HAS COST NEW YORKERS OVER A BILLION DOLLARS AND IT'S STILL NOT FINISHED...



MEANWHILE, ARE THE ROCKEFELLERS PAYING ANY TAXES? NO! THEY HAVE A WHOLE CROP OF TRICKY LAWYERS FIGURING OUT TRICKY WAYS FOR THEM TO SAVE BILLIONS IN TAXES... THEY HAVE CONGRESSMEN AND GOVERNORS BUSY PUSHING LOOPHOLES IN TAX LAWS... AFTER PASSING THEIR BILLIONS DOWN THROUGH SEVERAL GENERATIONS, THEY HAVE PAID ONLY \$16 MILLION IN INHERITANCE TAXES! BUT THE ROCKEFELLER OIL COMPANIES EVEN DO BETTER THAN THEY DO... OIL COMPANIES GET TO DEDUCT 22% OF THEIR TAXES FOR A DEPLETION ALLOWANCE, AND THIS COMBINED WITH OTHER LOOPHOLES ALLOWS THE OIL COMPANIES TO PAY A TOKEN 5 OR 10% IN TAXES ON HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS PROFIT.

... LAST YEAR NELSON, IN THE TRADITION OF RONALD REAGAN AND SPIRO AGNEW, PAID NO FEDERAL TAXES AT ALL...

I JUST DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO PAY BOTH STATE AND FEDERAL TAXES!



A SMALL COMPUTING ERROR!

IN FACT, IT WAS DISCOVERED, THAT OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS HE HASN'T PAID A MILLION DOLLARS IN TAXES...



# LAW & ORDER



... DURING ROCKY'S REIGN OVER THE STATE OF NEW YORK HE ORDERED A NEW SET OF LAW AND ORDER LAWS... NOW NEW YORK HAS "STOP AND FRISK" (ALLOWING A POLICEMAN TO ARBITRARILY STOP AND SEARCH ANYONE ON THE STREET) "NO KNOCK" (ALLOWING A POLICEMAN TO ENTER YOUR HOUSE WITHOUT KNOCKING) AND "NO SOCK" (MAKING IT A FELONY TO RESIST ARREST) LAWS... HIS NEW DRUG LAWS HAVE PUT 150 DRUG OFFENDERS UP FOR LIFE... ABOUT THE ONLY "LIBERAL" OF ROCKY'S CRIME LAWS ARE HIS VERY LIBERAL BUGGING LAWS...

OF COURSE ROCKY'S DREAM HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO BE PRESIDENT. HE RAN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1964, 1968, AND 1972 BUT ALL THREE TIMES HE COULDN'T PULL IT OFF. SO AFTER FAILING TO GET ELECTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE HE TOOK THE EASY WAY IN...



IN DECEMBER 1973, TWO MONTHS AFTER SPIRO AGNEW RESIGNED, ROCKY RESIGNED AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

HE LEFT HIS STATE IN THE HANDS OF ONE OF HIS MOST TRUSTED FRIENDS, MALCOLM WILSON...

TAKE GOOD CARE OF IT FOR ME!



... MEANWHILE IN WASHINGTON THE WHEELS OF JUSTICE WERE TURNING AND NIXON WAS DEPOSED. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ARISTOCRACY, LED BY THE ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS, PICKED GERALD FORD AS THEIR NEW MAN... AND THEN FORD PICKED - SURPRISE - SURPRISE - NELSON ROCKEFELLER AS VICE PRESIDENT...

SOME SENATORS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT ROCKY'S PRACTICE OF HELPING OUT PUBLIC SERVANTS IN TIMES OF NEED.

IT SEEMS THAT MANY NEW YORK STATE OFFICIALS WERE INDEBTED TO ROCKY FOR GRAND SUMS OF MONEY, WHICH HE MADE A HABIT OF GIVING TO THEM AFTER THEY RETIRED, IF HE WAS SATISFIED BY THEIR PERFORMANCE...

NONE OF THESE ALLEGATIONS ARE TRUE, ARE THEY, HONORABLE MR. ROCKEFELLER, SIR?



... NEVERTHELESS, CONGRESS DID IT'S UNQUESTIONING DUTY AND CONFIRMED THE RICHEST MAN EVER TO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE TO THE HIGH OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT...

ROCKY WILL NOT BE AN ORDINARY VICE PRESIDENT... HE WILL CERTAINLY STRETCH THE VICE PRESIDENCY TO TAKE ON POWERS NO VICE PRESIDENT EVER HAS BEFORE...

"I DON'T THINK I'M CUT OUT TO BE A NUMBER TWO TYPE OF GUY"



CONGRESS HAD JUST BOUGHT A VERY EXPENSIVE NEW MANSION FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT, BUT IT WASN'T GOOD ENOUGH FOR ROCKY.

"I HAD ALREADY BOUGHT ONE OF THE FINEST MANSIONS AROUND THE CAPITOL, JUST IN CASE I NEEDED IT SOMEDAY!"



... AND NOW AMERICA'S FIRST ABSOLUTELY UNELECTED PAIR OF AUTO-CRATS TAKE THE WHEEL...



MORE ABOUT THE ROCKEFELLER'S AND THEIR GOVERNMENT STARTING ON PAGE 34

LOOK! IT'S ROCKY AND BULLWINKLE!

The Herald of Ford





• WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER.  
1912 - 1973

... WINTHROP DIED ON FEBRUARY  
23<sup>RD</sup> 1973



WINTHROP STARTED OUT STRANGELY - CONSIDERING HIS FAMILY BACKGROUND:

FOR ONETHING IN WWII:

... WHICH IS A THING ROCKEFELLERS JUST DON'T DO...

WHEN HE RETURNED: AS A LIEUTENANT COLONEL OF COURSE!

I DECIDED TO BECOME A COMMON OILWORKER!

WELL, NOT EXACTLY A "COMMON" OILWORKER.

HE HAD CONSTANT BODY-GUARDS!

FOR SOME REASON THE OTHER OIL- WORKERS DON'T LIKE ME!

AND THEN HE MOVED ON UP TO BECOME AN EXECUTIVE ON MOBIL OIL...

ANY COMMON OILWORKER CAN DO THAT. WITH HARD WORK AND PATIENCE!

... MEANWHILE, WINTHROP'S BROTHERS WERE ALL USING PART OF THEIR NAME TO IDENTIFY SOME OF THEIR POSSESSIONS:

VEN-ROCK INC.!

ROCK RESORTS!

GREEN-ROCK FARMS!

THE ROCKETTES! A CHAIR'S GIRL GROUP.

... WINTHROP'S LITTLE 45,000 ACRE RANCH GOES THROUGH ARKANSAS AND WAY INTO OKLAHOMA... IT'S ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL BULL-BREEDERS IN THE WORLD... I SHOULD KNOW... I'M KEMMONS WILSON, VENDING MACHINE KING, CHM. OF HOLIDAY INNS AND DIRECTOR OF WINROCK FARMS...

... SO WINTHROP DECIDED TO MAKE **LITTLE ROCK** (ARKANSAS) HIS TOWN...

... AND HE STARTED A LITTLE RANCH WHICH HE CALLED "WINROCK FARMS"

... BUT THEN IN 1970... ALL THE KINGS HORSES, AND ALL THE KINGS MEN, COULDN'T GET "WINNIE" ELECTED AGAIN...

HE "SERVED" AS GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS FOR 2 TERMS...

THEN IN 1962 "WINNIE" PROVED THAT EVEN A STRANGE ROCKEFELLER COULD GET ELECTED GOVERNOR...

HE HAD TRIED SO HARD TO MAKE IT AS A ROCKEFELLER...

... THAT HE DIDN'T SPEAK TO ANYONE FOR 3 DAYS...

HE WAS SO UPSET...

"WINNIE" WAS UPSET BY A DEMOCRATIC NOBODY...

OOPS!

HE LOST!



JOHN IS THE VERY SLICK HEAD  
OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION



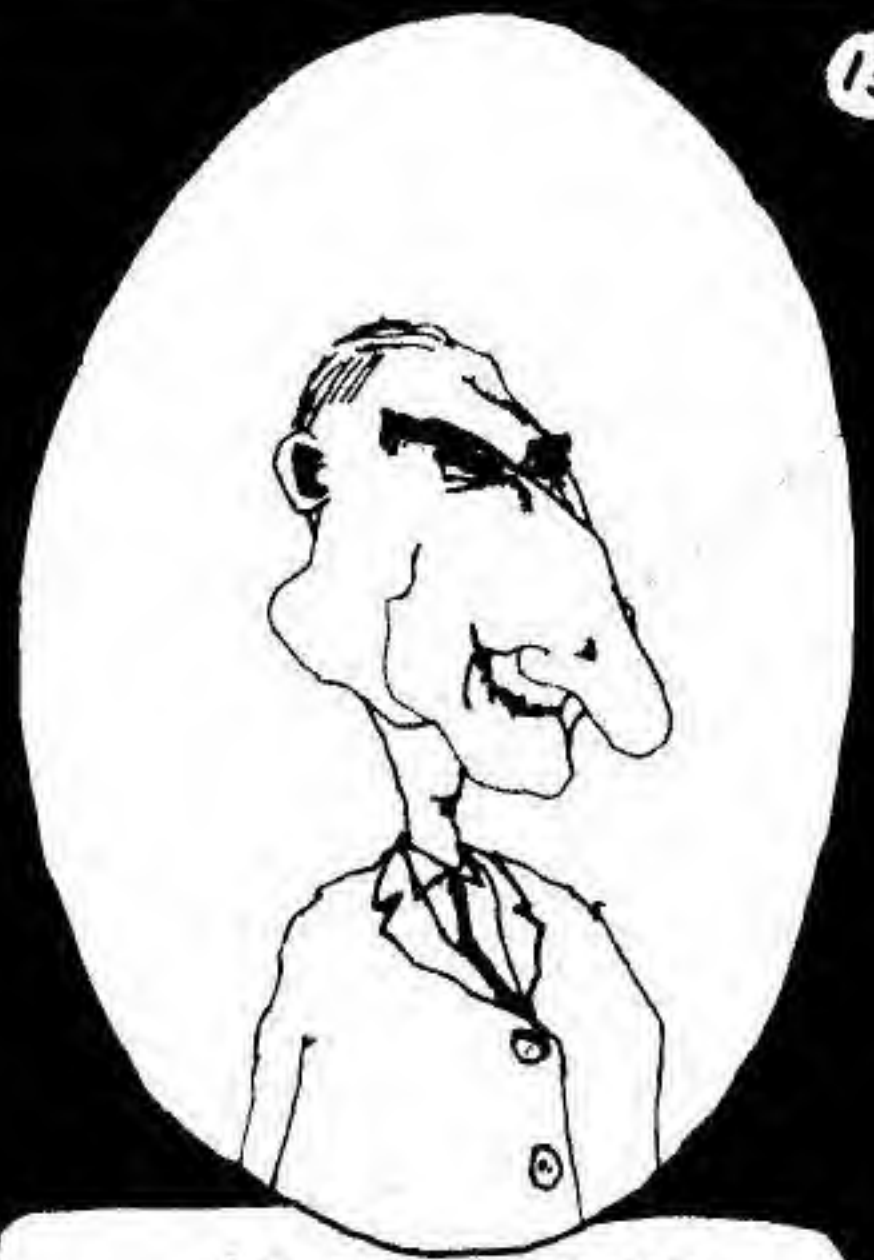
HE SITS ON 36  
DIFFERENT BOARDS  
AND COMMITTEES,  
ROUNDING OUT  
THE ROCKEFELLER  
EMPIRE AND HE  
BELONGS TO THE  
TOP NEW YORK CLUBS.

SUCKHEAD?

...AND  
OFCOURSE  
I'M A  
LIBERAL  
TOO!



QUITE A  
DIGNIFIED  
MAN!



JOHN DAVID  
ROCKEFELLER III  
1906 -

HE HOLDS THE FOLLOWING DECORATIONS:  
ORDER OF THE AUSPACIOUS STAR OF CHINA (TAIWAN)  
ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, GRAND CORDON OF  
THE SACRED TREASURE OF JAPAN, GRAND CORDON OF  
THE STAR OF ETHIOPIA, MOST EXALTED ORDER OF  
THE WHITE ELEPHANT OF THAILAND AND COMMANDER  
OF THE ORDRE DES MILLIONS D'ELEPHANTS ET DU  
PARASOL BLANC...



LAURANCE S. ROCKEFELLER  
1910 -

LAURANCE'S  
HOBBY IS MAKING  
MONEY

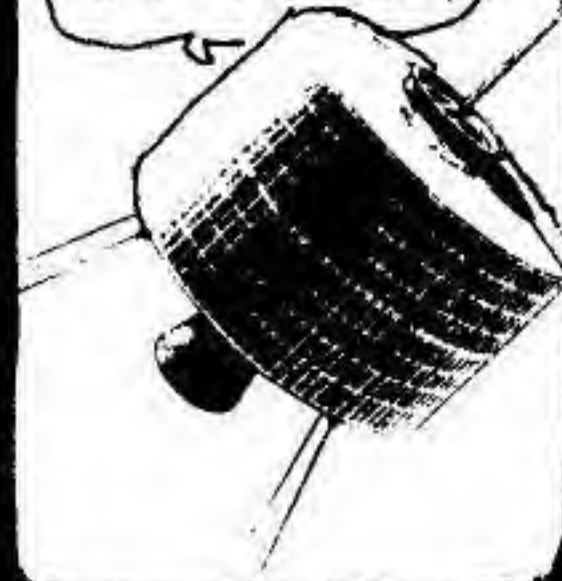
AND THERE  
ISN'T ANYONE  
QUITE SO  
GOOD AT IT AS  
ME!



OFCOURSE HE HAD  
A LITTLE TO START  
OUT WITH...

HE JUST LOVES  
TO PLAY  
AROUND WITH  
NEW KINDS OF  
LITTLE CORPORATIONS  
THAT MAKE ALL  
SORTS OF  
NEW SCIENTIFIC  
GADGETS (RADAR,  
HYDROGEN BOMBS ETC.)

HI-TECHNOLOGY



HE IS ALSO  
RESPONSIBLE  
FOR ALOT OF THE  
UGLY HOTELS IN  
HAWAII AND THE  
CARIBBEAN...

ROCK/RESORTS



HE'S IN CHARGE OF THE  
ROCKEFELLER MONEY  
AND CHAIRMAN OF  
"ROCKEFELLER BROS.  
INC." THEIR HOLDING  
COMPANY...



I'M ALSO A  
HOTEL BUILDING,  
BOMB MAKING, OIL  
BURNING, ROCKEFELLER  
CONSER-  
VATIONIST!



WHY DO WE  
ALWAYS GET  
THOSE KIND  
ON OUR  
SIDE!

DOZZZ...

MINE!







**CHAIRMAN  
DAVID ROCKEFELLER  
1915 -**



DAVID ROCKEFELLER IS THE MOST  
POWERFUL  
MAN IN  
THE  
WORLD...



...FROM HIS OFFICE HIGH IN  
THE CHASE MANHATTAN BUILDING  
DAVID RULES THE MOST POWERFUL  
BANK IN THE WORLD... THROUGH  
IT HE DOMINATES AMERICAN  
BUSINESS AND EVENTUALLY  
THE WORLD...

"LET'S NOT  
QUIBBLE OVER  
PENNIES... JUST  
GET THE JOB  
DONE..."

"MR. ROCKEFELLER,  
SIR, WE UNDER  
ESTIMATED THE COST  
BY 53 THOUSAND  
AND I'M TRYING  
TO MAKE UP THE  
DIFFERENCE"

"MR. ROCKEFELLER"

"...YOU GOTTA  
WATCH OUT FOR  
HIM! HE'S THE  
ONE THAT COLLECTS  
BEETLES!"

FASCIST  
COLLECTOR!

HE IS EVEN MORE POWERFUL THAN HIS  
BROTHER, THE VICE PRESIDENT, BECAUSE  
WHILE NELSON WATCHES OVER THE  
GOVERNMENT, DAVID OVERSEES THE  
MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE ROCKEFELLER  
EMPIRE - THE BANKS AND CORPORATIONS...

## BESIDES RULING THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL BANK...

...DAVID ROCKEFELLER IS CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF  
WASHINGTON'S MOST POWERFUL LOBBY - THE COUNCIL ON  
FOREIGN RELATIONS... HE IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE  
BOARD OF OVERSEERS OF HARVARD U., CHAIRMAN OF  
ROCKEFELLER U., CHAIRMAN OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART,  
CHAIRMAN & FOUNDER OF THE DOWNTOWN LOWER MANHATTAN  
ASSOC., CHAIRMAN & FOUNDER THE COUNCIL FOR LATIN AMERICA,  
PAST CHAIRMAN & FOUNDER OF THE CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN  
RELATIONS, CHAIRMAN & FOUNDER BUSINESS COMMITTEE FOR  
THE ARTS... PAST CHAIRMAN & FOUNDER EXECUTIVE PEACE CORPS.  
PRESIDENT SEATZANTIK FUND, DIRECTOR OF KENNEDY LIBRARY,  
ROCKEFELLER CENTER, EMBARCADERO PLAZA, L'ENFANT PLAZA,  
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, URBAN COALITION, CARNEGIE ENDOW-  
MENT FOR INTL. PEACE, ROCKEFELLER BROS. FUND,  
U. OF CHICAGO AND FAR TOO MANY MORE TO LIST... HE HAS  
ALSO BEEN ON LITERALLY SCORES OF GOVERNMENT COMMITTEES  
AND HE BELONGS TO THE MOST EXCLUSIVE N.Y. CLUBS:  
HARVARD, KNIKKERBOCKER, LINKS, UNIVERSITY & CENTER...

...DAVID'S POWER WAS  
OUTLINED  
BY A FELLOW BANKER  
FROM DELAWARE A FEW  
YEARS AGO:

"I DON'T THINK  
DICK NIXON TELLS  
DAVID ROCKEFELLER  
WHAT TO DO... IT'S  
THE OTHER WAY  
AROUND"

"...WELL  
WHO DO YOU  
THINK SHOULD  
BE ON TOP - HUH?  
DAVID'S A VERY  
DEDICATED, SERIOUS  
AND INTELLIGENT MAN...  
AND HE'S GOT A PHD  
IN ECONOMICS... HE'S  
AN EXPERT AT  
HIS JOB!"



TEN  
BILLION  
DOLLARS?!



MOST OF US,  
WHO STRUGGLE  
TO SURVIVE,  
CAN'T VERY WELL  
IMAGINE HOW  
MUCH MONEY  
THE ROCKEFELLERS  
HAVE...

I'VE  
GOT  
\$10!



... THE ROCKEFELLER  
FORTUNE IS BEYOND  
THE STRUGGLE  
FOR SURVIVAL,  
IT IS EVEN BEYOND  
LUXURY... THEIR FORTUNE  
IS BEYOND THE  
REALITY OF LIVING...

"I HAVE A LOT AND I DON'T  
FEEL GUILTY ABOUT IT!  
\$100,000 TO ME IS  
LIKE \$10  
TO OTHER  
PEOPLE!"



THE ROCKEFELLER  
BILLIONS ARE IN  
CORPORATE STOCK, AND  
TO THEM THEIR MONEY  
MEANS POWER.

THEIR POWER  
LIES IN THE  
CORPORATIONS  
THAT THEY  
CONTROL...

# JUST LOOK AT OUR FANTASTIC COLLECTION OF CORPORATIONS!



... ON THE NEXT PAGE YOU SEE THE  
33 HUGE BILLION DOLLAR  
CORPORATIONS THAT THE  
ROCKEFELLERS  
CONTROL



THESE CORPORATIONS ARE THE BASIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN  
AMERICA, WHERE THE REAL POWER LIES. AMONG THEM ARE  
AMERICA'S LARGEST BANKS, UTILITIES, AIRLINES, INSURANCE  
COMPANIES AND SEVEN OF THE TOP TWENTY INDUSTRIAL GIANTS  
WHICH DOMINATE AMERICA'S ECONOMY...

THE ROCKEFELLERS DO NOT OWN THESE BILLION  
DOLLAR CORPORATIONS. THEY PROBABLY OWN LESS  
THAN 5% OF THE STOCK OF MOST OF THESE  
CORPORATIONS (BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, NEVERTHELESS).  
THIS IS ENOUGH STOCK TO CONTROL THESE CORPORATIONS  
BECAUSE THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE ALSO CENTRALIZED  
THEIR CONTROL THROUGH THEIR BANKS  
INSURANCE COMPANIES, AND LAW FIRMS...



## HOW DID I DECIDE WHICH CORPORATIONS THE ROCKEFELLERS CONTROL? IT WASN'T EASY!

THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE THE KIND OF PEOPLE WHO DON'T LIST  
THEIR PHONE NUMBER - FORGET THEIR STOCKHOLDINGS...  
BUT I READ SOME BOOKS, CHECKED OUT CORPORATE BOARD OF  
DIRECTORS, PAGED THROUGH LONG GOVERNMENT REPORTS  
AND COMPILED VOLUMES OF  
RESEARCH AND CAME UP WITH  
THE MIGHTY CORPORATIONS  
LISTED ON THE NEXT PAGES...



... THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE THE HEAD OF A HUGE  
INTEREST GROUP... A FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL  
TRUST... CLUSTERED AROUND THEM ARE A GROUP  
OF SUPER RICH ALLIED FAMILIES AND AN ELITE  
CROP OF EXECUTIVES AND TECHNICIANS... TOGETHER  
THEY RULE THESE MONSTROUS CORPORATIONS - EACH  
ONE A NATION IN ITSELF  
RULING OVER ITS OWN  
TERRITORY, A  
POPULATION OF  
EMPLOYEES AND A  
BILLION DOLLAR ESTATE...  
... THESE CORPORATIONS  
BUY AND SELL AND  
FINANCE EACH OTHER  
AND ARE INTRICATELY  
INTERCONNECTED...



... BUT THESE ARE ONLY THE INNER GROUP OF  
ROCKEFELLER CORPORATIONS... THE ROCKEFELLERS  
HAVE CONNECTIONS WITH EVERY MAJOR CORPORATION  
IN AMERICA... AND THEIR INCREDIBLE WEIGHT  
AND POWER CAN BE FELT BY BUSINESSMEN  
EVERYWHERE...







# ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE

Standard Oil Company

...LOOK AT  
ALL THESE HUGE  
BILLION-DOLLAR  
ROCKEFELLER  
CORPORATIONS!  
wow!



**IBM**



**CBS** 

**Mobil**



Atlantic Richfield Company

**BORDEN**



Metropolitan Life

**ALLIED**  
CHEMICAL...



KIMBERLY-CLARK

**AT** 

SEAMEN'S  
BANK

**THE EQUITABLE**

**EPC**  
international

**AMERICAN EXPRESS**  
**EASTERN**



**Edison**

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK



Consolidated  
Natural Gas



THE BANK  
OF NEW YORK

**Chemical  
Bank**



...BANKS CONTROL  
AMERICA AND THE  
ROCKEFELLER'S  
CONTROL THE  
BANKS:

**CHASE  
MANHATTAN  
BANK**

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK IS  
THE ROCKEFELLER'S PERSONAL  
\$37 BILLION DOLLAR BANK.  
ALTHOUGH IT'S ONLY THE  
THIRD LARGEST, IT'S THE  
MOST POWERFUL BANK  
IN THE WORLD...

THE CHEMICAL BANK, THE  
OTHER ROCKEFELLER  
SUPER BANK, IS WORTH  
\$18 BILLION DOLLARS  
AND RANKS NUMBER  
7 AMONG AMERICA'S  
HUGE BANKS...

**CHEMICAL  
BANK  
N.Y. TRUST CO.**

"THE BANK  
HAS DEALINGS  
IN  
EVERYTHING!"



...SAYS  
DAVID  
ROCKEFELLER

...BANKS ARE THE MOST POWERFUL OF  
ALL CORPORATIONS, AND THE ROCKEFELLERS  
HAVE TWO OF THE MOST POWERFUL  
BANKS. THESE TWO BANKS PERMEATE  
THE ENTIRE CORPORATE STRUCTURE  
AND THEY EACH HAVE THEIR OWN  
SPHERE OF CORPORATIONS UNDER  
THEIR WINGS. THROUGH THEIR  
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF CORPORATE  
STOCK, AND THEIR CORPORATE LOANS  
AND FINANCING THE ROCKEFELLERS  
CENTRAIZE CONTROL OVER THEIR  
CORPORATE EMPIRE...

...THE ROCKEFELLERS ALSO CONTROL TWO OTHER  
NEW YORK BANKS:

THE **BANK OF NEW YORK** WORTH \$4 BILLION  
THE **SEAMEN'S BANK** WORTH \$1 BILLION

ALL IN ALL  
THE ROCKEFELLERS  
CONTROL **60%**  
OF NEW YORK'S  
BANKING AND  
**20%** OF  
AMERICA'S

...AND THE ROCKEFELLERS  
ALSO HAVE THE  
LARGEST BANK OF  
ITS KIND...

**AMERICAN  
EXPRESS**  
WORTH \$6 BILLION



## UTILITIES

AMERICAN TELEPHONE  
AND TELEGRAPH IS  
THE LARGEST  
CORPORATION IN THE  
WORLD... IT'S WORTH  
\$67 BILLION  
DOLLARS AND MORE  
THAN 700,000  
PEOPLE WORK FOR IT.  
IT'S ONE OF THE MOST  
COMPLETE MONOPOLIES ANYWHERE...



BUT BEST OF  
ALL - IT'S  
MINE!

...THE ROCKEFELLER'S ALSO CONTROL THE  
NATION'S LARGEST GAS & ELECTRIC UTILITY  
WORTH NEARLY \$6 BILLION DOLLARS

**CON EDISON**

...AND NEW YORK STATE'S OTHER UTILITY  
Consolidated Natural Gas  
WORTH \$1.5 BILLION

## # INSURANCE #

IN THE 1930'S THE ROCKEFELLERS DECIDED IT  
WAS TIME FOR THEM TO GET INTO THE INSURANCE  
BUSINESS - SO THEY BOUGHT TWO INSURANCE  
COMPANIES. THESE TWO ARE THE SECOND  
AND THIRD LARGEST INSURANCE COMPANIES  
IN AMERICA AND TOGETHER THEY DO 25%  
OF ALL LIFE INSURANCE BUSINESS. THESE  
INSURANCE COMPANIES ARE ALSO IMPORTANT TO  
THE ROCKEFELLERS BECAUSE THEY USE ALL THE MONEY  
IN THEM TO FINANCE THEIR INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS

**METROPOLITAN LIFE** \$32 BILLION

**THE EQUITABLE** \$17 BILLION

...AND NOW WE'VE COME TO  
THE HEART AND UFLINE  
OF THE ROCKEFELLER  
EMPIRE...





# THE GREAT OIL DYNASTY

18

...THE OIL INDUSTRY IS, FAR AND AWAY, THE LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRY IN THE WORLD. AND ITS POWER AND INFLUENCE IS EVEN GREATER BECAUSE EVERY FACTORY, EVERY CITY, EVERY COUNTRY, YES NEARLY **EVERYBODY NEEDS OIL**. OIL IS THE PRIMARY COMMODITY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE. IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INGREDIENT IN TECHNOLOGY. THIS COUNTRY'S AND EVERY OTHER COUNTRY'S WEALTH AND LIFESTYLE ARE DETERMINED BY OIL. THE ECONOMY OF EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD RESTS WITH THE OIL INDUSTRY.



THEY CAN'T BUY ME!

... AND THE OIL INDUSTRY IS QUICKLY BUYING UP COAL COMPANIES, URANIUM MINES, NATURAL GAS SUPPLIES, ALL ALL OTHER ENERGY SOURCES, IN HOPES OF **MONOPOLIZING ALL ENERGY!**



COUGH, COUGH, HACK

... AND, OF COURSE **OIL**, AND ITS EXHAUST, IS THE GREATEST AND MOST DANGEROUS OF ALL THE CHEMICALS THAT POLLUTE THE EARTH...

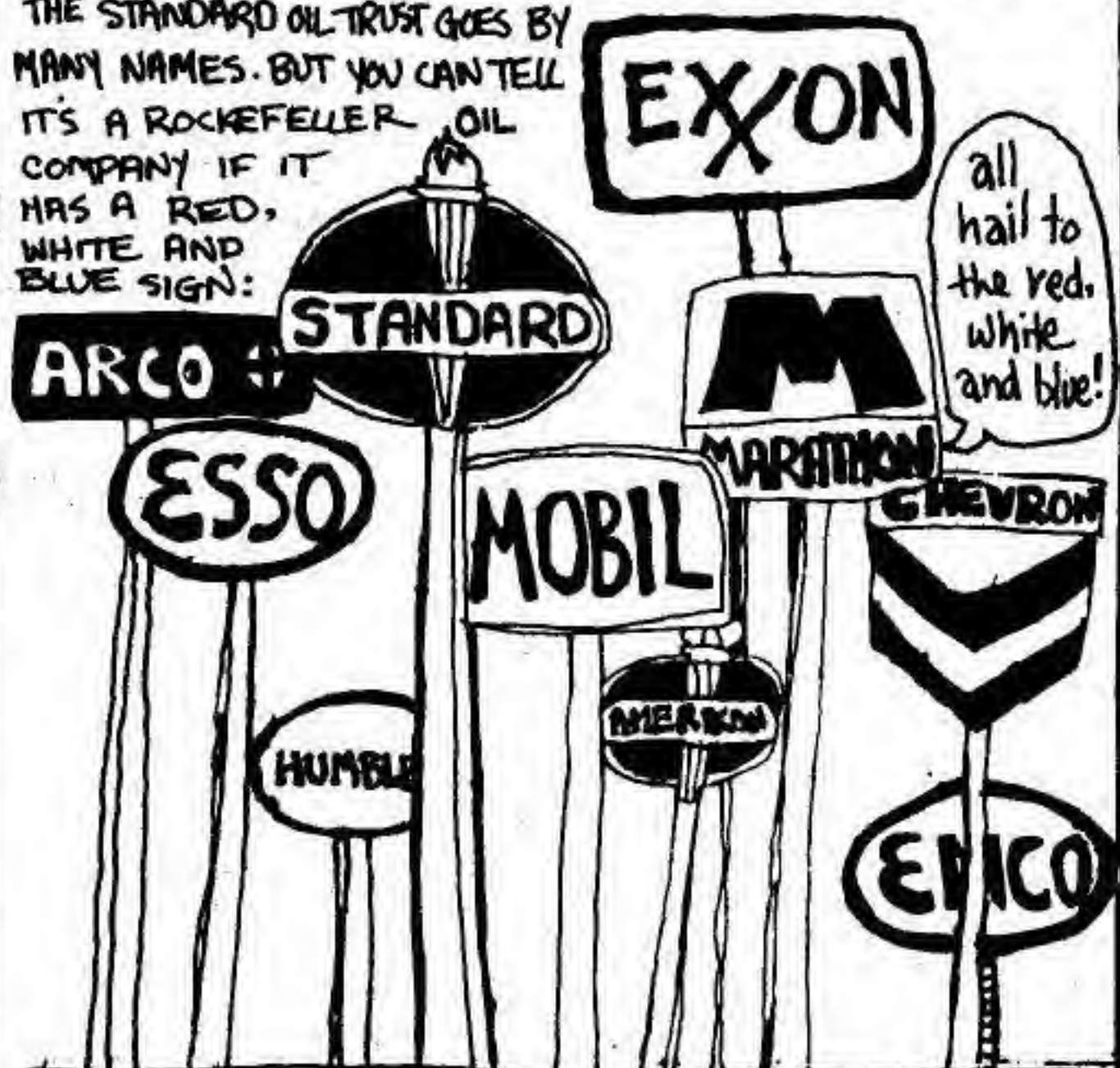


...AND HALF OF THE OIL INDUSTRY IS IN THE HANDS OF THE FAMILY...

**ROCKEFELLER RUNS ON OIL!**



...AND THE REST OF THE WORLD RUNS ON THE ROCKEFELLERS OIL. THE ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE BEGAN THROUGH MONOPOLIZING OIL, AND TODAY THE ROCKEFELLER'S \$59 BILLION DOLLAR STANDARD OIL TRUST STILL RIDES ON TOP. THE STANDARD OIL TRUST IS ALIVE AND SUCKING IN EVERY COUNTRY IN THE "FREE WORLD" AND IT REFINES MORE THAN HALF OF THE OIL SOLD IN THE UNITED STATES. LIKE GALLO WINE AND THE C.I.A. THE STANDARD OIL TRUST GOES BY MANY NAMES. BUT YOU CAN TELL IT'S A ROCKEFELLER OIL COMPANY IF IT HAS A RED, WHITE AND BLUE SIGN:



ALL THESE OIL COMPANIES BELONG TO THE ROCKEFELLERS!



THE OIL AND AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRIES, THE TWO LARGEST INDUSTRIES IN THE WORLD, HAVE WORKED TOGETHER TO AUTOMOBILIZE AMERICA. THE GIANT PAIR PAVED THE WAY FOR THOUSANDS OF MILES OF FREEWAYS AND THEY HELP PLAN URBAN AND SUBURBAN AREAS SO THAT PEOPLE HAVE TO DRIVE MILES TO WORK, SHOP, PLAY OR DO ANYTHING. THEY HAVE WORKED TO DERAIL EFFECTIVE MASS TRANSPORTATION. THEY HAVE MADE ALMOST EVERYBODY DEPENDENT ON DRIVING THEIR OIL BURNING AUTOMOBILES. THE EFFECT IS ANTI-HUMAN AUTOMOBILE CENTERED CITIES AND DANGEROUSLY FOUL AIR...



...WHEN THE COUNTRY IS DEPENDENT ON OIL, AND THE ROCKEFELLERS CONTROL MOST OF THE OIL, WE'RE ALL IN TROUBLE. AND WHEN THE ROCKEFELLERS TEAM UP WITH TEXACO, GULF AND SHELL WHO CONTROL MOST OF THE REST OF THE OIL, THEY'VE GOT US IN A STRANGLE HOLD. WE FOUND THAT OUT DURING THE...

# ENERGY CRISIS

"OIL SUPPLY REMAINS IN POTENTIAL SURPLUS RELATIVE TO MARKET"



... WHILE WE WERE SITTING IN COLD HOMES AND WAITING IN GAS LINES, MORE OIL WAS BEING DRILLED THAN EVER BEFORE, BUT IT WAS WAITING IN STORAGE TANKS BECAUSE THE OIL COMPANIES CUT THE USE OF THEIR REFINERIES TO 85% AND REFUSED TO INCREASE THEIR REFINERY PRODUCTION SPECIFICALLY TO PRODUCE A CRISIS. WHY WOULD THE MASTERS OF THE COUNTRY'S FUEL WANT TO KEEP IT AWAY FROM US?

UNLESS PROFIT LEVELS ARE SUCH THAT THE OIL INDUSTRY IS CONFIDENT ITS INVESTMENTS WILL BEAR FRUIT, THE SUPPLY OF OIL WILL NOT BE FORTHCOMING..."



...THE ENERGY CRISIS DID BEAR FRUIT FOR THE OIL INDUSTRY, BY REFUSING TO SELL OIL TO THEM THE OIL GIANTS DROVE THOUSANDS OF INDEPENDENT GASOLINE DEALERS OUT OF BUSINESS, MAKING GASOLINE DISTRIBUTION MORE OF A MONOPOLY THAN EVER BEFORE, THREATENING NO MORE OIL THEY PRESSURED CONGRESS TO ALLOW HAZARDOUS OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING

AND THE ALASKA PIPELINE WHICH PEOPLE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT HAD FOUGHT LONG AND HARD AGAINST. THEY ALSO SQUEEZED \$10 BILLION DOLLARS IN RESEARCH SUBSIDIES OUT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. BUT THE MAIN EFFECT THAT WE CAN SEE IS THAT THE PRICE OF GASOLINE HAS NEARLY DOUBLED AND THE ROCKEFELLER'S OIL COMPANY'S PROFITS FOR 1973 INCREASED BY MORE THAN 50% IN ONE YEAR AND THE PRICES AND PROFITS ARE STILL GOING UP...



... BUT WHILE PRICES AND PROFITS ARE GOING UP, EVERYTHING ELSE IS FALLING DOWN. PEOPLE ARE BEING LAID OFF, STAPLES AND NECESSITIES ARE BECOMING SCARCE, SURVIVING IS BECOMING HARDER...

... BLINDED BY POWER AND PROFIT, THE ROCKEFELLERS AND THE BUSINESS ELITE ARE DRAGGING ALL OF US INTO A DEPRESSION...

...THE ENERGY CRISIS, INFLATION, HUNGER AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE NOT TEMPORARY PHASES. ... THEY SHOW THAT THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE STARTED TO TIGHTEN THE SCREWS...



## THE OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS UNION SAYS:

"INCREASED OIL PRICES WERE RESPONSIBLE, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY FOR ALMOST HALF OF LAST YEARS INCREASED COST OF LIVING...OIL INDUSTRY PROFITS ARE UP 146% SINCE 1972...OUR REAL WAGES HAVEN'T GONE UP-THEY'VE GONE DOWN...THE OIL INDUSTRY HAS REAPED WINDFALL PROFITS WHILE PURSUING POLICIES THAT CAN ONLY BE CALLED IRRESPONSIBLE AND CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST. WE CAN'T LET THE OIL INDUSTRY GET AWAY WITH BLAMING WORKERS AND CONSUMERS FOR THE NATION'S ILLS. WHEN WE RECOGNIZE WHAT'S REALLY BEHIND OUR ENERGY AND INFLATION PROBLEMS, WE CAN BEGIN TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THEM. BUT IF WE ALLOW THE CORPORATIONS TO CONTINUE PLAYING OFF ONE SEGMENT OF THE PUBLIC AGAINST ANOTHER, WE'LL NEVER GET TO THE REAL ROOT OF THE PROBLEM"



MEANWHILE  
AROUND  
THE  
WORLD:



...FOR YEARS STANDARD OIL AND ITS FRIENDS HAVE BEEN PUMPING BILLIONS OF BARRELS OF OIL OUT OF UNDER-DEVELOPED THIRD WORLD NATIONS, REAPING HUGE PROFITS AND LEAVING LITTLE BUT OIL SPILLS FOR THE PEOPLE OF THOSE NATIONS



AND IN MOST OF THE OIL PRODUCING NATIONS THE MONEY WE GET FOR OUR OIL GOES RIGHT INTO THE POCKETS OF THE SHEIKS, SHAHS, KINGS, GENERALS, OIL TYCOONS AND BUSINESSMEN. EVEN WITH CRUDE OIL PRICES GOING UP WE'RE STILL POOR — THE BENEFACTORS ARE THE RULERS OF OUR COUNTRIES...



ME AND THE BOYS HAVE OUR SQUABBLES... BUT BASICALLY WE'RE IN IT FOR THE SAME REASONS...



... AND THE SHEIKS, SHAHS, KINGS, GENERALS, AND OIL BUSINESSMEN SPEND THEIR OIL MONEY ON BUILDING MIGHTY ARMIES TO PROTECT THE OIL FIELDS. FOR WHOM DO THEY BUY THEIR ARMIES FROM? FROM THE

PENTAGON, OF COURSE.

ALONG WITH U.S. PARAMILITARY CORPORATIONS AND ALL AMERICAN CORPORATIONS THAT BUILD TANKS, PLANES WARSHIPS AND GUNS... THE OIL MONEY FEEDS RIGHT BACK INTO...



# THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL ROCKEFELLER COMPLEX

HOW THE ROCKEFELLERS MAKE BILLIONS, STOP CREEPING COMMUNISM, PROTECT THEIR FOREIGN INTERESTS AND SERVE THEIR COUNTRY ALL AT THE SAME TIME:



...THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE A VERY PATRIOTIC FAMILY... THAT IS WHY, ALTHOUGH THEY USUALLY DON'T FIGHT IN AMERICA'S WARS, WHEN THEIR COUNTRY IS IN NEED AND DUTY CALLS THEY ARE THERE... WITH MISSILES, SUBMARINES, RADAR, BAND AIDS, TIRES, BOMBS AND OTHER EXPENSIVE AND DEADLY ITEMS TO SELL TO THE PENTAGON.... EACH YEAR THE

ROCKEFELLER CORPORATIONS RAKE IN BILLIONS FROM THIS LUCRATIVE FIELD...



...HERE ARE SOME OF THE ROCKEFELLER'S CORPORATIONS THAT RANK AMONG AMERICA'S TOP 100 WAR PROFITEERS:

...JOHN HOPKINS UNIVERSITY...



AEROSPACE CORPORATION



MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY MIT AT&T

Standard Oil Company OF INDIANA



STANDARD OIL OF CALIFORNIA

THIOKOL CHEMICAL

Automation Industries

... IN VIETNAM AS IBM'S ELECTRIC BATTLEFIELD CONSTANTLY SIGNALLED PLANES POWERED BY THIOKOL TO DROP AUTOMATION INDUSTRIES BOMBS AND CHEVRON HERBICIDES. TANKS POWERED BY STANDARD OIL POUNDED AWAY ON THE GROUND AND PAN AM FLEW AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN AND OUT OF THE BESIEGED COUNTRY...

... FAR AWAY FROM THE ROAR OF BOMBS FALLING AND EXPLODING INTO FLAMES YOU COULD HEAR DAVID ROCKEFELLER SAYING:



HE ALSO SAID:

"IT'S A SACRIFICE WE HAVE TO MAKE FOR DEMOCRACY..."

"I EXPECT THAT AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES WILL INVEST OVER THIRTYSEVEN BILLION DOLLARS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA DURING THE 1970's"

BUT HE SPOKE TOO SOON!



HERE ARE SOME MORE OF THE ROCKEFELLER'S  
MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR CORPORATIONS:



**PanAm**

THE IMPERIAL AIRLINES...

\$ 1.6 BILLION

**EASTERN**

"THE WINGS OF MAN"  
AND 5TH LARGEST  
AIRLINE...

\$ 1.4 BILLION...

**CBS**

...THE T.V. NETWORK  
THAT IS REALLY A  
HUGE INDUSTRIAL  
CORPORATION...

\$ 1.5 BILLION...

**AWACONDA**

...THE LARGEST  
COPPER COMPANY...

\$ 1.6 BILLION



**KIMBERLY-CLARK** \$ 1 BILLION

...MAKERS OF KLEENEX AND KOTEX



**IBM**

THE  
COMPUTER  
TRUST

\$ 12 BILLION...

**ALLIED  
CHEMICALS**

THE 6TH LARGEST CHEMICAL CO.  
\$ 1.6 BILLION

**FOOD**



**BORDEN**

**Domino**

AMSTAR SUGAR,  
#1 IN SUGAR,  
\$ 400 MILLION

#1 IN MILK!

\$ 1.4 BILLION

BOTH BORDEN AND  
CPC ARE HUGE  
CHEMICAL COMPANIES  
TOO - WHICH MAY  
SAY SOMETHING  
ABOUT THEIR  
FOOD!

**CPC**

INTERNATIONAL

#1 IN CORN!

ALIAS: MAZOLA, KARO,  
NUCOA, ARGO, SKIPPY  
PEANUTBUTTER AND  
MORE... \$ 1.4 BILLION

AS YOU MAY HAVE  
ALREADY GUESSED, WE  
NOT ONLY HAVE A NEAR  
MONOPOLY IN OIL... WE  
ALSO DOMINATE THESE  
HUGE INDUSTRIES:



**BANKING,  
COMPUTERS,  
INSURANCE AND  
TELEPHONES!**



ONLY IF THEY  
CONTROL...

ONE  
FAMILY  
CAN'T  
HAVE  
MONOPOLIES  
IN  
ALL  
THESE  
INDUSTRIES?  
CAN THEY?

**280  
BILLION**

... WORTH  
OF  
CORPORATIONS

\$ 280  
BILLION  
DOLLARS!  
LET'S  
SEE...  
THAT  
MEANS...

...THE  
ROCKEFELLERS  
CONTROL  
**20%**  
OF  
ALL U.S.  
INDUSTRY!

... AND  
THEY CONTROL  
**20%**  
OF ALL  
U.S.  
BANKING!

AND  
NEARLY  
**FOUR**  
MILLION  
PEOPLE  
WORK UNDER  
THE  
ROCKEFELLER  
FAMILY!

... BUT WE  
CONTROL ALOT MORE  
THAN  
CORPORATIONS...



**JUST TO MAKE  
SURE AMERICA  
IS GOING IN THE  
"RIGHT & PROPER"  
DIRECTION  
THEY CONTROL  
"THE HALLMARKS  
OF SOCIETY"**



# CHURCHES UNIVERSITIES



THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE NOT RELIGIOUSLY BIASED:



- ...THE ROCKEFELLERS HELP FINANCE (AND THEIR FRIENDS RUN):
- UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
- RIVERSIDE CHURCH
- INTER-CHURCH CENTER (WHICH HOUSES THE BOARDS OF MANY OF THE IMPORTANT PROTESTANT CHURCHES)
- ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL
- JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
- CORPUS CHRISTI CHURCH
- ST. LUKE'S CHURCH
- ... in New York...



... IT'S NOT THAT THEY ARE ESPECIALLY INTELLECTUALLY INCLINED (ALTHOUGH ALL THE ROCKEFELLERS WENT TO VERY ELITE SCHOOLS) BUT THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE VERY INTERESTED IN UNIVERSITIES... WHERE ELSE WOULD THEY GET PEOPLE LIKE HENRY KISSINGER, RALPH BUNCHE, WALT ROSTOW AND GRAYSON KIRK? WHO ELSE WOULD DESIGN THEIR ATOM BOMBS AND TRAIN THEIR TECHNICIANS?

THE ROCKEFELLERS AND THE FORDS PAY FOR UNIVERSITY RESEARCH (AND DECIDE WHAT IS RESEARCHED)... ROCKEFELLER MONEY BUILT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND THEY FINANCE MOST OF THE IVY LEAGUE UNIVERSITIES... THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE THE MAIN CONTRIBUTORS TO THE UNIVERSITIES BELOW AND THEREFORE THE ROCKEFELLERS

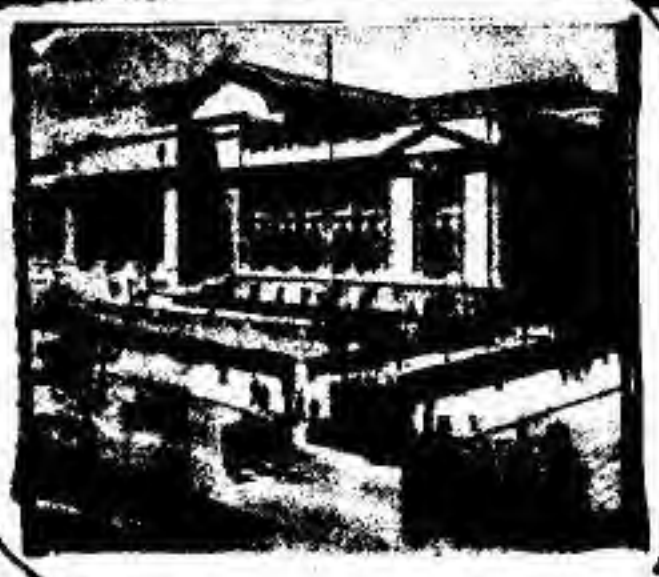
HERE ARE A FEW OF THE UNIVERSITIES THE ROCKEFELLERS HELP FINANCE



AND THEIR FRIENDS FORM THE BOARDS OF TRUSTEES WHICH RUN THESE UNIVERSITIES...



## "CULTURAL CENTERS"



... AND, OF COURSE, THE ROCKEFELLERS LIKE TO STAY CULTURED... THEY BUILT (OR HELPED BUILD) N.Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY, RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL, THE WHITNEY MUSEUM, THE KENNEDY CENTER, THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, LINCOLN CENTER, THE METROPOLITAN OPERA, THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM ETC... AND THEY HAVE ONE OF THE LARGEST PRIVATE ART COLLECTIONS ANYWHERE...



... AND JUST FOR GOOD MEASURE THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE HEAVIES IN THE YMCA, THE YWCA, THE BOY'S CLUB, THE 4-H CLUB, THE BOY SCOUTS AND THE GIRL SCOUTS...

WE MUST RAISE OUR YOUTH IN THE PROPER WAY!

(NOT TO MENTION U.S.O., THE AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY, AND MANY NEW YORK HOSPITALS...)





# WHO OWNS NEW YORK



... AND HAVE YOU EVER WONDERED ...

YOU GUESSED IT!

THE ROCKEFELLERS DON'T GO HALFWAY IN NEW YORK: THEY INFLUENCE ITS' BANKS, ITS' MUSEUMS, ITS' LIBRARIES, ITS' CHURCHES, ITS' ZOO, ITS' UNIVERSITIES, ITS' STORES, ITS' BRIDGES, ITS' BUSES ITS' SUBWAYS, ITS' TUNNELS, ITS' LOBBIES, ITS' PORT, ITS' CLUBS, ITS' "CULTURAL CENTERS", ITS' UTILITIES, ITS' AIRPORTS...  
...THEY'VE EVEN GOT AN INTEREST IN NEW YORK'S BASEBALL TEAMS-- THE YANKEES AND THE METS AND THEY ALSO OWN ROCKEFELLER CENTER. (A COLLECTION OF 23 SKYSCRAPERS IN MID-MANHATTAN) THE WORLD'S MOST VALUABLE PRIVATE REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT...

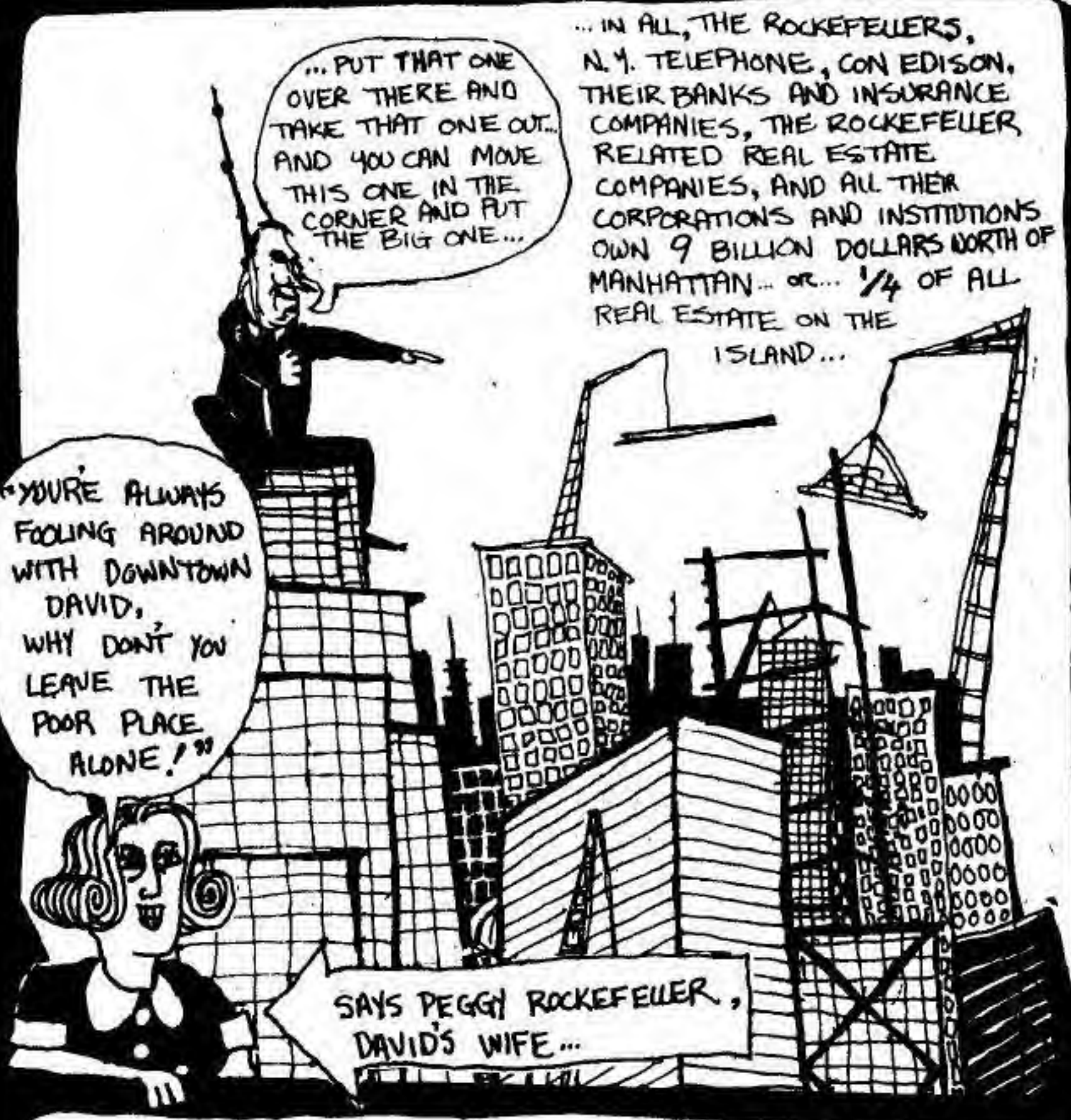
WELL IT'S THEIR HOME AFTERALL!



24

... BUT THAT'S ONLY THE START OF THE ROCKEFELLERS' VAST REAL ESTATE

EMPIRE IN NEW YORK CITY... DAVID BUILT THE LARGEST BANK BUILDING IN THE WORLD TO HOUSE CHASE MANHATTAN AND THE PAN AM BUILDING USED TO BE THE LARGEST OFFICE BUILDING IN THE WORLD... THAT WAS UNTIL DAVID ROCKEFELLER AND HIS DOWNTOWN LOWER MANHATTAN ASSOCIATION PLANNED THE WORLD TRADE CENTER... DAVID PUT HIS PLANS INTO ACTION BY HAVING THE ROCKEFELLER RELATED PORT OF NEW YORK AUTHORITY (WHICH OWNS ALL OF NEW YORK'S BRIDGES, SUBWAYS AND AIRPORTS ETC.) BUILD HIS MONUMENT TO U.S. IMPERIALISM... AND NOW NEW YORK IS BLESSED WITH THE TWO TALLEST, UGliest SKYSCRAPERS IN THE WORLD... NOT FAR BEHIND, URIS BUILDING CORPORATION WHICH THE ROCKEFELLERS BUILT INTO THE LARGEST CONSTRUCTION COMPANY IN NEW YORK JUST COMPLETED THE WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST SKYSKAPER (OUT DISTANCING PAN AM) AND IT OWNS OVER 30 HUGE SKYSCRAPERS IN NEW YORK CITY... AND NOW WE HAVE COME TO THE ROCKEFELLERS' FAMED COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY WHICH OWNS MORE THAN 1/2 BILLION \$ OF REAL ESTATE AND IS GOBBLING UP MORE EVERY DAY... IT OWNS THE LAND UNDER ROCKEFELLER CENTER, THE WORLD TRADE CENTER AND THE SPERRY RAND AND CITIBANK BUILDINGS THAT URIS BUILT, AND IS MOVING INTO HARLEM-- HEADING THE ERASE HARLEM MOVEMENT IS DAVID ROCKEFELLER WHO IS REPLACING SWUMS WITH MIDDLE CLASS APARTMENT COMPLEXES AND MOVING THE BLACKS OUT OF THE ROCKEFELLER OWNED, CULTURALLY RICH "MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS"



... PUT THAT ONE OVER THERE AND TAKE THAT ONE OUT... AND YOU CAN MOVE THIS ONE IN THE CORNER AND PUT THE BIG ONE...

... IN ALL, THE ROCKEFELLERS, N.Y. TELEPHONE, CON EDISON, THEIR BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES, THE ROCKEFELLER RELATED REAL ESTATE COMPANIES, AND ALL THEIR CORPORATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS OWN 9 BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF MANHATTAN... OR... 1/4 OF ALL REAL ESTATE ON THE ISLAND...

"YOU'RE ALWAYS FOOLING AROUND WITH DOWNTOWN DAVID, WHY DON'T YOU LEAVE THE POOR PLACE ALONE!"



SAYS PEGGY ROCKEFELLER, DAVID'S WIFE...

... AND ON AND ON THEY GO... TO SAN FRANCISCO, WASHINGTON, CHICAGO, BOSTON...

.. AND PROBABLY YOUR HOME TOWN!

EMBARKADO PLAZA!



SAN FRANCISCO CHICAGO BOSTON WASHINGTON



...RIGHT NOW THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE STARTING TO BUILD COMPANY TOWNS AGAIN... IN THE 1950's JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER BUILT ROWS OF APARTMENT COMPLEXES FOR STANDARD OIL WORKERS IN NEW JERSEY... THEN STANDARD OIL STARTED BUILDING SHOPPING CENTERS AND OFFICE COMPLEXES... NOW IT'S STARTING TO EXPLORE BUILDING WHOLE NEW CITIES... WHEN IT'S FINISHED 700,000 PEOPLE WILL LIVE IN MOBIL OIL'S "MEI FOO NEW VILLAGE" NEXT TO ITS REFINERY IN HONG KONG... AND STANDARD OIL IS STARTING TO BUILD NEW CITIES OUTSIDE OF HOUSTON AND LOS ANGELES... DAVID ROCKEFELLER PLANS TO FILL 2,000 ACRES OF BAY SOUTH OF SAN FRANCISCO TO BUILD THOUSANDS OF NEW TICKY TACKIES. HE JUST FINISHED BUILDING COLUMBIA MARYLAND (POPULATION 100,000) A MODEL CITY. FOR MORE TO COME. THEY BUILD A FACTORY, A SHOPPING CENTER, SOME SCHOOLS, A POLICE STATION AND ROWS AND ROWS OF TICKY TACKY HOUSES AND THEY'VE GOT **STANDARD OIL CITY!** FREEWAYS, INDUSTRIAL TRACTS, COMPANY TOWNS AND SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENTS ARE THE ROCKEFELLERS NEW WAY FOR AMERICA...



...NOTHIN'S TOO GOOD FOR MY WORKERS!



LOOKS LIKE A HUGE LUDLOW TO ME!

## THE MEDIA

YOU HAVE SPLIT-ENDS



...BUT IS ALL THIS ENOUGH FOR THE ROCKEFELLERS?

NO!

...THEY WANT TO CONTROL WHAT YOU HEAR, WHAT YOU SEE AND WHAT YOU READ... THE WANT TO CONTROL YOUR MIND!



"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

I'M A FIRM BELIEVER IN FREEDOM OF THE PRESS!



SURE YOU ARE, AS LONG AS YOU OWN IT!



THE ROCKEFELLERS AND THEIR FRIENDS CONTROL CBS, RCA OWNS NBC, AND ABC IS CONTROLLED BY SOME OTHER RICH NEW YORK FAMILIES...

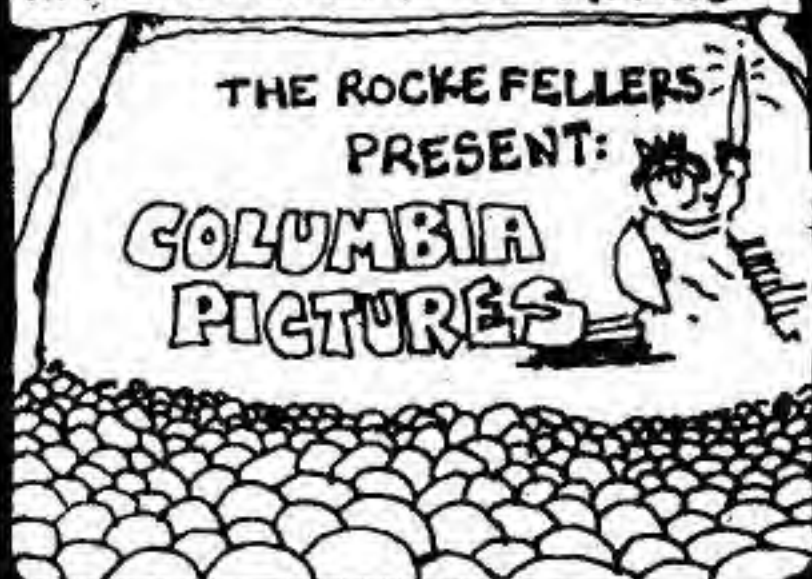
THIS IS YOUR CBS RADIO NETWORK STATION

...THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE ALOT OF MAGAZINES, PUBLISHING AND RECORDING COMPANIES TOO!

...THE LIST OF ROCKEFELLER INFLUENCED NEWSPAPERS STARTS WITH THE "NEW YORK TIMES" AND CIRCLES THE COUNTRY... OF COURSE THE ROCKEFELLERS DON'T CONTROL ALL OF THE NEWSPAPERS... THE HEARSTS, THE KNIGHTS AND THE COWLES HAVE SOME TOO...

...MEANWHILE AT THE MOVIES...

THE ROCKEFELLERS PRESENT: COLUMBIA PICTURES



"...AND THAT'S THE WAY IT IS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19th 1974..."





... IN 1969 NELSON ROCKEFELLER WENT ON AN  
OFFICIAL "FACT FINDING" TOUR OF LATIN AMERICA...  
THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED:



- CUBA
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: OIL REFINERY BLOWN UP...
- HONDURAS: RIOTING, 1 PERSON KILLED...
- COSTA RICA: LARGE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS...
- VENEZUELA: VISIT CANCELLED BY GOVERNMENT, STREET FIGHTING WITH ROCKS AND PISTOLS...
- PANAMA: NATIONAL GUARD CALLED TO STOP DEMONSTRATIONS...
- COLOMBIA: 20,000 MAN SPECIAL SECURITY FORCE CALLED TO STOP HEAVY RIOTING...
- ECUADOR: 10 PEOPLE KILLED BY POLICE, ROCKY'S CAR ALMOST OVERTURNED...
- BOLIVIA: ROCKY'S VISIT CUT TO THREE HOURS IN THE AIRPORT BECAUSE OF RIOTING...
- CHILE: VISIT CANCELLED BY GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS...
- BRAZIL: THOUSANDS OF "POTENTIAL DEMSTRATORS" JAILED... PEACEFUL VISIT...
- PARAGUAY: DEMONSTRATIONS DESPITE ATTEMPTS TO ELIMINATE THEM BEFORE ROCKY'S VISIT...
- URUGUAY: G.M. PLANT BURNED TO THE GROUND...
- ARGENTINA: NINE ROCKEFELLER OWNED SUPERMARKETS BOMBED OR BURNED... NATION WIDE GENERAL STRIKE... 1 DEMONSTRATOR KILLED...



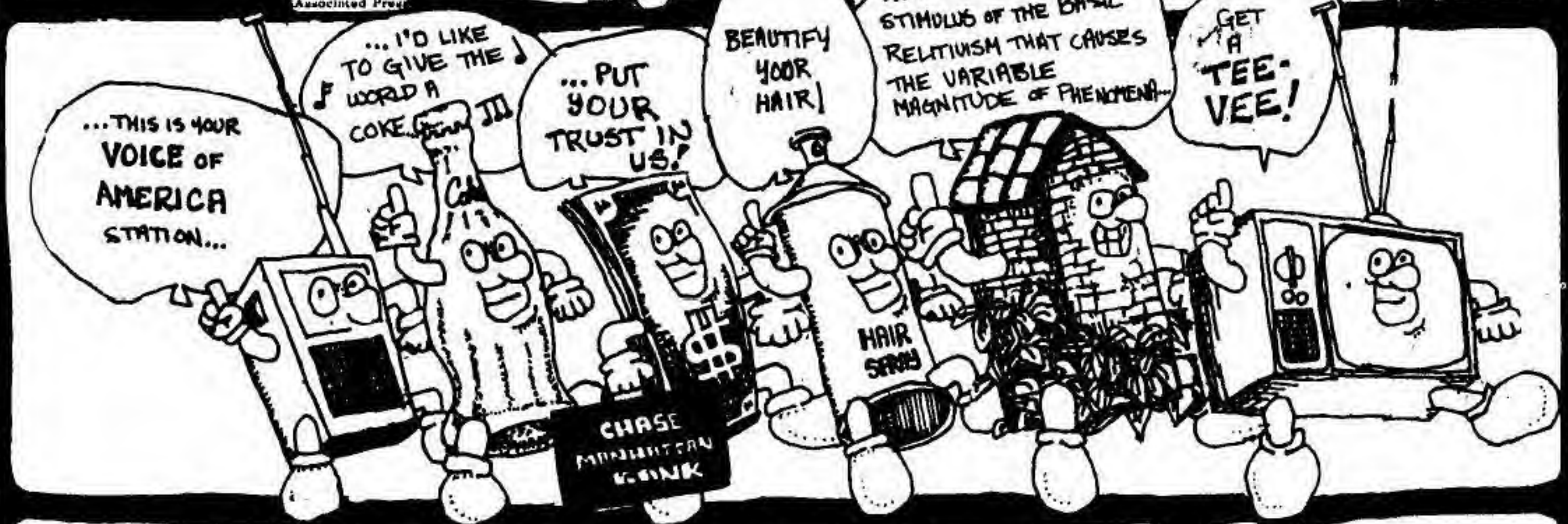


"NO COUNTRY CAN PROTECT ITS INTERNAL SECURITY ALL BY ITSELF"\*

AND WE'LL BE GLAD TO PROTECT IT FOR THEM!

\* ONE OF THE MANY FACTS IT'S AMAZING - THE KIND OF FACTS HE FINDS... FOUND...

... BUT ROCKY'S NOT DISCOURAGED ...  
... HE'S BUSY BUILDING MORE AMERICAN-STYLE HOTELS, SUPERMARKETS AND UNIVERSITIES ALL OVER THE WORLD... AND HE'S MAKING SURE EVERY TOWN HAS ITS OWN CHASE MANHATTAN BANK BRANCH... HE BACKS LATIN AMERICA'S BIGGEST MAGAZINES "VISION" AND THE "ESSO TIMES" ALONG WITH POST TOASTIES, HAIRSPRAY AND THE "CREOLE CULTURE" ...  
... ROCKY HAS A DREAM... HE WANTS TO MAKE THE WHOLE WORLD A SUBURB OF NEW YORK...



... THIS IS YOUR VOICE OF AMERICA STATION...

... I'D LIKE TO GIVE THE WORLD A COKE...

... PUT YOUR TRUST IN US!

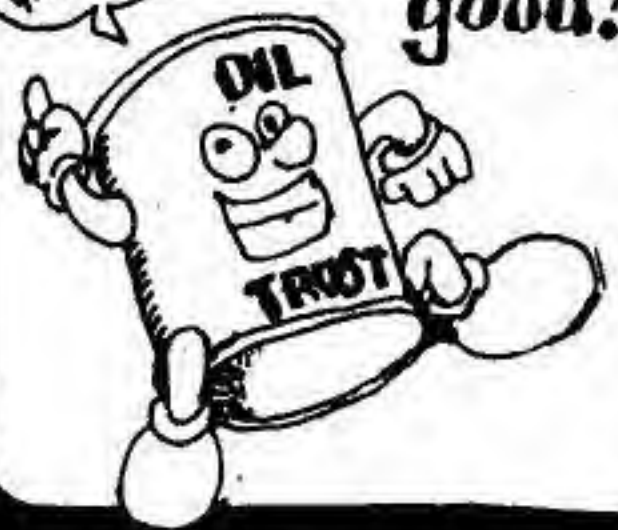
BEAUTIFY YOUR HAIR!

... THE SIGNIFICANT STIMULUS OF THE BASIC RELATIVISM THAT CAUSES THE VARIABLE MAGNITUDE OF PHENOMENA...

GET A TEE-VEE!

... and all the fine ROCKEFELLER corporations have gone out into the rest of the world to pick while the pickin's good!

THE GRASS IS ALWAYS GREENER...



... THE STANDARD OIL TRUST IS THE LARGEST IN AMERICA... BUT IT'S ALSO THE LARGEST CORPORATION IN IRAN, VENEZUALA, ARABIA, INDONESIA AND COLOMBIA AND IT OPERATES IN EVERY COUNTRY IN THE "FREE WORLD"...



... AND THE ROCKEFELLER'S BANKS GET AROUND TOO!

... MEANWHILE ANACONDA COPPER AND ARMO STEEL ARE A' DIGGING, PAN AM FLIES WHERE OTHERS DON'T, IBM AND BORDEN HAVE PLANTS AROUND THE WORLD AND CPC ISN'T CALLED INTERNATIONAL FOR NOTHING...

... ALL IN ALL THE ROCKEFELLERS CONTROL MORE THAN 1/2 OF U.S. PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA, WHERE LABOR IS CHEAP, RESOURCES PLENTIFUL, AND PROFITS HIGHER THAN ANYWHERE...

... THE ROCKEFELLERS LIKE TO CALL THEIR GIANT CORPORATIONS THAT DOMINATE THE WORLD "MULTINATIONAL" OTHERS HAVE DIFFERENT WORDS FOR THEM:

IMPERIALISMO!





--THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE PLANTATIONS EVERYWHERE... A SHEEP AND CATTLE RANCH IN AUSTRALIA, RICE AND COFFEE PLANTATIONS IN VENEZUELA, HALF A DOZEN PLANTATION RESORTS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND HAWAII, A HUGE COFFEE PLANTATION IN ECUADOR, RICE, CORN, CATTLE, COFFEE AND HOG PLANTATIONS IN BRAZIL, COCONUT PLANTATIONS IN THAILAND, A HUGE RANCH IN VENEZUELA, POULTRY OPERATIONS AROUND THE WORLD, A COFFEE PLANTATION IN EL SALVADOR, A SUGAR PLANTATION IN PERU, A HUGE CATTLE RANCH IN ARKANSAS AND MANY OTHERS... MOST FARMERS LEARN TO RESPECT THE LAND THEY TILL... NOT THE ROCKEFELLERS. THEIR COFFEE PLANTATIONS GO MARCHING THROUGH THE SOUTH AMERICAN JUNGLES DESTROYING EVERYTHING IN THEIR PATH... THEY LEAVE BEHIND HUNDREDS OF ACRES OF BARREN LAND THAT MAY NEVER RECOVER... RUINED BY EXTREME OVERUSE AND TONS OF "PETROFERTILIZERS" AND INSECTICIDES (MADE BY STANDARD OIL)... BUT THEY DON'T CARE -- THE LAND IS CHEAP AND THE COFFEE PROFITABLE...





"STANDARD OIL STOCK PRICES REFLECT POLITICAL CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD..."

...SAYS MOODY'S INVESTMENT MANUAL...

...HOW BET YOUR SWEET BUCK WE'RE INTERESTED IN POLITICAL CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!



...TO RULE MORE EFFICIENTLY THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE DIVIDED THE WORLD AMONG THEMSELVES... NELSON IS AN EXPERT ON LATIN AMERICA (AND SPEAKS FLUENT SPANISH)... JOHN TAKES CARE OF THE FAR EAST... LAURANCE WATCHES OVER AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AND DAVID PRESIDES OVER THE WHOLE EMPIRE...

... AND NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND GANG BUILT THE UNITED NATIONS TOO... PART OF THE ORIGINAL PLAN WAS TO HOUSE THE U.N. CLOSE TO HOME — AT THE ROCKEFELLER'S POCAHONTIC ESTATE... WHEN THAT DIDN'T WORK OUT THE ROCKEFELLERS PERSONALLY BOUGHT SOME LAND IN DOWNTOWN MANHATTAN AND HAD THEIR PERSONAL ARCHITECT DESIGN THE SLEEK NEW UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS... AND NELSON ROCKEFELLER, RALPH BUNCHE, JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND FRIENDS LED THE FIRST U.S. DELEGATION...

...I'D LIKE TO TEACH THE WORLD TO SING IN PERFECT HARMONY...



...AND IN PERFECT ENGLISH, OF COURSE!

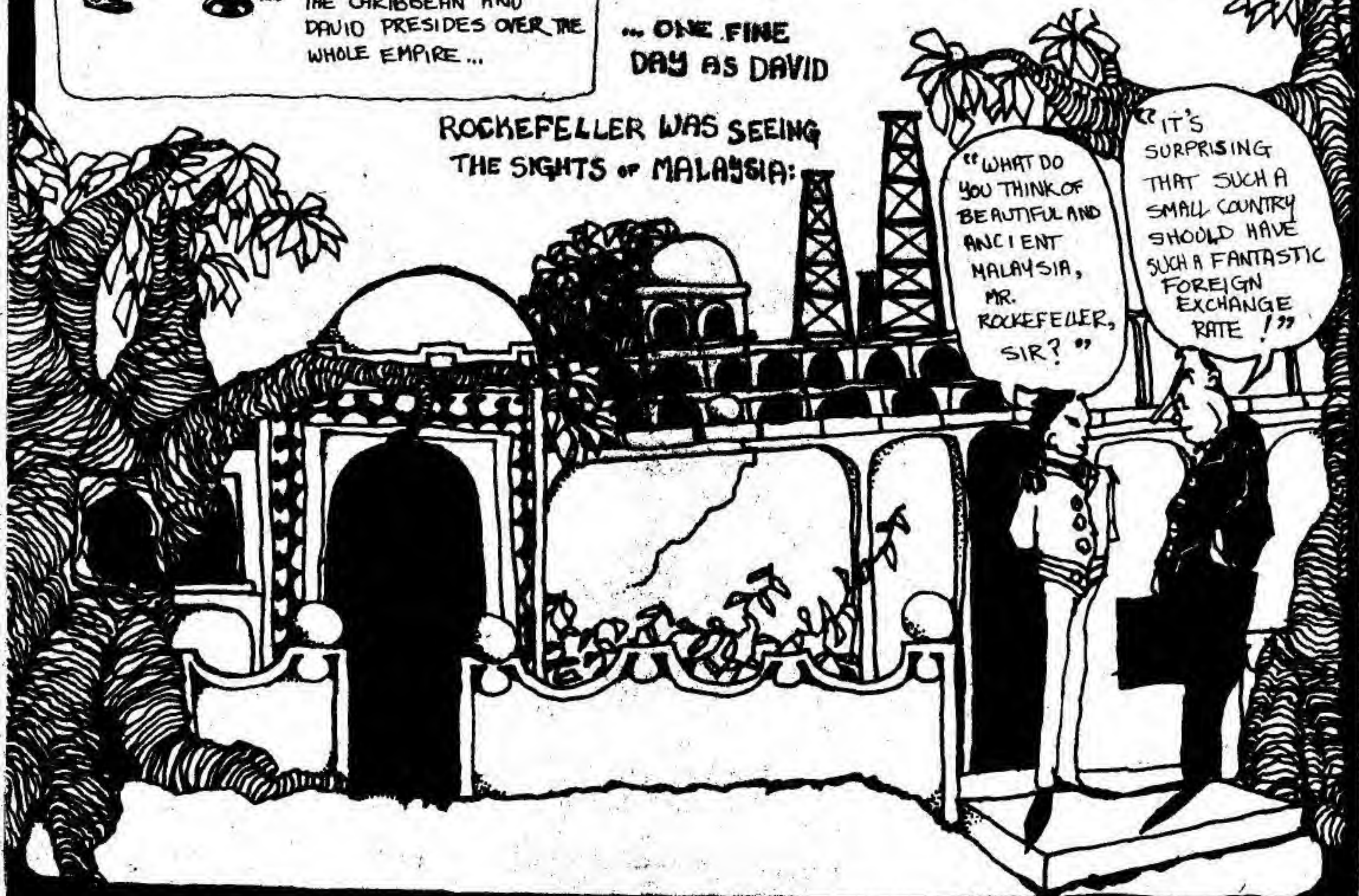


... ONE FINE DAY AS DAVID

ROCKEFELLER WAS SEEING THE SIGHTS OF MALAYSIA:

"WHAT DO YOU THINK OF BEAUTIFUL AND ANCIENT MALAYSIA, MR. ROCKEFELLER, SIR?"

"IT'S SURPRISING THAT SUCH A SMALL COUNTRY SHOULD HAVE SUCH A FANTASTIC FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATE!"



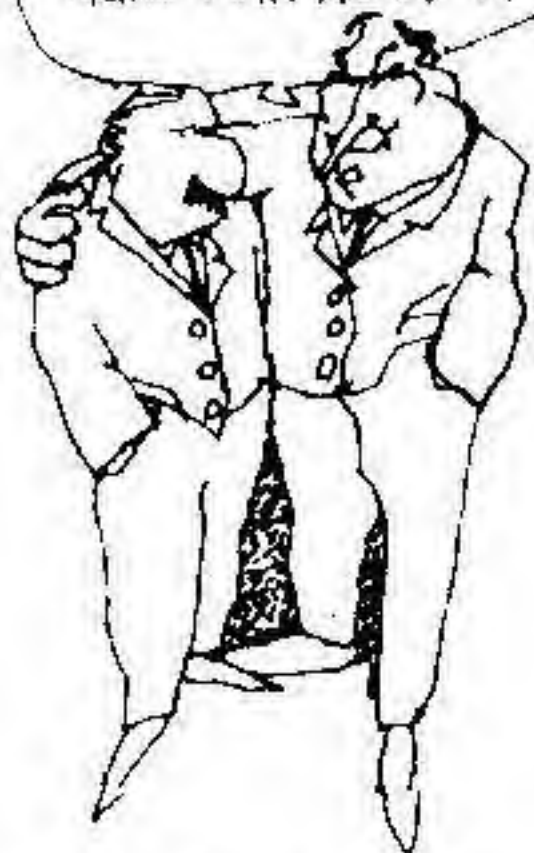




... THE ROCKEFELLERS LIKE TO HELP THEIR FRIENDS... THEY HAVE SET UP DOZENS OF AGENCIES (MOST OF THEM FINANCED BY GENEROUS TAXPAYERS) TO AID FRIENDLY FOREIGN COUNTRIES...

THIS AID CONSISTS MOSTLY OF BUILDING ROADS TO BANANA PLANTATIONS, FINANCING DIAMOND MINES AND THE LIKE... WHAT'S LEFT SIFTS THROUGH THE HANDS OF THE FOREIGN COUNTRIES RULING ELITE - SILKEN CRUMBS TO KEEP THEM CONTENT... BETTER KNOWN AS "FOOD FOR PEACE"

... WHEN WE HELP OUR FRIENDS... OUR FRIENDS HELP US... RIGHT EMPEROR?



... THE PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD DON'T GIVE THE ROCKEFELLERS A VERY WARM WELCOME... BUT THEY ARE HONORED GUESTS IN IMPERIAL PALACES EVERYWHERE THEY'RE CONTINUALLY TOURING THEIR EMPIRE THEY ARE SURE TO VISIT THE LOCAL PRESIDENT OR KING TO TALK OVER THEIR PROBLEMS... AND WHENEVER FOREIGN RULERS COME TO AMERICA THEY MAKE SURE TO VISIT A ROCKEFELLER...

... A JEALOUS NEW YORK BANKER SAYS:

"DAVID ALWAYS GOT SOME DAMN EMPEROR OR SHAM OVER THERE!"

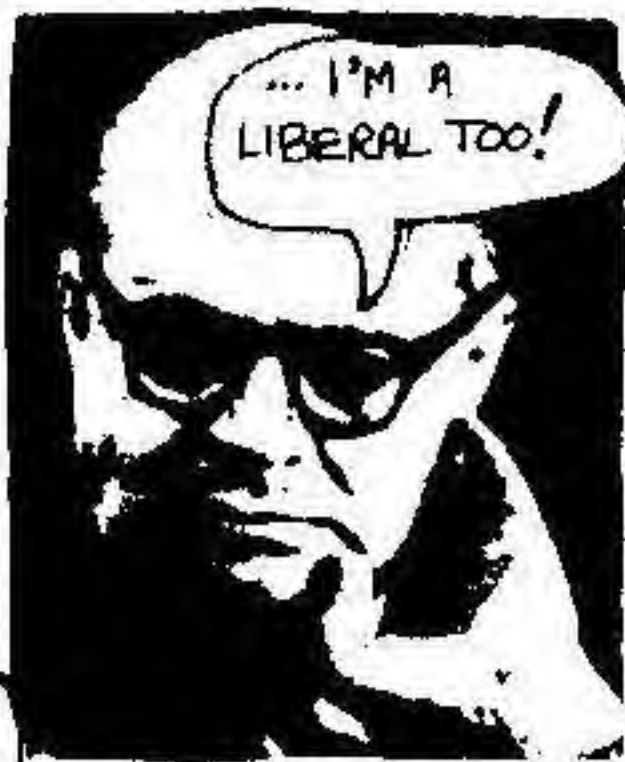


THIS WEEK'S LACKEYS ARE:

**THE LLERAS COUSINS!**



ALBERTO LLERAS CAMARGO



CARLOS LLERAS RESTREPO

... A MEMBER OF ONE OF LATIN AMERICA'S OLDEST, RICHEST AND MOST PRESTIGIOUS FAMILIES, ALBERTO LLERAS MARRIED THE DAUGHTER OF A FORMER CHILEAN PRESIDENT & SETTLED DOWN TO BECOME EDITOR OF THE LARGEST NEWSPAPERS IN CHILE, ARGENTINA & COLOMBIA... THEN HE TWICE BECAME PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA... WELL KNOWN FOR HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH STANDARD OIL AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT ALBERTO IS NOW A TRUSTEE OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND HEAD OF VISION MAGAZINE (THE TIME OF LATIN AMERICA)...

... IN 1966 ALBERTO'S COUSIN, CARLOS LLERAS, BECAME PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA... A LIBERAL TECHNICRAT, CARLOS IS NO STRANGER TO ROCKEFELLER IDEALS EITHER... SETTING A NEW TRADITION CARLOS MOVED RIGHT OVER FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF CELENSE CORPORATION'S COLOMBIAN SUBSIDIARY TO THE PRESIDENCY OF COLOMBIA (LLERAS'S SUCCESSOR AS PRESIDENT WAS ALSO PRESIDENT OF CELENSE COLOMBIA)... CARLOS LOOKED VERY GOOD TO DAVID ROCKEFELLER, WHO SAID, AFTER PRaising HIS FRIENDLY "DEMOCRATIC" REGIME, "WHEN I GET BACK TO THE U.S. I WILL TELL THE FINANCIAL SECTOR OF COLOMBIA'S GREAT PROGRESS & STABILITY"...

THIS WEEK'S LACKEY AWARD GOES TO THE FANTASTIC LLERAS COUSINS FOR THEIR DEDICATED WORK ON THE NEW TRANS-OCEANIC CANAL... THE CANAL, DAVID ROCKEFELLER'S NEWEST PROJECT FOR COLOMBIA, WILL OPEN UP VAST OIL AND MINERAL RESERVES TO IMPATIENT AMERICAN CORPORATIONS... THE LLERAS COUSINS COULD NOT BE REACHED TO ACCEPT THE LACKEY AWARD BUT A REPRESENTATIVE IN BERKELEY ACCEPTED IT WITH "GREAT HONOR"...





... YEAH, WE'VE GOT ALOT OF FRIENDS... BUT THEN EVERYONCE IN A WHILE WE GET THESE UPPITY GOVERNMENTS... VERY UNCO-OPERATIVE... THEY START TAKING THEIR LAND, AND THEIR OIL AWAY FROM US... AND-GULP- THEY START TALKING ABOUT KICKING US OUT! SHIVER...



... WE TRY TO CONVINCE THEM TO LISTEN TO REASON...



...BUT THERE ARE HARD-CORE INCORRIGIBLES...

... AND IF ALL ELSE FAILS... WELL...

... YOU MEAN INCORRUPTIBLES!



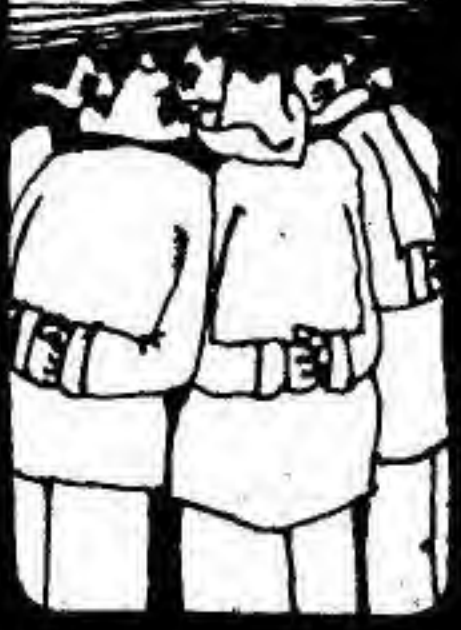
WHAT'S THE C.I.A. FOR ANYWAY!



...WHAT THE C.I.A. IS FOR ANYWAY:

...THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IS THE MOST SECRET AND THE MOST POWERFUL PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT... IT HAS OVER 200,000 EMPLOYEES AND SPENDS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR... WHAT DOES IT DO?

...THE CIA MAKES PLOTS...



...BUGS OFFICES...



...FINDS OUT ABOUT RUSSIAN MISSILES...

...IMPORTS HEROIN...



...FINANCES RESEARCH...



...WATCHES PEOPLE...



...AND ASSASSINATES PEOPLE...



...BUT ITS MOST IMPORTANT JOB IS TO CLEAN UP UN-FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS...





# ... HERE ARE A FEW MAJOR OPERATIONS:

## IRAN 1953

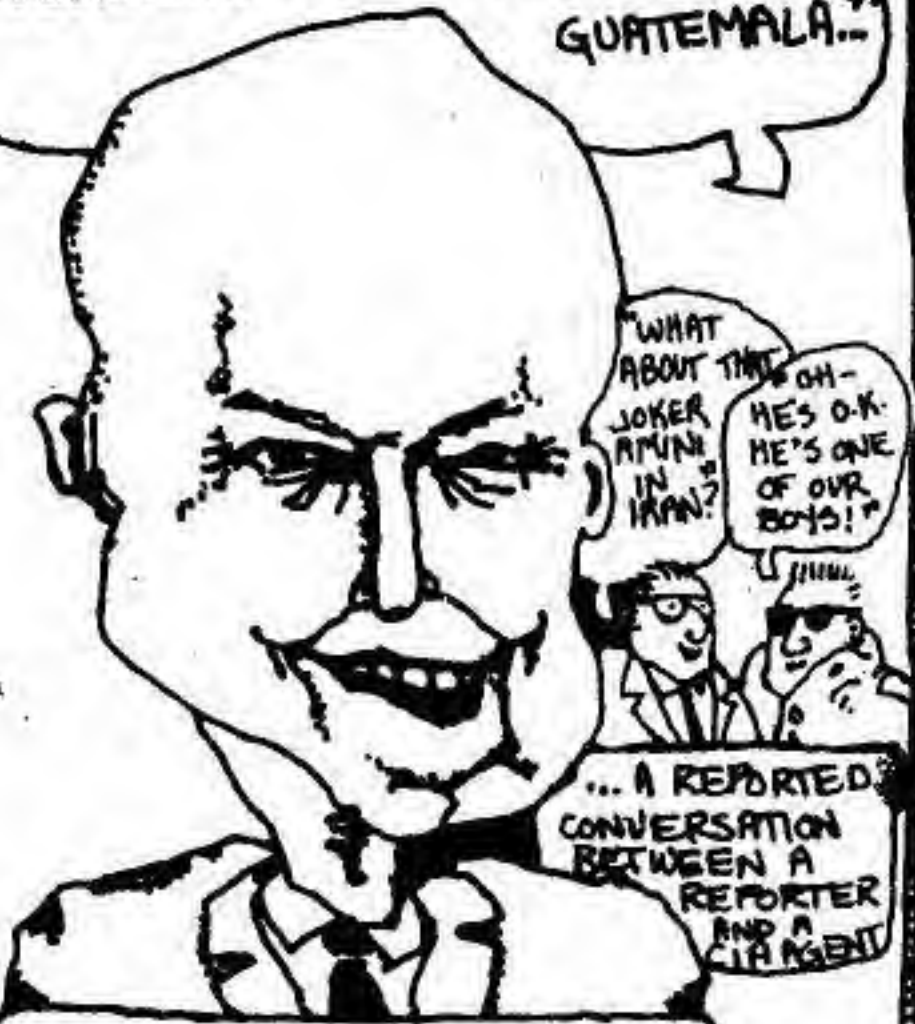
... IT WAS A REAL JAMES BOND OPERATION...



QUOTE FROM A CIA AGENT AFTER THE COUP IN IRAN...

TEDDY ROOSEVELT'S GRANDSON (WHO LATER BECAME A TOP EXECUTIVE ON GULF OIL) LED THIS CIA-RUN COUP WHICH TOOK CARE OF PREMIER MOHAMMED MOSSADEGH, AFTER STANDARD OIL BECAME WORRIED WHEN HE BEGAN NATIONALIZING OIL COMPANIES... THEY REPLACED HIM WITH A FORMER NAZI AND IRAN HAS BEEN FASCIST EVER SINCE... AND RIGHT AFTER THE COUP STANDARD OIL AND FRIENDS WERE GIVEN IRAN'S VAST OIL RESERVES...

"WE'VE DONE SOME GOOD THINGS... IN THE ECONOMY AND OVERSEAS TOO - IRAN AND GUATEMALA..."



... A QUOTE FROM ME EISENHOWER...

WHAT ABOUT THAT JOKER ABOUT IRAN? OH - HE'S O.K. HE'S ONE OF OUR BOYS!

... A REPORTED CONVERSATION BETWEEN A REPORTER AND A CIA AGENT

... WHICH BRINGS US TO:

## GUATEMALA 1954

... A NATIONALIST PRESIDENT WAS THREATENING STANDARD OIL AND UNITED FRUIT! UNLIKE MOST YANQUIS THEY WENT HOME... BUT THEY DIDN'T GIVE UP... SOON ALLEN DULLES, A STANDARD OIL LAWYER, AND THE C.I.A. WERE BACK AND THEY GOT RID OF THE PINKO AND REPLACED HIM WITH A FASCIST GENERAL AND EVEN THREW IN SOME NEW OIL LAWS FOR GUATEMALA IN THE BARGAIN... AND NOW STANDARD OIL AND THE BIG BANANA ARE BACK AND EVERYONE IS HAPPY - EXCEPT THE GUATEMALANS...

... THERE WAS A TIME WHEN WE HAD A VERY DESPERATE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND WE HAD TO GET RID OF A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT"

... ANOTHER QUOTE FROM IKE...



... AND GUATEMALA WAS ONLY TOO HAPPY TO LET THE C.I.A. TRAMP IN THAT COUNTRY FOR THE ...

## BAY OF PIGS INVASION 1961

... AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT BY THE C.I.A. TO RECAPTURE CUBA ...

... AT THAT MOMENT... IN AFRICA:

## the CONGO 1961

... IN 1960 NELSON ROCKEFELLER SUGGESTED HAVING ANOTHER KOREAN TYPE WAR TO "FREE" THE CONGO FROM COMMUNIST CLUTCHES... WHY WAS THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK SO WORRIED ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THAT JUST INDEPENDANT AFRICAN NATION?... WELL, THE INDEPENDENCE LEADER, PATRICE LUMUMBA, NATIONALIZED FOREIGN CORPORATIONS, KICKED OUT THE WHITE U.N. TROOPS AND WAS SCARING THE ROCKEFELLERS WHO WERE ALL SET TO MOVE IN... SO WITHOUT WASTING MUCH TIME THE C.I.A. MOVED IN, CAPTURED LUMUMBA, AND BEAT, TORTURED AND KILLED HIM... THE MAN THEY PICKED TO REPLACE HIM, JOSEPH MOBUTU, HAD FOUGHT IN THE BELGIAN ARMY AND WORKED FOR A FRENCH NEWSPAPER... (A TRUE PATRIOT!)... HE IMMEDIATELY BEGAN TO MASSACRE THOUSANDS OF HIS OPPONENTS...

"I AM THE PRESIDENT!"



... SAID MOBUTU...



... SAID NIXON ...

... THE CONGO IS A GOOD INVESTMENT"

"THAT'S THE SPIRIT" SAID DAVID ROCKEFELLER AS HE LED THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN TO THE CONGO TO EXPLORE THE "INVESTMENT CLIMATE" ... THEN THE ROCKEFELLERS MOVED IN FULL FORCE WITH ALL THEIR MAJOR BANKS... PAN AM TOOK OVER THE LOCAL AIRLINE AND BUILT SEVERAL HOTELS... AT&T BUILT A SUBSIDIARY, ESSO LOOKED FOR OIL AND STANDARD OF INDIANA WENT INTO COPPER... THEY ALSO INVESTED IN THE COUNTRY PERSONALLY, BUYING HUGE INTERESTS IN THE CONGO'S COPPER COMPANY, TEXTILES, PINEAPPLES AND AIR CRAFT & AUTO MANUFACTURING...

"I AM NOT AFRAID OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM! ... MY COUNTRY OFFERS YOU IMMENSE PHYSICAL RESOURCES & GOOD QUALITY WORKERS AT LOW WAGES WITH NO STRIKES... AND I WILL NOT TAMPER WITH FOREIGN ASSETS... WHAT MORE COULD ONE WANT?"



... ASKED THE NEW DICTATOR ...



# INDONESIA 1965

"INDONESIA IS THE BEST THING THAT'S HAPPENED TO UNCLE SAM SINCE WORLD WAR II!"

... A WORLD BANK OFFICIAL ...



# BRAZIL 1964

... THE COMMUNIST THREAT HIT BRAZIL IN THE EARLY 1960'S ... IT ALSO HIT ITT WHICH HAD ITS TELEPHONES NATIONALIZED AND THREATENED OTHER U.S. CORPORATIONS ... SO THE C.I.A. WORKED QUICKLY AND PLANNED A MILITARY COUP IN 1964 ... BRAZIL BECAME KNOWN AROUND THE WORLD AS ONE OF THE MOST FASCIST COUNTRIES, AND IT WAS FAMED FOR TORTURE AND BEST OF ALL IT WAS VERY FRIENDLY TO U.S. BUSINESS ...



THAT'S THE CIA DISGUISED AS THE COMMUNIST THREAT ...

"THE CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT SINCE 1966 HAVE LED TO A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGN CAPITAL. GENTLEMEN, INDONESIA IS A GOLDMINE OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND WE HAVE A LARGE SUPPLY OF CHEAP LABOR WHICH WE CAN OFFER YOU. OUR UNIVERSITIES PRODUCE A LARGE NUMBER OF EDUCATED PERSONNEL WHO WILL SERVE NEW CORPORATIONS WITH PLEASURE ... INDONESIA IS WAITING FOR YOUR INITIATIVE"

"INDONESIA IS THE GREATEST PRIZE IN SOUTH EAST ASIA..."

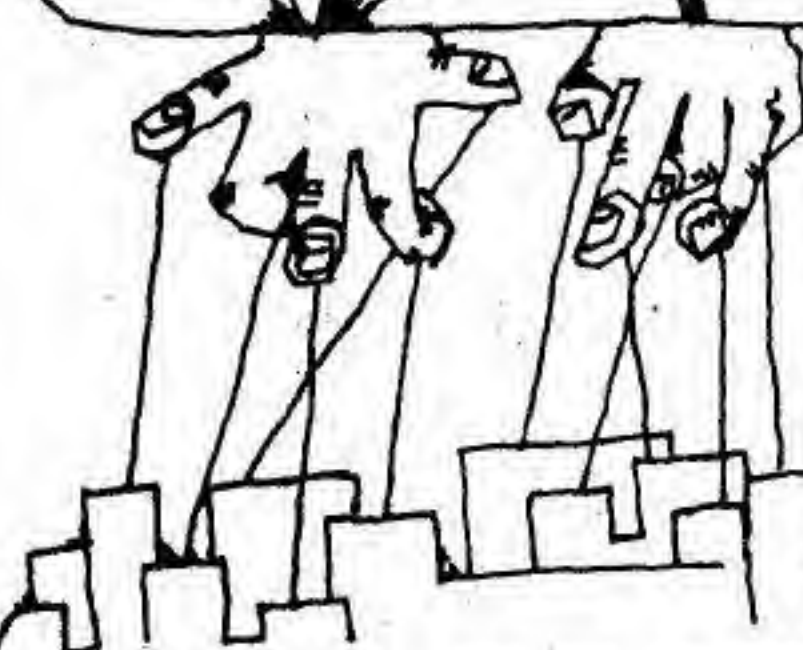
... AND TRICKY DICKY EXPLAINS HIS BATTLE STRATEGY:



# SOUTH AFRICA

... MANY ROCKEFELLER CORPORATIONS HAVE OPERATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ROCKELLERS HAVE A LARGE PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE DIAMOND MINES THERE ... SOUTH AFRICA WAS DAVID'S FAVORITE AFRICAN NATION WHEN HE OPENED UP CHASE MANHATTAN'S FIRST AFRICAN BRANCH THERE ... "NEXT WE'LL GO ON TO RHODESIA" SAID AN AIDE - SINCE THEN CHASE AND FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK HAVE BECOME FAMOUS FOR FINANCING THE WHITE DICTATORSHIP THERE AND THE GHANIAN TIMES HAS CHARGED THAT THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE ARMING THE SOUTH AFRICAN FASCISTS AND THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS ... THE GHANIAN TIMES AND GHANA'S INDEPENDENCE LEADER, NKRUMAH WERE SOON OVERTHROWN ...

# WHO RUNS THE CIA?



... THE J. EDGAR HOOVER OF THE C.I.A. WAS THE LATE ALAN DULLES, A TOP ROCKEFELLER LAWYER ... AFTER HIM CAME JOHN MCCONE FROM STANDARD OIL OF CALIFORNIA ... THE ROCKEFELLERS HAVE ALWAYS HAD A STRONG INFLUENCE IN THE C.I.A. WHICH IS ONE OF THE MOST "LIBERAL" PARTS OF THE GOVERNMENT ...



# GREECE 1947-1967

...AS A RESULT OF THESE TWO C.I.A. LED COUPS COMMUNISM HAS BEEN CONTAINED, THE PEOPLE OF GREECE HAVE A FASCIST GOVERNMENT, AND STANDARD OIL HAS A HUGE OIL REFINERY.



# CAMBODIA 1970

...PRINCE SIHANOUK, AN ANTI-AMERICAN, WAS NOT CO-OPERATING AT ALL WITH THE AMERICAN SEIGE OF SOUTH VIETNAM - SO THE C.I.A. OVERTHREW HIM AND THE FRIENDLY (AND SICK) LOU NOU TOOK HIS PLACE...

# BOLIVIA 1971

...THE C.I.A., AFTER KILLING CHE, STAGED AROUND TO GET RID OF THE NEW NATIONALIST ANTI-AMERICAN GOVERNMENT... THE NEW C.I.A. INFESTED GOVERNMENT IS RISING FAST IN THE WORLD OF FACISM - FAMED FOR ITS TORTURE, KILLINGS, AND MONSTROUS JUNGLE PRISONS...



# CHILE 1973

...ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1973 THE CHILEAN MILITARY CRUSHED THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF CHILE AND MURDERED SOCIALIST PRESIDENT SALVADOR ALLENDE... IT WAS THE BLOODIEST MILITARY COUP IN MODERN HISTORY - TO TAKE THE COUNTRY THE MILITARY BOMBED AND SHOT WITH ARTILLERY THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE, ALLENDE'S HOME, NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO STATIONS, APARTMENT BUILDING "SNIPER NESTS" AND FACTORIES IN SANTIAGO AND VALPARAISO... BY EARLY 1975, ABOUT

30,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED. BUT RESISTANCE TO THE MILITARY IS STILL STRONG... THERE IS CIVIL WAR IN CHILE

AND THERE WILL BE UNTIL CHILE IS RETURNED TO ITS PEOPLE...

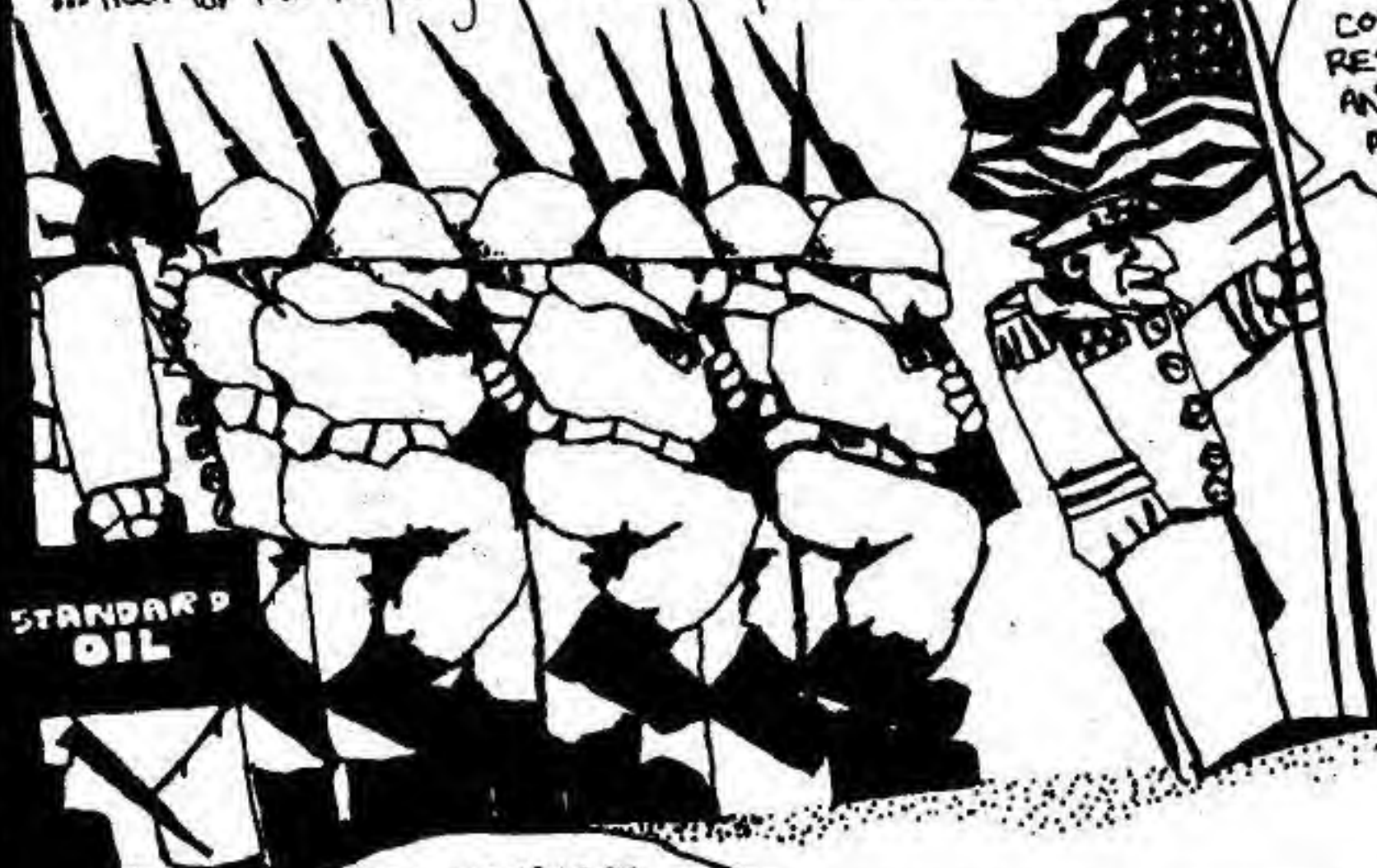


"I will fight to the end if it costs me my life"

# Why Bloody Chile?

WHEN ALLENDE WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT IN 1970 SOCIALIST CHILE THREATENED THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN CORPORATIONS... ALLENDE TOOK OVER THE ROCKEFELLER'S ANACONDA COPPER MINES (THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD) AND WAS DOING ALL HE COULD TO SET UP A SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY RIGHT UNDER ROCKY'S NOSE... IT ET AND THE C.I.A. HAD BEEN TRYING TO GET RID OF ALLENDE EVER SINCE HIS ELECTION... FINALLY THEY KILLED HIM... THE COUP WAS DIRECTED BY THE C.I.A. AND U.S. MILITARY ADVISORS... IT IS THE LATEST AND MOST INCREDIBLE OF THIS SERIES OF AMERICAN LED FASCIST COUPS, THAT ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE COMMON IN THE THIRD WORLD EVERY YEAR...

...then for the tougher jobs theres always the MARINES:



STANDARD OIL

...FROM THE WALLS OF MONTEZUMA TO THE SHORES OF TRIPOLI... WE WILL FIGHT OUR COUNTRY'S BATTLES ON THE LAND, BY AIR OR SEA! WE WILL FIGHT FOR FREEDOM & JUSTICE AND TO KEEP OUR HONOR CLEAN! AND TO PROVE THAT WE ARE PROUD TO BE THE UNITED STATES MARINES! WE WILL...



...BUT IF YOU THINK WE'VE HAD A HAND IN ALL THESE FASCIST GOVERNMENTS - YOU AIN'T SEEN NOTHING YET...



THERE ARE 1 1/2 MILLION AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES WATCHING OVER THE WORLD (AND ANOTHER 2 MILLION ARMED AND WAITING AT HOME)

IN RECENT YEARS THEY'VE MARCHED IN VIETNAM, LAOS, CHINA, JORDAN, HAITI, IRAQ, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, CAMBODIA, DETROIT, LEBANON, GUATEMALA, SYRIA, INDONESIA, NICARAGUA, THAILAND, THE CONGO, MALAYSIA, YEMEN, PANAMA ETC....



YOU HAVE ONE VOTE.  
EACH OF THE ROCKEFELLERS  
HAVE ONE VOTE. BUT AS YOU  
HAVE PROBABLY ALREADY  
GUESSED THE ROCKEFELLERS  
HAVE FAR MORE POLITICAL  
POWER THAN YOU DO...

THE MOST POLITICALLY POWERFUL  
MEMBER OF THE ROCKEFELLER DYNASTY  
IS NOT...

THE VICE-  
PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES...



NELSON

OR THE FORMER  
GOVERNOR OF  
ARKANSAS...



WINTHROP

IT COULDN'T  
BE HIM-  
HE'S  
DEAD!



...OR THE SECRETARY OF  
STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA  
WHO EXPECTS TO BE  
PRESIDENT...



A COMMON  
EXPECTATION  
AMONG US  
ROCKEFELLERS!

JOHN DAVID  
ROCKEFELLER IV

...THE MOST  
POWERFUL  
MEMBER OF THE  
ROCKEFELLER  
FAMILY IS THE  
ONE WHO CALLS  
HIMSELF...

"THE  
NON-  
POLITICAL  
ROCKEFELLER"



DAVID

DAVID ROCKEFELLER IS CHAIRMAN  
OF CHASE MANHATTAN BANK.  
HE'S DEFINITELY  
ONE OF THE  
RICHEST MEN IN  
THE WORLD...  
BUT HIS MOST  
POLITICALLY POWERFUL  
POSITION IS IN...

# THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE C.F.R. IS BUSINESSMEN, ECONOMISTS, POLITICIANS, MILLIONAIRES, BILLIONAIRES, ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, GOVERNORS, THE C.I.A., THE F.B.I., THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, RENOWNED LIBERALS, NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS, ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION OFFICIALS, CORPORATION EXECUTIVES, SENATORS, BANKERS, PRESIDENTS, TOP LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND OTHER SUCH PEOPLE ALL PUT TOGETHER... THE C.F.R. IS THE 1,400 MOST POWERFUL WHITE MEN IN AMERICA (ALONG WITH A TOKEN HANDFUL OF WOMEN AND BLACK PEOPLE)... THE PURPOSE OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IS TO STAFF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND PLAN FOREIGN POLICY...

COME IN...  
JOHN  
GENERAL...




CFR  
MEETING  
ROOM  
PRIVATE  
WOMEN,  
ALIENS AND  
NON-MEMBERS  
KEEP OUT



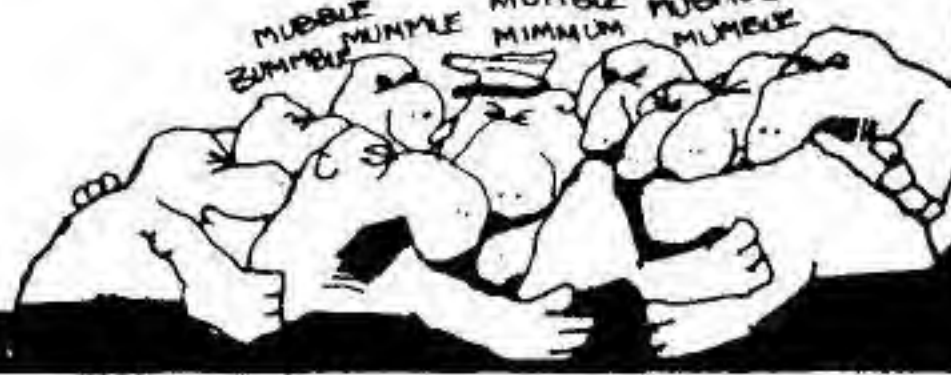
IT IS PROBABLY THE MOST POWERFUL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE WORLD... THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT... EVER SINCE WORLD WAR TWO THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS HAS BEEN PLANNING THE WORLD'S FUTURE - ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY, MILITARILY AND COMPLETELY... SHOWING HIS RANK IN SOCIETY, DAVID ROCKEFELLER IS CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD... AND THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY ORIGINALLY SET UP THE C.F.R., THEIR FOUNDATIONS FUND IT, AND THE ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS AND THEIR CRONIES RULE IT...

C.F.R. MEMBERS  
PLANNING THE WORLD'S  
FUTURE

I NEVER  
HEARD ABOUT  
THAT IN MY  
HISTORY  
BOOK!



MUMBLE MUMBLE MUMBLE MUMBLE  
MUMBLE MUMBLE MUMBLE MUMBLE





**JOHN McCLOY**  
(PAST CHAIRMAN OF  
BOTH THE CHASE  
MANHATTAN BANK  
AND THE C.F.R.,  
AS WELL AS A  
GOVERNMENT  
OFFICIAL) SAID  
WHILE IN WASHINGTON:  
"WHENEVER WE  
NEEDED A MAN WE  
THUMBED THROUGH  
THE COUNCIL ROLLS  
AND PUT THROUGH  
A CALL TO  
NEW YORK"

**HELLO, DAVID...**  
COULD YOU SEND  
OVER A NEW  
TREASURY SECRETARY  
AND A FEW MEN  
FOR THE STATE DEPT.?



...HERE IS  
A SHORT  
STORY  
OF THE  
UNHAPPY  
DEMISE  
OF ONE OF  
THE MORE  
FAMOUS OF  
THE  
COUNCIL MEMBERS →

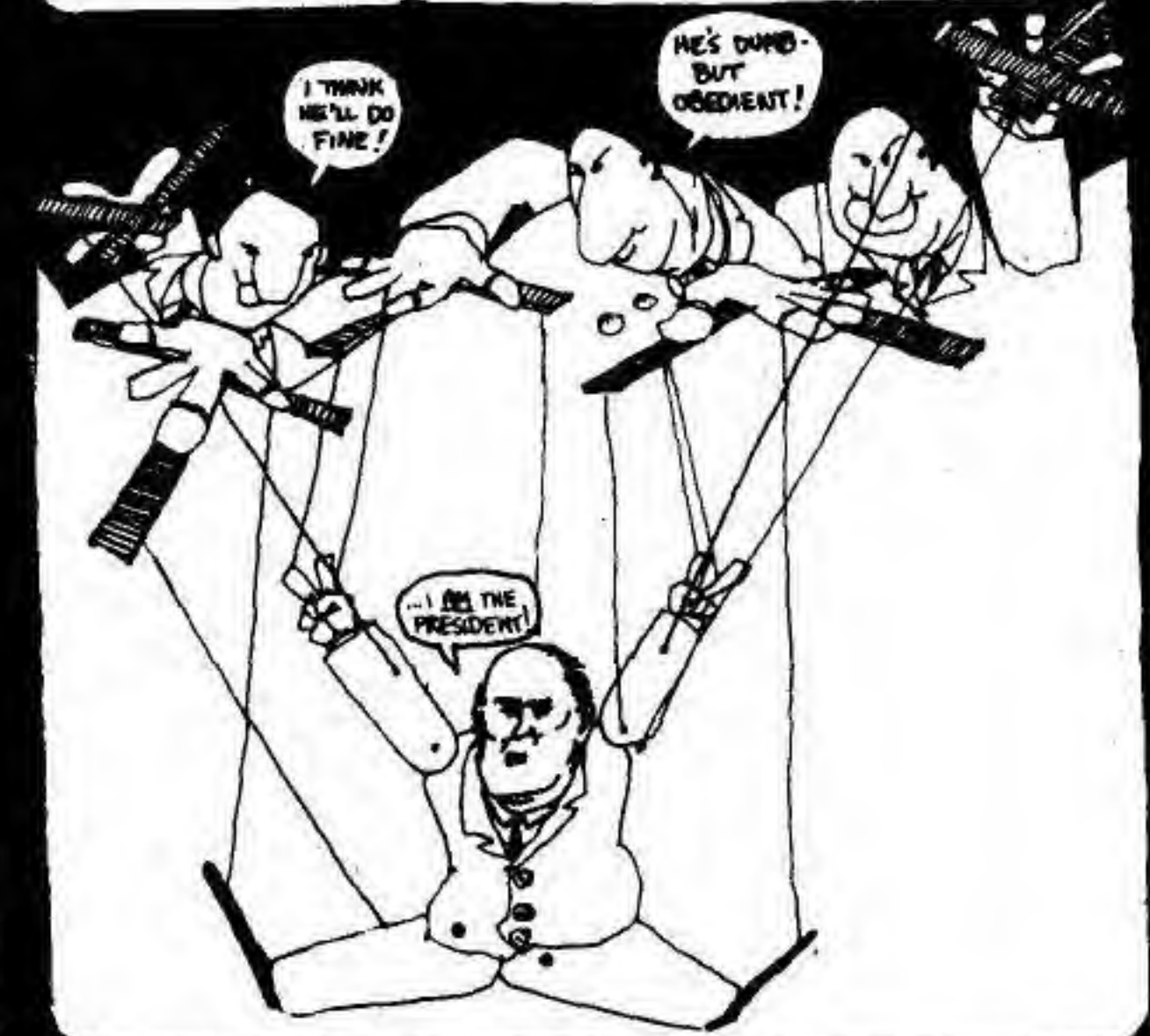
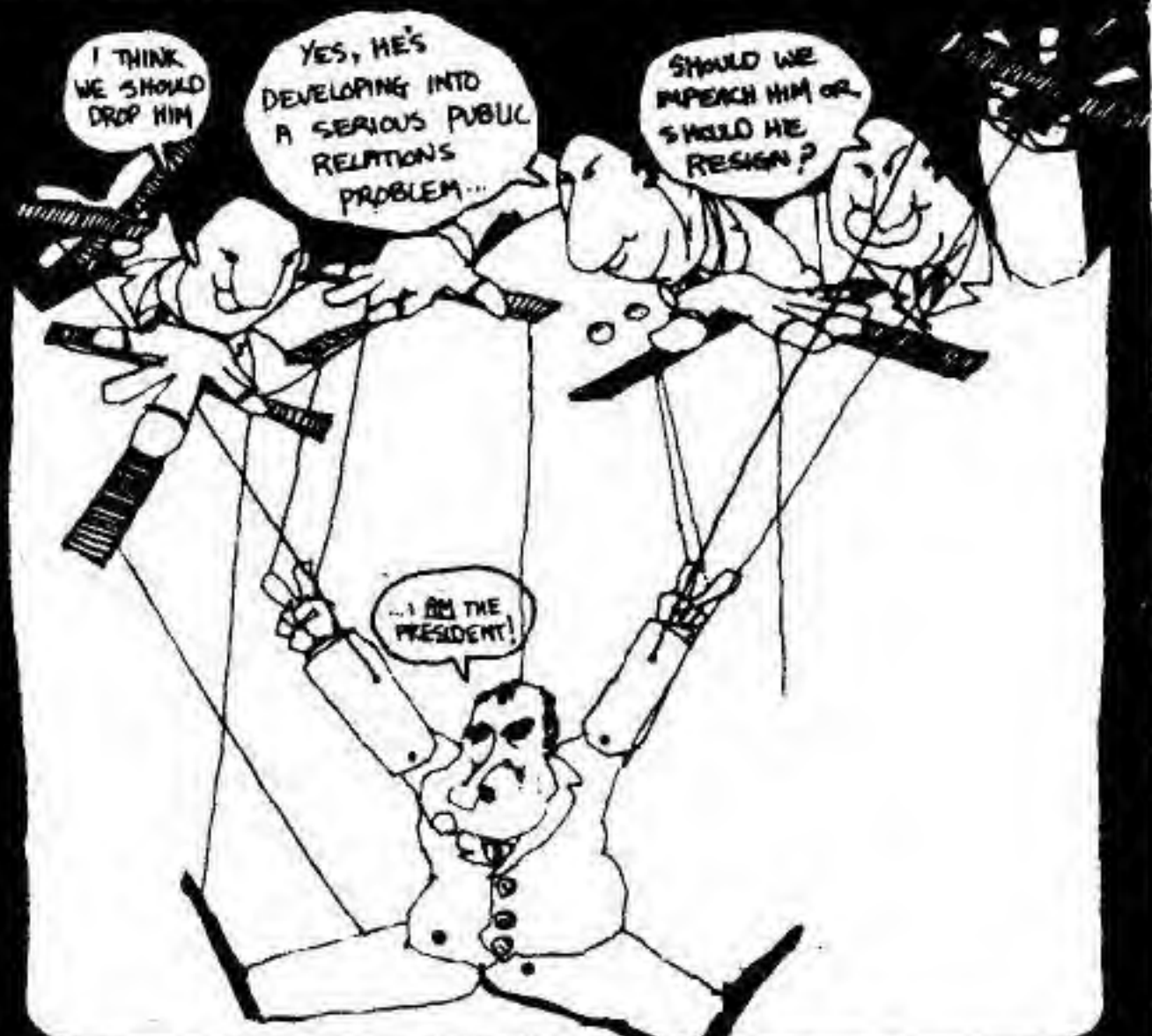
BESIDES TRICKY, KENNEDY  
AND EISENHOWER WERE BOTH  
MEMBERS OF THE CLUB...  
INFACIT, THREE OUT  
OF FOUR TOP  
LEVEL  
GOVERNMENT  
OFFICIALS BELONG  
TO THIS EXCLUSIVE  
ORGANIZATION, ALONG  
WITH UNCOUNTED  
NUMBERS OF SENATORS,  
REPRESENTATIVES  
AND  
GOVERNORS...

AMAZING  
COINCIDENCE!



... OUR NEW VICE PRESIDENT TELLS THE  
MORAL OF THE STORY:

... ASK NOT WHAT  
STANDARD OIL CAN  
DO FOR YOU,  
BUT WHAT YOU CAN  
DO FOR STANDARD  
OIL!





# ...WHERE DO SECRETARIES OF STATE COME FROM?



... WELL, EISENHOWER'S SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN FOSTER DULLES, WAS A TOP ROCKEFELLER LAWYER & PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION... WHEN DULLES DIED CHRISTIAN HERTER WHO MARRIED INTO THE STANDARD OIL GANG (HIS SON IS A V.P. ON MOBIL) BECAME SECRETARY OF STATE... NEXT CAME DEAN RUSK ANOTHER PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION... THEN WHEN IT WAS NIXON'S TURN TO PICK A SECRETARY OF STATE HE TURNED TO THE REGULAR PLACE AND ASKED GEORGE HARRAR, PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION... BUT HARRAR DECLINED SO NIXON PICKED AN OLD FRIEND, WILLIAM P. ROGERS... HOWEVER ROGERS KNEW NOTHING ABOUT FOREIGN AFFAIRS SO HENRY KISSINGER MOVED IN TO TAKE CARE OF THE JOB (SEE BELOW).

... AS FOR THE REST OF THE CABINET... ATTORNEY GENERALS GENERALLY COME FROM KEY WALL STREET LAW FIRMS AND THE LAST TWO SECRETARIES OF AGRICULTURE WERE SENT DIRECTLY TO WASHINGTON FROM FAIRBANKS (FOR 5 WHEAT CEX BOX TOPS AND 50¢)... TWO OF THE LAST FOUR TREASURY SECRETARIES ARE DIRECTORS OF CHASE MANHATTAN AND NIXON'S WAS CHAIRMAN OF CHICAGO'S LARGEST BANK... AVIATION OFFICIALS BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF PAN AM AND THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT RELIES ON PEOPLE FROM THE WAR INDUSTRY... SUCH AS FRANK PACE OF GENERAL DYNAMICS, CYRUS VANCE OF IBM, WILLIAM BURDEN OF LOCKHEED, DAVID PACKARD OF HEWLETT-PACKARD, THOMAS GATES OF GENERAL ELECTRIC & R. GILPATRICK OF FAIRCHILD...



## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INC. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

### the adventures of DR. HENRY KISSINGER

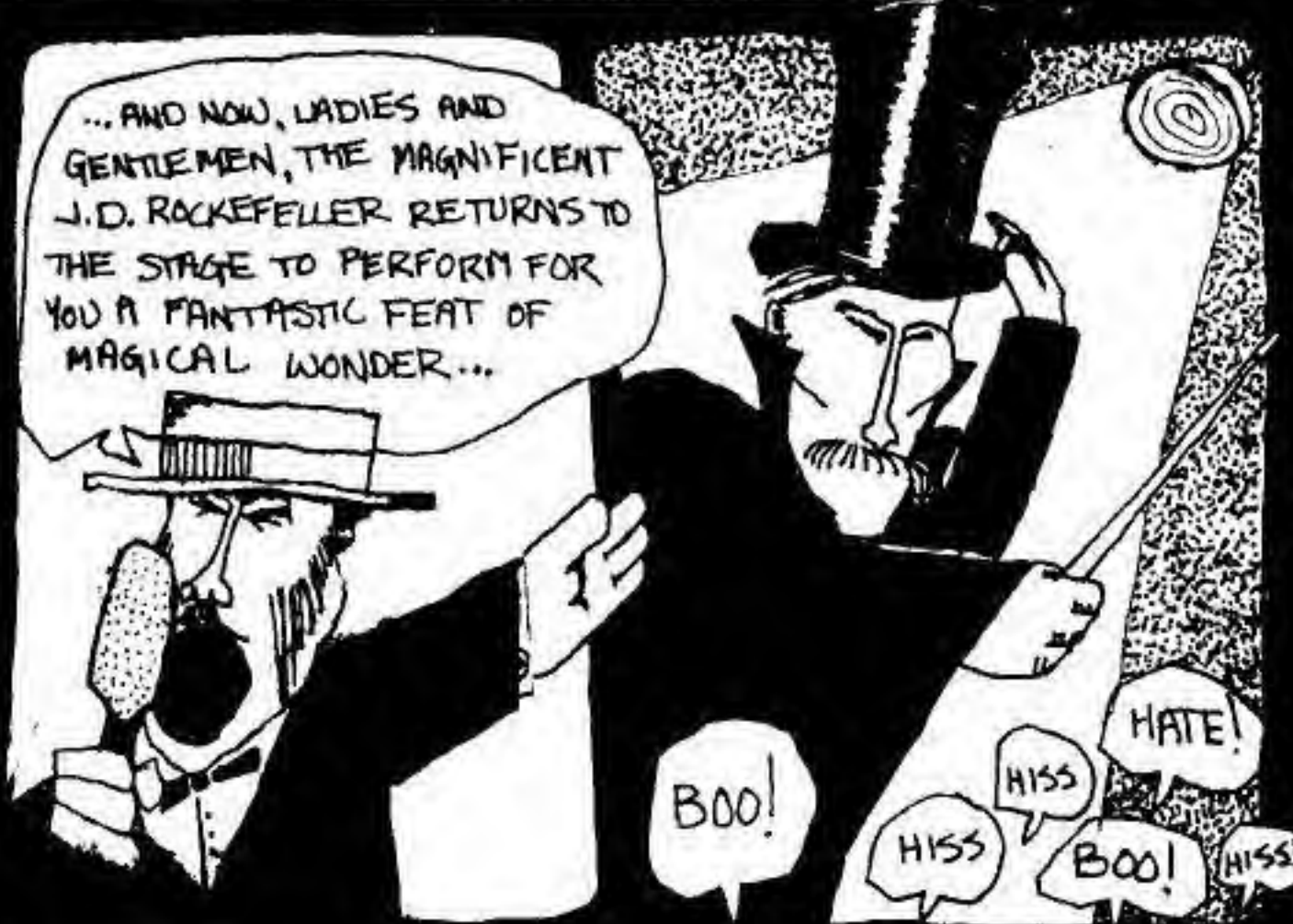


... MOST FOLKS DON'T KNOW IT, BUT HENRY KISSINGER, WORLD TRAVELER, ORIGINATED IN THE PRESTIGIOUS ROCKEFELLER STABLES TOO. THE ROCKEFELLERS DISCOVERED HENRY KISSINGER AT HARVARD AND GAVE HIM A JOB AT THE ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND. SINCE THEN HE'S WORKED FOR THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND VARIOUS OTHER FAMILY PROJECTS. RECOGNIZING A HIGHLY IMPERIALIST MIND, NELSON ROCKEFELLER HIRED HENRY AS HIS PERSONAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR FOR MANY YEARS. BUT THEN DUTY CALLED AND HENRY WENT TO WASHINGTON TO SUPERVISE AMERICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFEND THE ROCKEFELLERS PROPERTY AND OIL AROUND THE WORLD. HENRY WAS CONSIDERING RETURNING TO NEW YORK TO BECOME (NO KIDDING) PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, BUT HE DECIDED TO STAY ON AS SECRETARY OF STATE WHEN HE HEARD THAT HIS BOSS WAS MOVING INTO TOWN TO BECOME VICE-PRESIDENT.

WHEN HENRY LEFT FOR WASHINGTON I GAVE HIM A NOMINAL GIFT OF \$50,000 "IN APPRECIATION FOR 15 YEARS OF DEDICATED SERVICE" ... IT'S THE THOUGHT THAT COUNTS...



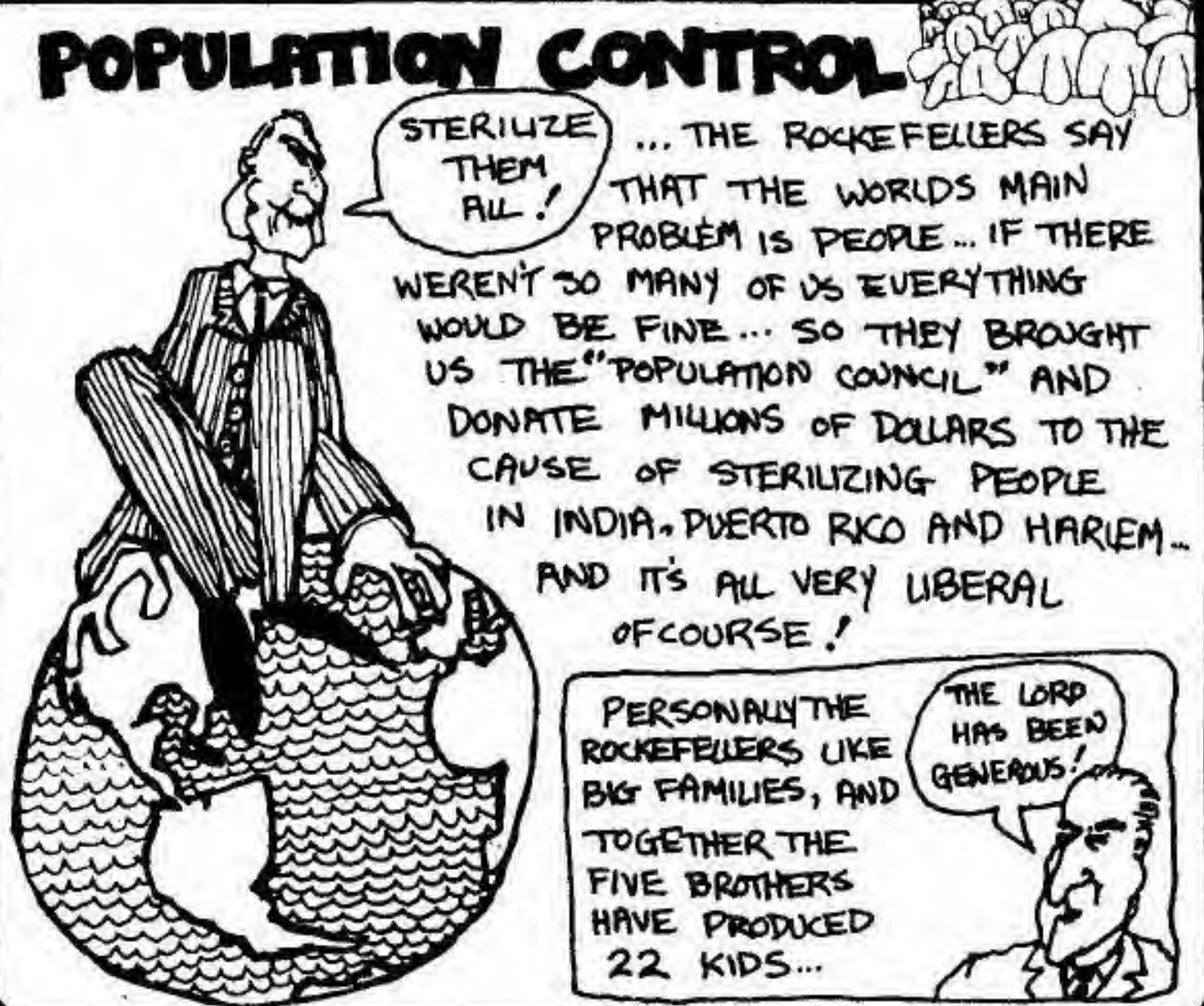




38 ...and change presto he turned into:

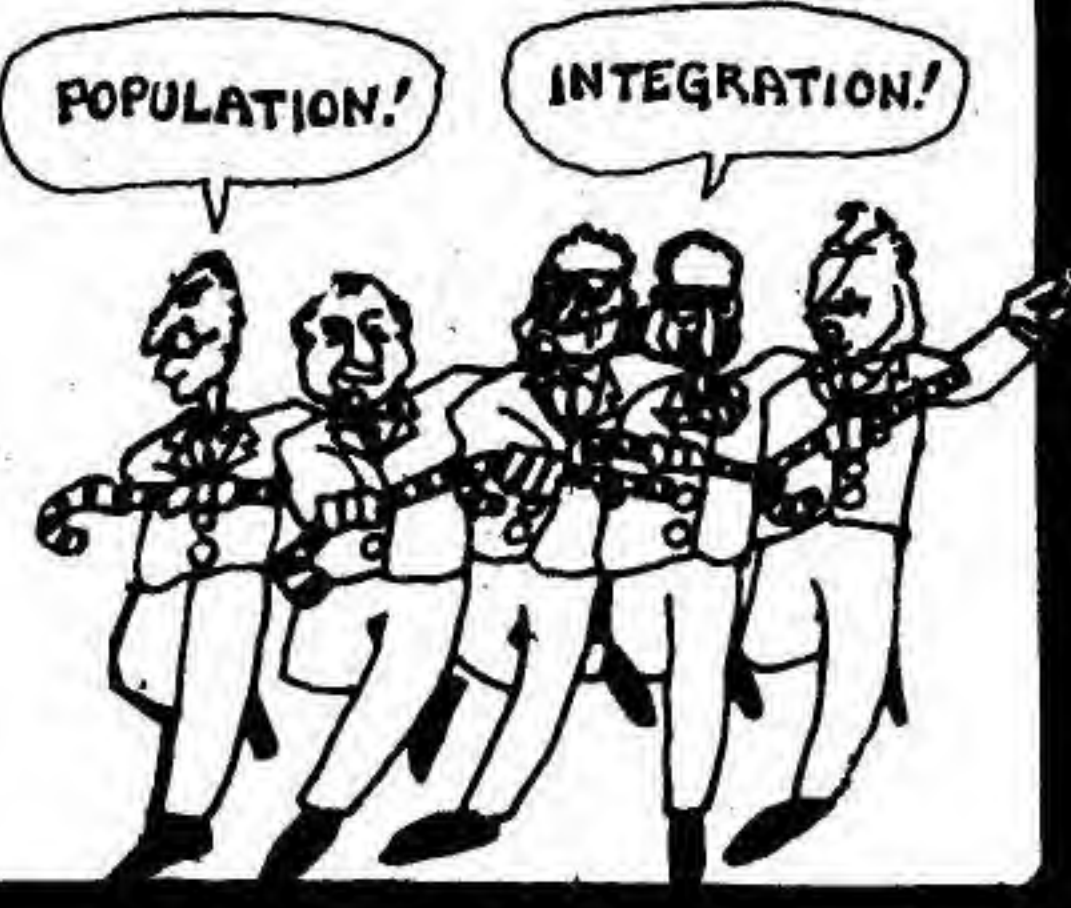


## SUPER LIBERAL

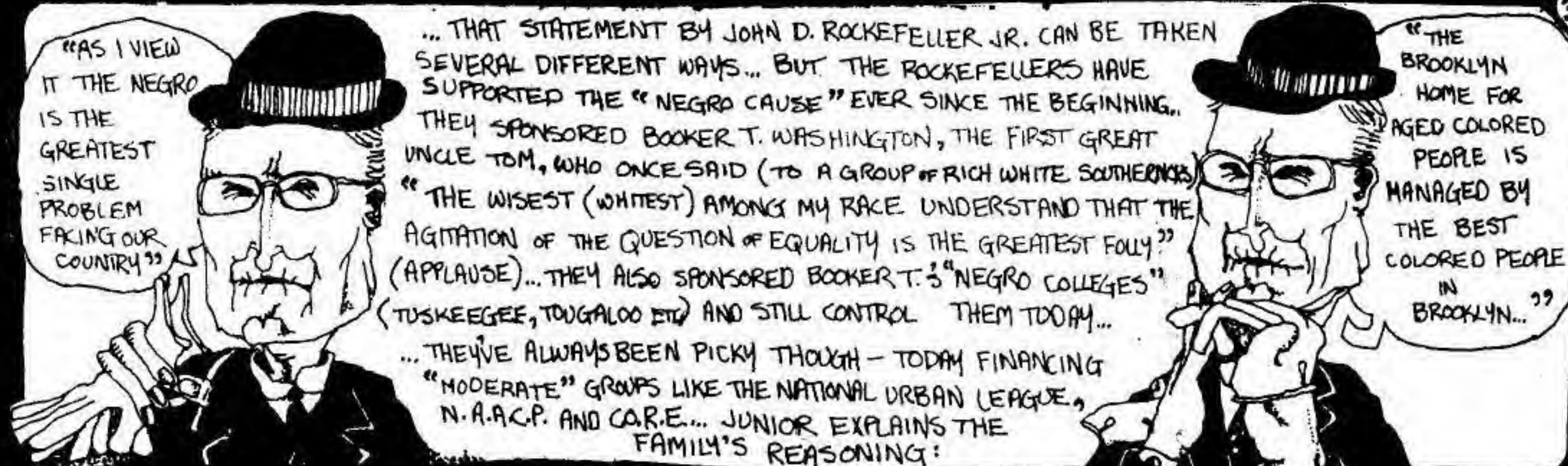


## POPULATION CONTROL

# LIBERAL RACISM





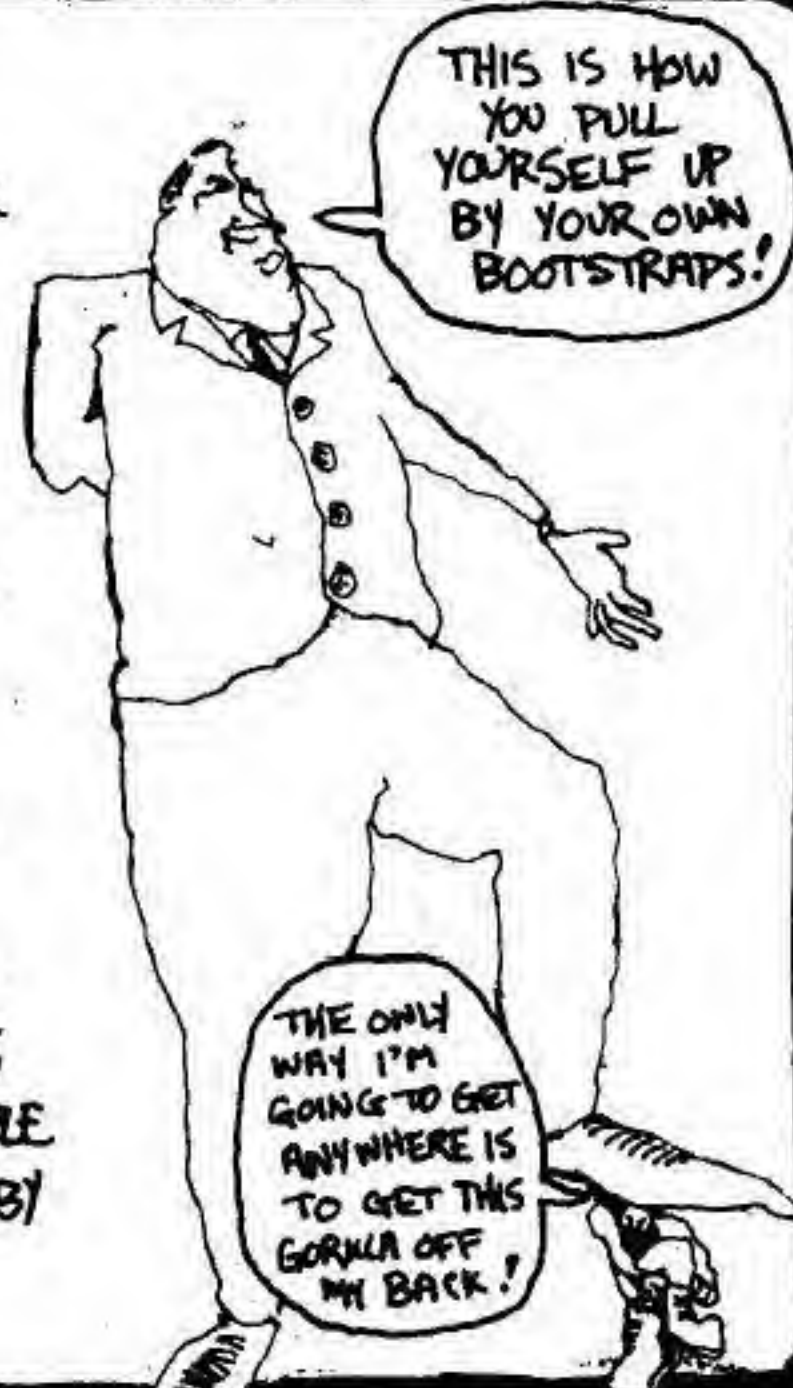


... WHAT'S WRONG WITH BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS? DAVID ROCKEFELLER COMPLAINS:

"THEY'VE MANAGED TO GET HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMAS WITH ONLY FIFTH GRADE READING ABILITY. THEY HAVE ONLY THE VAGUEST NOTION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES PUNCTUATION AND PROPER ATTIRE... AND THEY SUFFER FROM AN ALMOST TOTAL LACK OF MOTIVATION"



... AFTER THE RIOTS IN DETROIT, HARLEM, NEWARK, WATT'S AND DOZENS OF OTHER CITIES SCARED THE HELL OUT OF THE ROCKEFELLERS, CHASE MANHATTAN BANK STARTED SIFTING MONEY INTO THE GHETTO... AS IT PROUDLY ADVERTISED IN THE NATION'S MAGAZINES THE BANK HAD A GREAT IDEA - BLACK CAPITALISM! THE IDEA CAME FROM OUR FRIEND AT CHASE MANHATTAN, DAVID YOU-KNOW-WHO, THE LEADING ADVOCATE OF "UNEMPLOYMENT, WHO INSISTS THAT BLACK PEOPLE MUST "PULL THEMSELVES UP BY THEIR OWN BOOTSTRAPS"



SOME OF OUR BEST FRIENDS ARE NEGROES!



**RALPH BUNCHE**  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
DIED IN 1971...

"MOST AMERICANS KNEW RALPH BY TOWERING REPUTATION... I KNEW HIM AS A FRIEND... WE WORKED TOGETHER IN THE STATE DEPT. IN THE VERY FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS... WE HAVE LABORED FOR INTERNATIONAL OBJECTIVES WE HAVE SHARED"



... ONE OF THE ROCKEFELLER'S FRIENDS (AND A TRUSTEE OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION) WHO THEY INSISTED ON CALLING THE NATION'S LEADING NEGRO CITIZEN, WAS RALPH BUNCHE RALPH ROSE IN THE O.S.S. (THE C.I.A. OF WORLD WAR II) TO BECOME THAT AGENCY'S TOP STRATEGIST FOR AFRICA... THEN HE AND NELSON ROCKEFELLER GOT TOGETHER AND PLANNED THE UNITED NATIONS AND HE BECAME ITS MOST POWERFUL MEMBER...



**WHITNEY YOUNG** (OF THE URBAN LEAGUE)  
LEARNED HIS TRADE IN THE ARMY:

"THE BLACK SOLDIERS WERE KILLING SO MANY WHITE OFFICERS THAT THEY WERE AFRAID TO COME OUT OF THEIR TENTS... SO THE OFFICERS SAT DOWN WITH ME TO TRY TO STRAIGHTEN THINGS OUT... AND THE MEN SAID I WAS UNCLE TOMMIN'... THAT WAS THE BEGINNING OF MY WORK IN THAT FIELD..."



... AFTER THE WAR WHITNEY WORKED HIS WAY UP TO BECOME DEAN OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, ONE OF THE ROCKEFELLER'S SOUTHERN BLACK COLLEGES...



... BUT WHITNEY'S BIG CHANCE DIDN'T COME UNTIL LINDSLEY KIMBALL, A SCOUT FOR WORTHY CAUSES FOR THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY HAPPENED TO NOTICE HIM AT AN URBAN LEAGUE ANNUAL MEETING...



"I WAS IMPRESSED BY HIS LOGICAL & SENSIBLE ADDRESS SO I SENT FOR WHITNEY... LESTER GRANGER, WHO HAD HEADED THE LEAGUE FOR YEARS, WAS ABOUT TO RETIRE AND WE WERE LOOKING FOR A REPLACEMENT... WHITNEY SAID HE WAS INTERESTED... WE DECIDED TO SEND HIM TO HARVARD FOR A YEAR TO THINK & STUDY & GET TO KNOW PEOPLE AND THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION ARRANGED A FELLOWSHIP..."

... THE ROCKEFELLERS WERE SO IMPRESSED WITH THEIR NEW MAN THAT THEY DECIDED TO MAKE THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE A BIG DEAL THING... AND THEY PUMPED LOADS OF MONEY INTO IT... THE ROCKEFELLERS PROVIDE MOST OF THE MONEY FOR THE URBAN LEAGUE AND WINTHROP HAS BEEN A TRUSTEE SINCE IT'S TOTTERY INFANCY... THE ROCKEFELLERS BUILT UP WHITNEY YOUNG TO BE ONE OF THE MOST FAMOUS CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS IN THE COUNTRY, RANKING WITH ROY WILKINS AND THE ROCKEFELLER FINANCED N.A.A.C.P... WHITNEY HAD NEVER BEEN ARRESTED, HIS FRIENDS WERE WHITE MILLIONAIRES, AND HE LIVED IN PLUSH NEW ROCHELLE...

NOW THERE'S A RESPONSIBLE NEGRO!



SO WHITNEY RELAXED AT THE ROCKEFELLER RESORT IN THE ITALIAN ALPS, ENJOYED HIS 25<sup>TH</sup> WEDDING ANNIVERSARY WITH THEM AND THEY BECAME GOOD FRIENDS... AND THEN THE ROCKEFELLERS AWARDED HIM WITH THE HIGH DISTINCTION THEY GIVE ONLY TO ESPECIALLY TRUSTED FRIENDS... AND WHITNEY BECAME A TRUSTEE OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION...

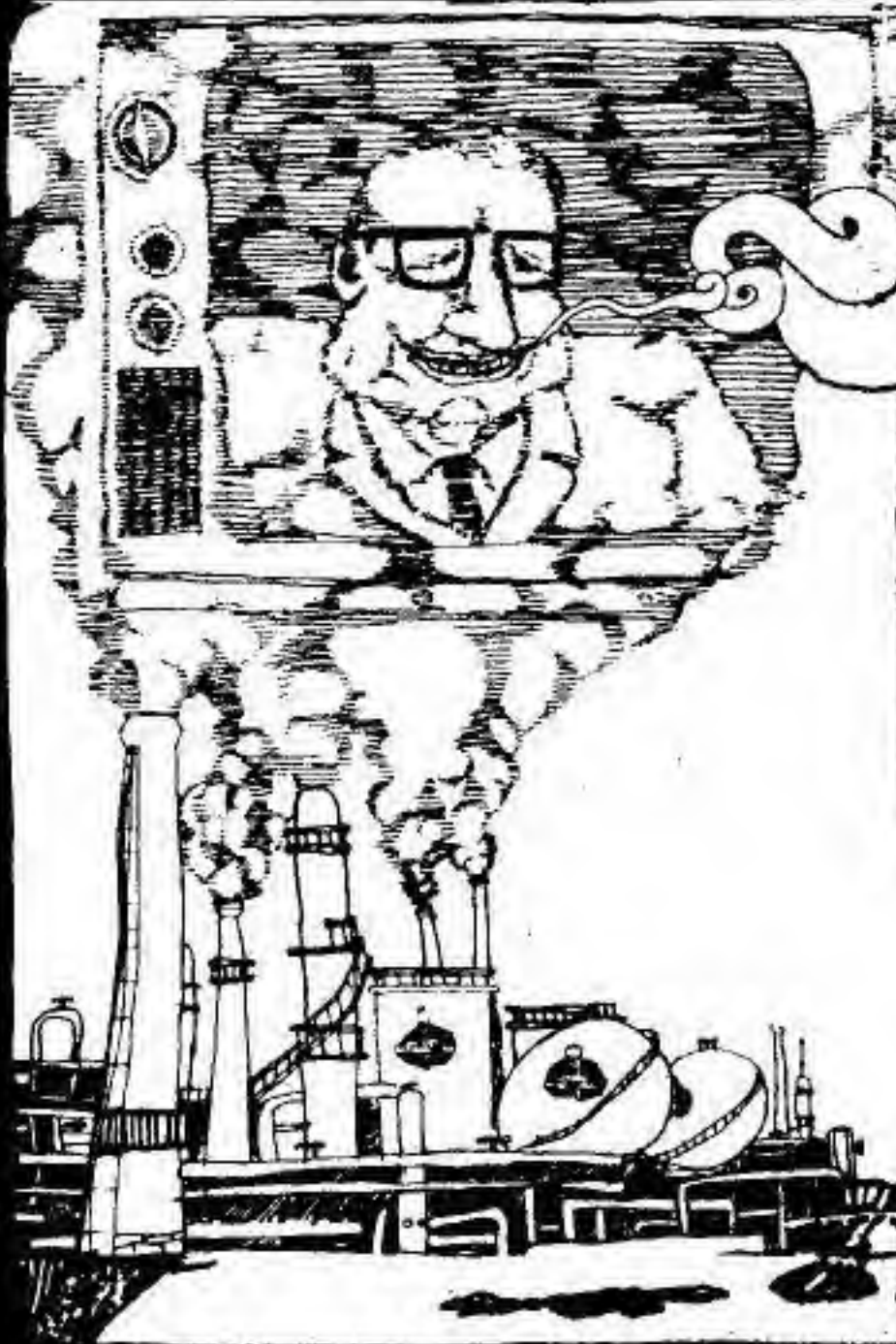
... WHITNEY DIED IN NIGERIA WHILE SWIMMING WITH ED MUSKIE, RAMSEY CLARK, AND TOM WYMAN OF POLAROID, ON A FORD FOUNDATION TRIP TO AFRICA (WHITNEY HAD BECOME GOOD FRIENDS WITH HENRY FORD II TOO)... HIS FUNERAL WAS HELD IN RIVERSIDE CHURCH (THE ROCKEFELLER BUILT CHURCH IN MANHATTAN)... NO LESS THAN TWELVE ROCKEFELLERS WERE AT HIS FUNERAL... AND DAVID ROCKEFELLER COMMENDED HIM FOR HIS "DEDICATED SERVICE"

... AFTER WHITNEY DIED THE ROCKEFELLERS SLIPPED ANOTHER LONG TIME SERVANT VERNON JORDON, HEAD OF THE ROCKEFELLER OWNED UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, INTO WHITNEY'S PLACE, AS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE...



... AND, OFCOURSE, THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE AGAINST POLLUTION...

WHO ISN'T?



I HATE POLLUTION!  
I THINK IT'S JUST AWFUL...  
I'M VERY CONCERNED ABOUT  
OUR ENVIRONMENT TOO!  
PEOPLE CAUSE POLLUTION...  
WE ALL MUST DO OUR LITTLE  
BIT TO SAVE OUR ENVIRONMENT!  
... I DO MY LITTLE BIT - ONE OF MY CARS,  
A \$30,000 SILVER GRAY DAIMLER,  
RUNS ON PROPANE INSTEAD OF STANDARD  
OIL... I EVEN WROTE A BOOK ON  
ECOLOGY... IT IS CALLED "OUR  
ENVIRONMENT CAN BE SAVED"

... WHILE LAURANCE CAUS HIMSELF AMERICA'S LEADING CONSERVATIONIST AND NELSON SAYS HE HAS STRIVED TO CLEAN UP NEW YORK, THEIR FACTORIES, MINES, UTILITIES, AND REFINERIES CONTINUE TO BE THE MAIN FACTOR IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT. THE OIL INDUSTRY, WHICH THE ROCKEFELLERS MANIPULATE, LEAVES MILLIONS OF TONS OF OIL SPILLED ACROSS THE OCEANS AND BEACHES AND OIL EXHAUST IS THE MOST OVERWHELMING OF ALL THE POISONS IN THE AIR. AND, OFCOURSE, THE ROCKEFELLERS ARE WORKING TO KEEP THE COUNTRY DEPENDENT ON BURNING THEIR OIL AND BLACKENING THE SKIES...



JOHN DAVID ROCKEFELLER III SAYS:

"WE MUST  
SUSTAIN  
THE YOUTH  
REVOLUTION"

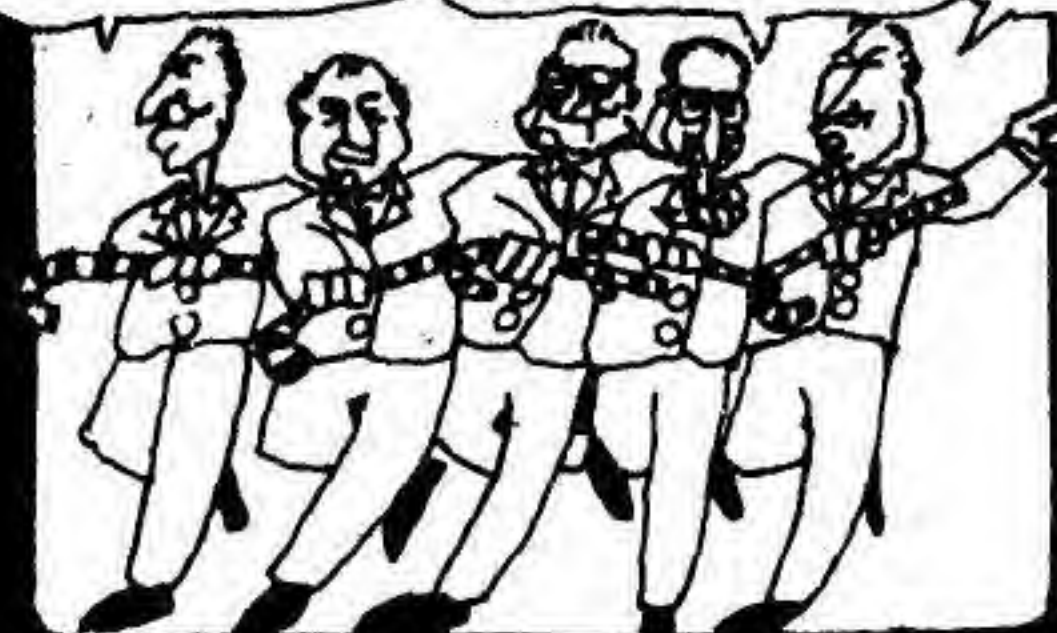
...HE SAID THIS  
IN HIS NEW  
BOOK ABOUT  
"THE NEW  
REVOLUTION IN  
AMERICA"

HOW  
LIBERAL!

STOP POLLUTION!

WE'LL EVEN  
INSTITIONALIZE...

...THE  
REVOLUTION!



...AND  
THEN IN  
1964 I  
JOINED THE  
COMMITTEE  
TO AID THE  
POOR...



... AND THOSE AMAZING  
ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS ARE  
NOT ONLY HEARTWARMINGLY  
LIBERAL... THEY'RE NICE TOO!  
THEY ARE JUST OUT TO HELP  
THE WORLD WITH THEIR BILLIONS...  
DOING GOOD DEEDS FOR THE  
POOR AND NEEDY CITY...



... AND IF  
ANYONE DOUBTS  
THAT THEY CAN  
JUST  
REMEMBER...



# THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION



... THE MOST  
WONDERFUL  
THING THAT EVER  
WAS, BECAUSE OF  
ALL THE  
WONDERFUL  
THINGS THAT  
IT DOES...



... BESIDES BEING A BREEDING GROUND FOR SECRETARIES  
OF STATE, THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION SERVES MANY PURPOSES  
FOR THE FAMILY ... IN THEIR FOUNDATIONS THEY STORE TWO  
BILLION DOLLARS IN CORPORATE STOCK, TAX FREE ... AND THEY CAN  
ALSO PAY UNIVERSITIES TO DO RESEARCH FOR THEM, INFLUENCE  
CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURAL CENTERS, CO-OPT (BRIBE)  
IMPORTANT PEOPLE, FUND THE STERILIZING OF POOR PEOPLE  
AND OTHER FAMILY PROJECTS - AND IMPROVE THEIR PUBLIC

... SEE! THE ROCKEFELLERS  
ARE JUST WONDERFUL...  
AREN'T THEY?

IMAGE AT THE SAME  
TIME!

... and not  
only that -  
we're

**HUMBLE**

too!





# ATTICA

NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 1971



42

... IN ATTICA STATE PRISON, LIVING CAGED, WITH NO RIGHTS OR RESPECT, ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1971 TWO THOUSAND BLACK, WHITE AND PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS REBELLED. THEY CAPTURED THIRTY GUARDS AND TOOK CONTROL OF PART OF THE PRISON. THEY DEMANDED THAT THE RACIST PRISON WARDEN AND GUARDS BE FIRED, AN END TO THE INHUMAN LIVING CONDITIONS, RECONSTRUCTION OF ATTICA UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE PRISONERS AND TOTAL AMNESTY. THEY DEMANDED TO SEE GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER. ROCKEFELLER REFUSED TO TALK TO PRISONERS. HE ISSUED AN ULTIMATUM TO GIVE UP HIS PRISON AND HIS GUARDS. THEY REFUSED...

ROCKEFELLER  
HAD  
HAD  
ENOUGH...



... ROCKEFELLER'S ARMY MOVED IN WITH  
SHOTGUNS, CARBINES, M-16's, SNIPERS,  
HELICOPTERS, AND TEARGAS...  
THEY KILLED FORTY FOUR PEOPLE  
INCLUDING TEN OF THE HOSTAGES...  
IT WAS THE BLOODIEST MASSACRE  
IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE  
INDIAN MASSACRES...



"WE NOT ONLY HAD TO  
CONSIDER THE LIVES  
AT STAKE...  
BUT THE LAW,  
THE VERY  
FABRIC OF  
OUR SOCIETY WAS  
IN QUESTION"



"YOU DID A  
GREAT JOB,  
NELSON"

"HE'S A VERY  
COURAGEOUS  
MAN"



... SAID NIXON  
AND AGNEW...  
... NOW THE  
ATTICA  
BROTHERS ARE  
ON TRIAL AND  
NELSON  
ROCKEFELLER  
IS VICE  
PRESIDENT.

## ...MEANWHILE IN ARKANSAS...

(WINTHROP'S STATE) THINGS WERE GOING JUST FINE... TORTURE, INCLUDING ELECTRONIC, AND BEATING OF PRISONERS WAS A ROUTINE THING... A PART OF EVERY PRISONERS DAILY LIFE... PRISON LABOR WAS HIRED OUT CHEAP TO LOCAL PLANTATIONS (WINROCK FARMS?) ... PRISONERS DISAPPEARED EVERY DAY... FINALLY AN OFFICIAL DECIDED TO REFORM THE PRISONS... HE STARTED TO FIND THE DISAPPEARING PRISONERS — BURIED IN THE GROUND... HE BECAME A REAL THREAT TO THE LOCAL PLANTATIONS, THE SADISTIC GUARDS AND WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER... AND SO OF COURSE GOVERNOR WINTHROP FIRED HIM... AND NOW...

...EVERYTHING IS  
JUST FINE  
AGAIN...



REMEMBER  
LUDLOW!

...AND  
REMEMBER  
ATTICA!

...AND  
ALSO  
REMEMBER

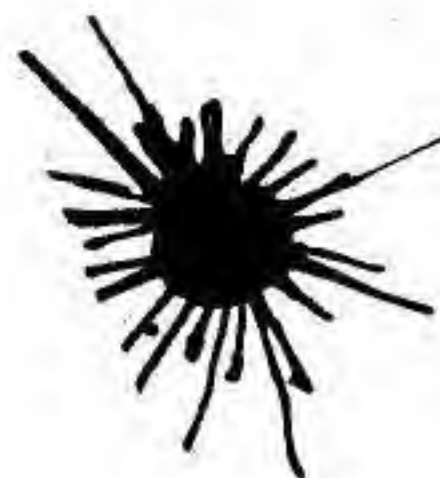




...THE ROCKEFELLERS DON'T KILL  
PEOPLE WITH THEIR OWN HANDS... THEY ARE  
PROBABLY VERY NON-VIOLENT PEOPLE... THE  
ROCKEFELLERS ONLY ORDER THE WARS... THEY  
ONLY RUN THE CORPORATIONS THAT MAKE THE  
BOMBS... THEY ONLY INSTALL THE DICTATORS  
THAT TORTURE THE PEOPLE...

THE ROCKEFELLERS PROBABLY DON'T LITTER...  
THEY ONLY RUN STANDARD OIL SO IT MAKES  
A PROFIT... AND THAT INVOLVES POISONING  
THE AIR, SPILLING OIL ACROSS THE OCEANS,  
DESTROYING HOMES, DISPLACING ESKIMOS,  
AND KILLING PEOPLE...

MANY LATIN AMERICANS GET PAID LESS THAN  
75 ¢ A DAY BY AMERICAN CORPORATIONS...  
EVERY PERSON THAT STARVES IN LATIN AMERICA  
DIES BECAUSE OF AND FOR THE SYSTEM THAT  
THE ROCKEFELLERS RUN, UPHOLD AND IN THE  
END PROFIT FROM... THE ROCKEFELLERS  
ARE PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE  
MISERY AND DEATH THAN ANYONE ELSE  
IN HISTORY AND THEY DON'T EVEN  
HAVE TO WASH  
THE BLOOD  
OFF THEIR  
HANDS...





...MEANWHILE, IN CENTRAL SAIGON, THE LOCAL CHASE MANHATTAN BANK BRANCH IS UNDER HEAVY ATTACK BY THE FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION... THE BANK WHICH IS BUILT LIKE A FORT WITH WINDOWLESS WALLS OF GRANITE AND SANDSTONE TO WITHSTAND MORTAR ATTACKS, IS HOLDING ON AS LONG AS IT CAN BUT ITS SOLDIERS ARE HIGH AND THEIR MORAL IS LOW...

...AND SAIGON ISN'T GOING TO BE BLESSED BY A BRANCH OF CHASE MANHATTAN BANK MUCH LONGER...



...MEANWHILE ON NELSON'S HUGE COFFEE PLANTATION IN ECUADOR TWO OF ROCKY'S CRONES WERE KIDNAPPED DURING A LABOR DISPUTE...



...AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST, STANDARD OIL OFFICIALS ARE BECOMING "INCREASINGLY DISTURBED" BY THE BOMBINGS OF THEIR PIPELINES BY ARAB GUERRILLAS...



...IT JUST SHOWS THE TOTAL LACK OF RESPECT THESE PEASANTS HAVE FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY!

...EVEN CHASE MANHATTAN'S SIXTY STORY SKYSCRAPER IN NEW YORK ISN'T SAFE FROM ATTACK!

I THOUGHT WE HAD A MONOPOLY ON BOMBS!



THERE IS A MONSTER THAT THE ROCKEFELLERS RIDE. IT LIVES ON THE BLOOD AND THE SWEAT OF THE PEOPLE...



...PEOPLE ARE STANDING UP AND FIGHTING BACK IN MANY PLACES ON MANY LEVELS WE HAVE SUFFERED MANY SETBACKS BUT WE WILL WIN...



...BECAUSE LIFE BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE AND ONLY DEATH BELONGS TO THE MONSTER.



IN MOZAMBIQUE WE FINALLY WON OUR LIBERATION AFTER TEN YEARS OF WAR WITH THE PORTUGUESE. NOW WE ARE REBUILDING OUR COUNTRY, FOR OURSELVES, NOT FOR PORTUGAL, OR AMERICA, OR THE ROCKEFELLERS. OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE REST OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE STILL STRUGGLING. OUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS AROUND THE WORLD ARE STILL STRUGGLING. IT TAKES CONSTANT, DETERMINED AND ORGANIZED STRUGGLE TO SLOWLY EXPOSE, ISOLATE, WEAKEN AND FINALLY DEFEAT THE MONSTER. AND WIN OUR FREEDOM.





# RESOURCES

45

this list of resources is not meant to footnote where i got every fact, quote and date. i'm not going to try to do that. the purpose of this list is to show you some of the sources i have used and lead you on the trail to finding similar information:

## the FAMILY BIOGRAPHIES:

**DAVID** \* WILLIAM HOFFMAN · LYLE STUART · 1971

a great liberal muckraking biography emphasizing david's power but including the story of the whole family...

**ROCKEFELLER POWER** \* MYER KUTZ · SIMON & SCHUSTER 1974

a critical biography mostly concentrating on foundations, museums, building projects and south america. not very complete or organized...

**ROCKEFELLER FOLLIES** \* WILLIAM RODGERS · STEIN & DAY · 1966

a great muckraking account of nelson's rise to political fame with many stories...

the **ROCKEFELLER BILLIONS** \* JULES ABELS \*

a regular, informational biography of the FAMILY, not very radical  
\* there are also a great many pro-rockefeller "house biographies", at least ten, which include alot of usefull, original information. all in the spirit of defending the family name. i won't list them but they probably stock every public library in the country.

## the C.I.A. and its adventures:

**THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT** \* DAVID WIFE & THOMAS ROSS · RANDOM HOUSE

1964 \* an account of the C.I.A.'s major accomplishment before this date.

**CULT of INTELLIGENCE** \* MARKS & MARCHETTI \* 1974 \*

the scandalous tale that was censored by the C.I.A.

**INSIDE the COMPANY: C.I.A. DIARY** \* PHILIP AGEE \* 1975 \* PENGUIN

an amazing day to day account by a former C.I.A. agent... not available in the U.S.A. (legal problems) write to penguin: 41 steakard rd. west markham ontario, canada...

## OIL and the ENERGY CRISIS:

**THE LAST PLAY: STRUGGLE TO MONOPOLIZE the WORLD'S ENERGY**

JAMES RIDGEWAY \* DUTTON PRESS \* 1974

short text with alot of raw information in the back about the oil trust and how it is trying to "monopolize the world's energy resources"

**THE CASE of THE PEOPLE vs. 'STANDARD OIL** 1972

ALAN MILLER \* PACIFIC COUNSELING SERVICE

short clear pamphlet outlining the ugliness of standard oil

**THE ENERGY CRISIS & THE REAL CRISIS BEHIND IT**

DAVE PUGH, MITCH ZIMMERMAN, GAR SMITH · 1974

a similar pamphlet, post energy crisis...

both pamphlets are available from UNITED FRONT PRESS

box 40099 S.F. calif. 94140 for .75 & each-

**THE ENERGY CRISIS** \* 1974 \* MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS ... and...

the **POLITICAL ECONOMY of INTL. OIL and UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

1969 BEACON PRESS \* both books by MICHAEL TANZIER  
two academic but readable, clear books that explain the relationship between the oil monopolies and the oil producing and importing nations...

\* ofcourse there are many other good books, not to mention bad books about the oil industry. many of which i have not read...

## the CORPORATE EMPIRE:

**THE RICH AND THE SUPER RICH \***

FERDINAND LUNDBERG · LYLE STUART · 1968

a colossal classic. long, detailed, conglomorate of rich families and their corporations...

ferdinand also wrote **AMERICA'S 60 FAMILIES** which is worth reading, even though it's archaic (1930's) if you want to get background on who controls what...

**MILLIONAIRES AND MANAGERS** \* S. MENSHIKOV

PROGRESSIVE PUBLISHERS · 1969

simple, comprehensive study of corporate power and interest groups...

**WHO RULES AMERICA?** WILLIAM DOMHOFF · PRENTISS · HALL

1967 \* not many facts, dates, quotes but a good sociological overview...

**EMPIRE OF HIGH FINANCE** VICTOR PERLO · INTERNATIONAL

1957 \* old and probably hard to find... a thorough explanation of who controls what and how, then...

\* basic info on corporations comes from "MOODY'S" and "STANDARD & POORS" business manuals. lists money, what it does, directors etc. basic info on management comes from "WHO'S WHO IN FINANCE & INDUSTRY"  
more in depth stories of corporations, corporate personalities, the rockefellers and other families comes from an amazingly upfront magazine "FORTUNE" and other business magazines. various industries and corporations also have biographies in the library...

## the C.F.R. and the GOVERNMENT

**THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT** \* DAN SMOOT

WESTERN ISLANDS · AMERICANIST LIBRARY 1962

the right wing has produced several books on this subject. their original research is amazing if you can stomach the conclusions (they believe rockefeller is in league with the communists)

## MISCELLANEOUS:

of course alot of this information came from newspapers and magazine articles. both straight and radical magazines and newspapers cover alot...

you can write to the U.S. senate judicial committee and the house rules comm. for free copies of the ROCKEFELLER CONFIRMATION HEARINGS...

\* i am interested in doing more revolutionary drawing and writing  
→ write care of NACLA box 226 berkeley, calif. \*





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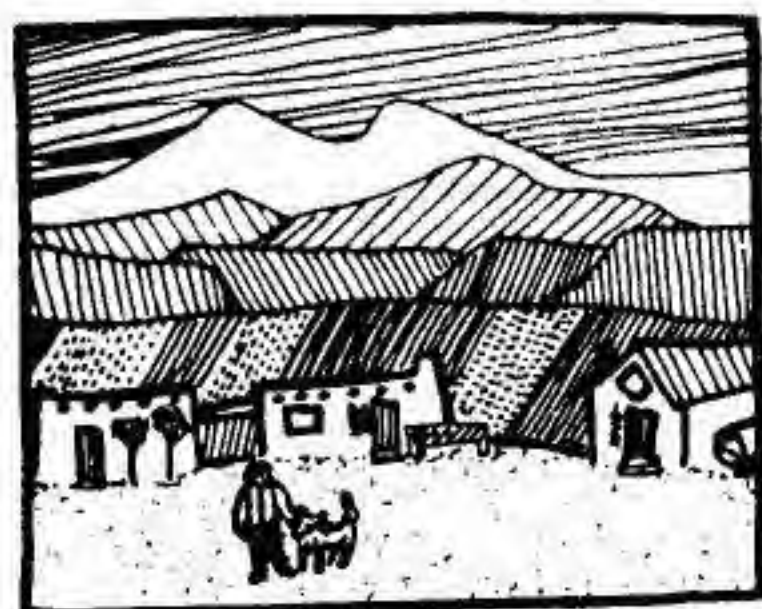
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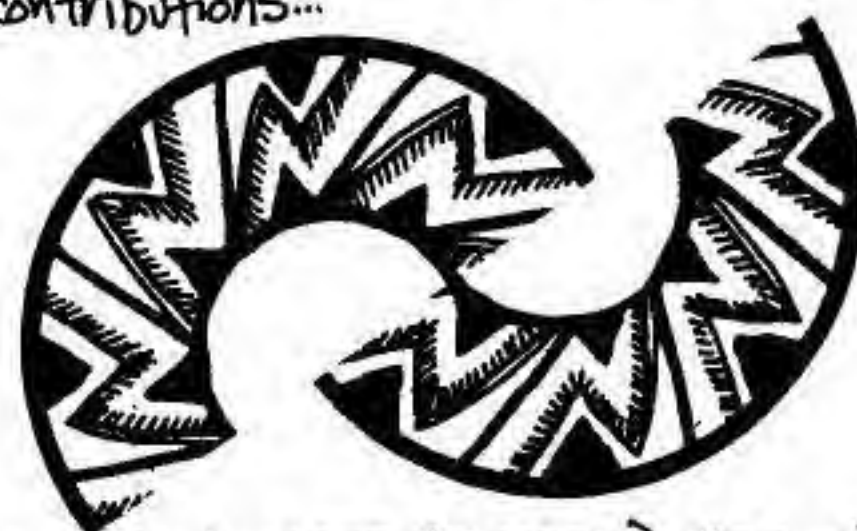
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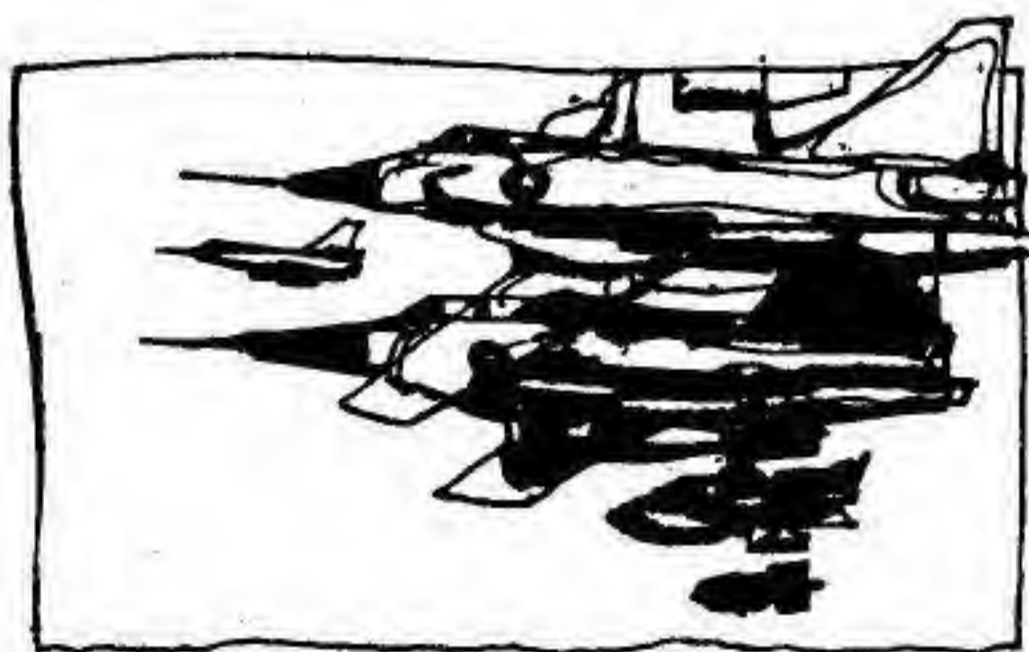
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a systematic guide to researching the U.S. establishment both at home and abroad.

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(1973, 48 pages) \$1.25 and 25¢ postage

an introductory annotated list





the story is not finished...



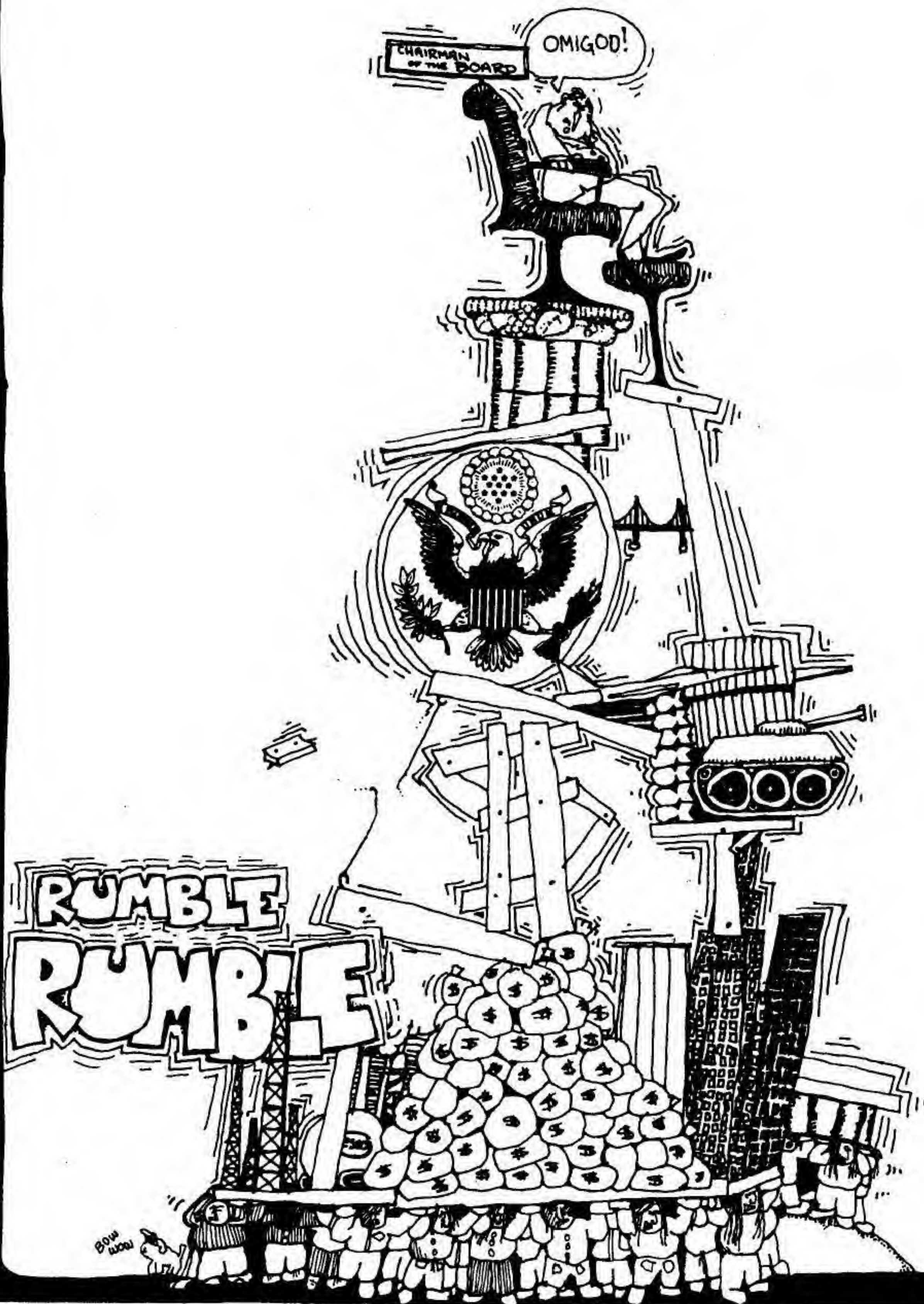
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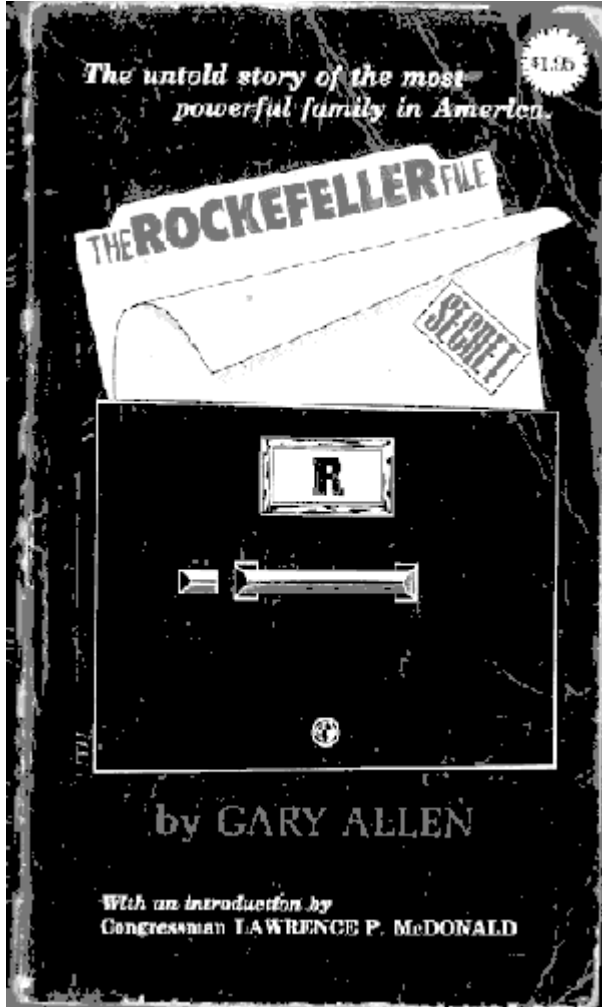






# The Rockefeller File

*by Gary Allen*



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Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington D.C. 20515

# Introduction

Dear Reader:

The super rich in America enjoy power and prerogatives un-imaginable to most of us. Who can conceive of owning a private empire that includes 100 homes, 2,500 servants, untold thousands of luxuries, and untold millions of dollars? America has a royal family of finance that has known such riches for generations. It is, of course, the Rockefellers.

But if the Rockefellers were content with their wealth, if their riches had satisfied their desires, this book would not have been written. And I would not be urging you to read it. Money alone is not enough to quench the thirst and lusts of the super-rich. Instead, many of them use their vast wealth, and the influence such riches give them, to achieve even more power. Power of a magnitude never dreamed of



by the tyrants and despots of earlier ages. Power on a world wide scale. Power over people, not just products.

The Rockefeller File is not fiction. It is a compact, powerful and frightening presentation of what may be the most important story of our lifetime, the drive of the Rockefellers and their allies to create a one-world government, combining super-capitalism and Communism under the same tent, all under their control.

For more than one hundred years, since the days when John D. Rockefeller Sr. used every devious strategy he could devise to create a gigantic oil monopoly, enough books have been written about the Rockefellers to fill a library. I have read many of them. And to my knowledge, not one has dared reveal the most vital part of the Rockefeller story: that the Rockefellers and their allies have, for at least fifty years, been carefully following a plan to use their economic power to gain political control of first America, and then the rest of the world.

Do I mean conspiracy? Yes, I do.

I am convinced there is such a plot, international in scope, generations old in planning, and incredibly evil in intent. You will find the truth-often surprising, sometimes unpleasant, always vital-in the pages that follow. Gary Allen has done a masterful job of combining the hundreds of scattered facts and hidden clues of the Rockefeller puzzle until one unmistakable pattern emerges.

The picture that is revealed when *The Rockefeller File* is finally opened may shock you. In this book, you will learn why the Rockefellers follow the policies they do, what their goals are, where they intend to take America ... and why it is essential they be stopped.

I urge you to read The Rockefeller File and to encourage your friends to do the same.

November 1975  
LAWRENCE P. Mc DONALD  
Member of Congress

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*Dedication:* to : Floyd Paxton - Freedom never had a truer champion - I never had a better friend.



# The Rockefeller File

## *by Gary Allen*

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# Chapter One

## The Multi-Billion Dollar Myth

*“If you're thinking of colossal economic power, it doesn't exist. We have investments, but not control.”*

-Nelson Rockefeller

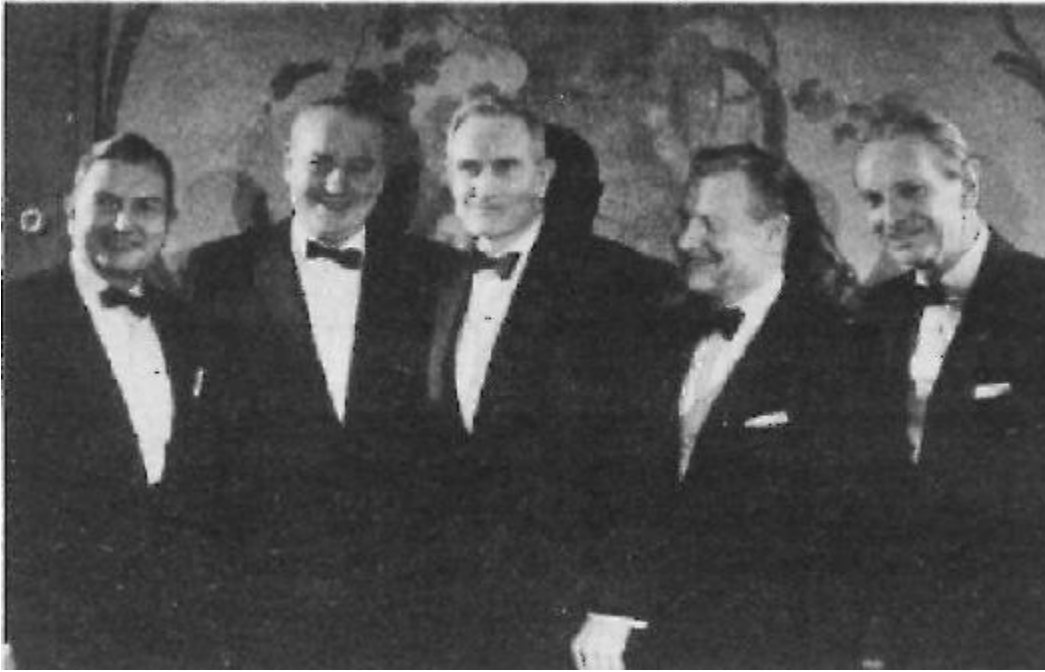
At his Vice Presidential confirmation hearings, Nelson A. Rockefeller was as solemn and serious as P. T. Barnum swearing his freak show denizens were the real Mc Coy when he told the assembled solons:

*I hope that the myth or misconception about the extent of the family's control over the economy of this country will be totally brought out and exposed and dissipated ...There is not this network of control which is popularly conceived.*

The Senators could not have been more polite. Nobody guffawed. The transcript does not indicate that they even tittered. After all, fools seldom get elected to the Senate these days. Nelson and David, as leaders of the Rockefeller Clan, are the nation's undisputed economic kings. No politician with enough savvy to be elected dog catcher laughs at a king.

Guessing the magnitude of the Rockefeller financial empire has been a favorite indoor sport since the turn of the century. In a front-page story on September 29, 1916, the *New York Times* reported that family patriarch John D. Rockefeller's oil holdings alone were worth **\$500 million**, and that he was America's first billionaire. Eight hours after the story appeared his oil shares had increased in value by a tidy **\$8 million**. Not a bad return for a single day's labor, even for a Rockefeller.





*The Brothers Rockefeller, inheritors of a colossal fortune, are using their massive wealth, power, and prestige to create what they call the "New World Order." Shown above (from left to right) are David, Chairman of the Board of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the Chase Manhattan Bank; Winthrop (now deceased); John D. an advocate of people control; Nelson, the "political" Rockefeller; and Laurance. After years of planning and campaigning, a brilliant coup d'etat has finally installed Nelson in the White House, without the risk of an election.*

About this period, however, the picture of the family's growing financial might becomes more murky. The Rockefellers began hiding their wealth from the public and the tax collector **-in trusts and foundations**. As reported in the Washington Post:

For two generations, the great fortune passed down by John D. has been fractionated and made more complex by increasing layers of trusts and closely held companies, where no public reports are required, none volunteered, and all inquiries politely rebuffed.

The Rockefellers invented a scheme, used by the super rich today, whereby the more money you appear to give away, the richer and more powerful you become. Through the help of captive politicians, guided by some bright boys in the family law offices, legislation was written and passed which would protect the Rockefellers and other elite super-rich from the repressive taxation they have foisted on everyone else.

The key to this system is giving up ownership but retaining control. For example, most people don't believe they really own something unless they retain title to it in their own name. The Rockefellers know this is a big mistake. Often it is better to have your assets owned by a trust or a foundation-which you control-than to have them in your own name.

For example, when Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis ordered Standard Oil broken up back in 1911, sly old John D. simply created some new foundations and gave his stock to them. The net effect was the same as if you took your wallet out of your right-hand pocket and put it in the left. In this case, however, Rockefeller not only managed to avoid income taxes, but also escaped the probate, estate and inheritance taxes which have ravaged the wealth of those not in the know.



So three generations of Rockefellers have been - giving away millions of dollars - giving much of it to themselves. For example, if a Rockefeller gives a million dollars worth of stock in the Titanic Oil Corporation to the Dogood Foundation, which the family controls, he is not really out one million bucks. All he has done is transfer title of the securities to an alter ego. Of course, the foundation may then give away some of the money, or, more likely, donate some of the stock's future earnings to some allegedly worthwhile cause. But, as the few investigations by Congress into this devious field have shown, in the case of the Rockefellers such bequests somehow end up increasing the Rockefeller financial or political power.

The upshot is that, through the past six decades, the public has had no way 'even to estimate Rockefeller wealth, let alone accurately measure the family's power and influence. But we can make some logical extrapolations from the few facts that are available. We know that through the magic of compound interest (as they say down at your friendly savings and loan branch), one dollar invested at the modest rate of five % per annum will double in thirteen years. This means that if the Rockefellers were earning only five % per year (a return they would find laughable), that modest \$1 billion fortune in 1916 would have grown to over billion today.

The late Stewart Alsop, a reporter who had excellent sources in the Eastern Liberal Establishment (a euphemism for the financial, political, academic and media Mafia controlled by the Rockefellers), used to scoff at the usually "accepted " Fortune magazine estimate of the family's fortune at between \$1 and \$2 billion.

"It would not be at all surprising " Alsop concluded in his book: "Nixon and Rockefeller (published in 1960),"if all the Rockefeller family assets -all the Rockefeller - controlled money as well as the Rockefeller "owned money came to something like 10 billion dollars.

If Alsop is correct, the Rockefeller holdings would now be a rather comfortable nest egg of some \$25 billion.

In view of the fact that the past fifteen years have produced much economic growth (as well, as much inflation), it could well be that \$25 billion is a reasonable, even a conservative figure.

Of course the family has never admitted being worth even a sizable fraction of this amount. When originally queried by the Senate Committee, good old' Nelson estimated his personal fortune at a paltry \$33 million. After some very mild prodding by the Committee, this modest estimate was increased by 660 %.

The Vice Presidential hopeful eventually admitted to being worth a more respectable \$218 million-a sum, incidentally, that is greater than the *combined* wealth of all 37 Presidents in this country's history.

So great was public suspicion of the Rockefeller wealth that the family's financial adviser, J. Richardson Dilworth, was invited to testify before the House judiciary Committee. Dilworth became the Rockefeller family's key money manipulator in 1958. Prior to joining the Rockefellers he had been a partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co., perhaps the most politically powerful international banking firm in the world. Kuhn, Loeb was, and still may be, a satellite of the immensely rich and powerful Rothschild family of Europe. Historically, the Kuhn, Loeb name has been synonymous with financial success and political intrigue, dating back to participation through senior partner Jacob Schiff in bankrolling the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.\* (see None dare call it conspiracy)

In the past, the Rockefellers have both competed with and cooperated with the Rothschilds. Dilworth's



leaving Kuhn, Loeb & Co. to take control of the Rockefeller family purse strings was considered significant by students of the international financial and political machinations of the super-rich.

Dilworth maintains an office designated as Rockefeller Family and Associates, occupying three entire floors at 30 Rockefeller Plaza. Rockefeller Family and Associates is not a legal entity or corporation; it is simply a name to describe the organization which coordinates and manages the investments of the 84 descendants of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

With the well-oiled assurance of a successful mortician the urbane, sophisticated Dilworth laid to rest the committee's concern over the family's financial muscle. He used five charts, crammed with statistics, to dispel the notion that the family exercises inordinate power over the nation's economy. Rocky's critics found it difficult to dispute Dilworth's bewildering collection of figures; at times they could hardly keep up with them. The whole performance was as confusing as an Eisenhower press conference, and probably as deliberate. As one observer commented:

*.... the talk of convertible stocks, coupons and fiduciary obligations and the fact the vast holdings of The Rockefeller Foundation and other family-collected funds were not included in Dilworth's presentation left most members little more enlightened than they had been.*

According to Dilworth, the 84 living Rockefellers are worth a mere \$1,033,988,000. (Presumably he rounded off the figures to the nearest thousand dollars.) The bulk of the assets disclosed by Dilworth were held in two trusts, one established by John D. Jr. in 1934 for his children and one set up in 1952 for his grandchildren.

But according to many sources, the Rockefellers have as many as 200 trusts and foundations, and it is possible they have hundreds, even thousands more. Why bother with so many? For one very simple reason: So that assets can be moved, merged, and manipulated so smoothly and so quickly that the public-and just as important, the tax experts from the Treasury Department-have no way of knowing just how much money is where.

Suppose you had three buckets, one empty, two filled with water. Is there any way you could pour water from one bucket to another so quickly an observer could not tell how much water you had?

But suppose, instead, you had five thousand buckets. And a hundred persons to help pour. And you were allowed to keep all but a few buckets and a few pourers hidden behind a high wall. Would your chances be better to keep your -liquid assets - secret? So it is with the Rockefellers. All trusts are not equal. Only a handful of attorneys in the country know how to establish the type of trusts the Rockefellers have. These specialized trusts are most emphatically not the sort your friendly local solicitor can create for you. They not only can eliminate probate, cut inheritance taxes, and reduce income taxes; unlike corporations, they can achieve almost total privacy. Theoretically, trustees can, within the privacy of their directors' meetings, create more and more trusts ad infinitum. With a little effort, taxes disappear. With more effort, even the value of the holdings can be completely hidden.

This explains why the Rockefellers use so many trusts. The fact is that we really don't know how many trusts the family has established. It may be thousands, or tens of thousands. Remember Nelson's explanation for the embarrassing fact that he did not pay any income tax in 1970-his trust fund managers had done a lot of shifting of investments in 1969. You can bet they moved their assets to accomplish this!

In testifying before the Judiciary Committee, Dilworth did not discuss the family's holdings by



individuals, but presented them as a single package. Dilworth said he had received "unanimous permission" from the Rockefeller family to make public the total figures of their holdings. "This in itself has been a unique experience, since it runs so completely against the grain of what we in the office consider to be one of our major responsibilities- the preservation of the separate identity and highly personal treatment of each account," he said. "Like other Americans, they value highly their right of personal privacy."

More importantly, the privacy within the trusts can conceal whatever assets the Rockefellers decided not to make public. If the family had chosen to open up the minutes of its trustees' meetings to Congressional investigators, we might have some idea of the true financial status of the family. No such suggestion was even whispered. We really have only the Rockefellers' word for the amount of wealth they control, and they obviously have a vested interest in minimizing its size.

How about assets hidden in foreign countries? Are there Swiss bank accounts? Rocky says no, but he could be telling the literal truth, yet have foreign accounts held by trusts or other nominees, or securities "in street name (that is, in the name of a brokerage firm such as Merrill Lynch). Or assets can be held in a custodial account of a bank, such as (for example) Chase Manhattan.

All that we know for sure is the first time Rocky was asked about his wealth he swore it was a paltry \$33 million; later he admitted the figure was six (6) times higher. **A slight miscalculation which anyone might make.**

We are supposed to swallow the propaganda that the Rockefellers are merely middle-class millionaires, not even in the, same financial ball park as Howard Hughes or those Texas wheeler-dealers. But, "Hideout Howard" and the Dallas money crowd are relative Johnny-Come-Latelys to the world of high finance. The Rockefellers have been refining oil for over a century and running banks for 75 -years. Although it cannot be proven because the evidence is hidden, few sophisticates swallow Dilworth's \$1 billion figure-which does not even include any personal residential property, jewelry or other personal belongings; nor does it include Nelson's art collection, which he has valued (conservatively, we must assume) at \$35 million.

Nor are the Rockefeller homesteads your basic tract bungalows. The main homes of the clan are located at Pocantico Hills in New York. Established 45 years ago by old John D., the land alone was worth \$50 million in 1930. Their value today defies estimate. When opened to the press for the first time in 1959, at the time of the marriage of Nelson's son Steven, the estate, with its 70 miles of private roads, was said to be 4,180 acres in size. Earlier reports claimed 7,500 acres. In 1929 there were 75 buildings occupied by the Rockefellers and their attendants; over 100 families lived on the estate. One addition has been a \$4.5 million underground archives to store family records. One wag has described the palatial Pocantico Hills as the kind of place God would have built if he had had the money.

No expense was spared by the family to remove minor blemishes on their pastoral paradise.

The senior Rockefeller gave the New York Central Railroad \$700,000 to move its tracks, and \$1.5 million to a small college to shove off.

Among the other chateaux owned by Nelson is the enormous Monte Sacro Ranch in Venezuela, his coffee plantation in Ecuador (the one where Juan Valdez waits for the perfect day to pick the beans), his several farms in Brazil, his 32-room Fifth Avenue duplex in New York City, the mansion in Washington, D. C., the little hideaway at Seal Harbor, Maine, etc., etc., etc.\*



In addition, at last count the Rockefellers owned seven huge ranches. Earlier this year 1975, Nelson bought 18,000 empty Texas acres for -outdoor recreation.

It is doubtful if any of the Rockefeller women will ever have to spend the night at the YWCA. The four of them have about 100 residences to choose from, including John D. III's spacious Beekman Place apartment in Manhattan, Laurance's sumptuous resorts in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, Nelson's Venezuela Finca, (large enough to swallow the entire city of New York), and David's Caribbean home.

Needless to say, it takes an army of underlings to operate these elegant pads. There are 500 full-time domestics, gardeners, guards and chauffeurs at Pocantico Hills alone, 45 at the family's Seal Harbor, Maine, retreat, and 15 in Nelson's Fifth Avenue apartment. All told, it has been estimated the Rockefeller women have at their beck and call about 2,500 servants.

Because the Rockefellers are forever on the wing-in their private jet fleets-each residence is permanently staffed, and nightly the sheets are turned down. One never knows when the boss might pop in.

Of the corporate holdings described by Dilworth, the largest, of course, is Exxon, the new name for Standard Oil of New Jersey, one of the companies formed when John D. Rockefeller, Sr. was ordered to de-monopolize the Standard Oil Company. The stock directly owned by the family (not counting that held by such family controlled entities as banks and foundations ) amounts to \$156,7 millions. Number two on Dilworth's list is Rockefeller mere \$98 million. Anyone who accepts this estimate of the Center's worth is probably negotiating to swap his life time savings for sole proprietorship in the Brooklyn Bridge. The Los Angeles Times observed on September 30, 1974 :

\* The Congressional hearings revealed that two houses in Washington "ostensibly owned by a Rockefeller attorney" actually belong to Nelson.

Nobody but the stockholders (the four surviving Rockefeller brothers-Nelson, John D.III, David and Laurance - their sister, Abby, and the heirs of their brother Winthrop, who died in 1973, and a handful of Wall Street bankers) know its true value, but the educated guess of New York's real estate crowd is that Rockefeller Center, land and buildings, is worth \$1 billion.

Next in line in the family portfolio is \$85-million worth of stock in Standard of California, followed by \$72.6 million worth of IBM. Companies in which the family holds \$10 million or more in stock include Chase Manhattan Bank, Mobil Oil Corp., Eastman Kodak, General Electric, Texas Instruments, and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing. Altogether the Rockefellers own a significant portion of some 50 major American companies.

So extensive are the family's holdings in securities that the Dilworth operation spreads over three entire floors at Rockefeller Center, and requires 154 full-time employees to manage the security portfolios. Working under Dilworth's supervision are fifteen top financial experts, who also double and triple in brass by serving on the boards of directors of nearly 100 corporations with combined assets of some \$70 billion.

When testifying before the judiciary Committee, Dilworth's main objective was to fortify Nelson's statement that his family's reputed financial power was a - myth - concocted by evildoers. "If you're thinking of colossal economic power, it doesn't exist. We have investments, but not control," claimed Rocky.

"It should be stressed that both the family members and their investment advisers are totally uninterested



in controlling anything," parroted Dilworth. "The family members are simply investors. The aim and hope of the advisers is over time to achieve a reasonable total return for our clients. "So seriously was the whole performance taken that not even a wink could be, detected in the hearing room, much less a discreet nudge under the table.

Dilworth maintained that members of the family do not coordinate their investments. Their sharply differing views on investments, social and environmental policies, Dilworth claimed, have prevented them from ever voting their stock in unison. "There is no grand design or overall pattern," the Rockefeller hireling assured the committee.

Dilworth went on to say that the last time the family interfered in the management of a company was in 1928 when John D. Sr. and Jr. forced Standard Oil Company (Indiana) to remove a chief executive. Such intervention now, purred Dilworth, is -totally foreign to this family. In the 17 years I've been on this job, I've never seen this family try to push people around."

The Wall Street Journal sprang to the defense of the family on September 25, 1974:

*... "while Mr. Rockefeller is a bit modest about his economic clout, it is true that there are no individuals left in this society who are wealthy enough to alone substantially influence economic events. The wealth accumulated by John D. and the other tycoons of his era is diffused through a vast economy, controlled by foundations, trusts and the managers of large broadly based corporations.*

*Power is diffused along with it"*

In April 1958, when it was reported that J. Richardson Dilworth, the man with the most snobbish "sounding name since Junius Pierpont Morgan or Jackie Gleason's immortal Reginald van Gleason, was appointed to his present position, the *New York Times* explained that the organization "manages and supervises" the Rockefeller family investments. The phrase "manages and supervises" suggests a coordinated effort at directing family finances. If the Rockefellers were not interested in maximizing their economic leverage, it would seem logical that each would pursue his own interests separately and retain his or her own battery of experts.

Dilworth makes it sound as if the family has widely divergent views on social, economic and political questions. Yet we have not been able to find a single significant occasion when the four sons and daughter of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. differed.\*

And is it not curious that no member of the Judiciary Committee chose to grill Mr. Dilworth about the alleged disagreements which prevent the family from acting in financial unison? The *New Yorker* of January 16, 1965, tells us that the brothers and sister Abby "get together two or three times a year to discuss matters of interest to all of them." The purpose of the conferences is to "collide and coalesce," as one of their senior advisers described it.

Charles B. Smith, a top Dilworth, lieutenant, was a bit more forthright than his boss: "Our goal, like everybody else's, is to make wads and wads of money for the Rockefeller family." The Rockefeller family likes money. But, once you have achieved the ultimate of opulence in your standard of living (and the Rockefellers reached that plateau decades ago), making money for its own sake becomes a fairly academic exercise.

Most people relax after they have reached the point of economic comfort and security. But, for some individuals, the ultimate ego trip has been the pursuit of power. In bygone days the rare individual with



a manic desire for power seized a throne, or led conquering armies. Now that is all passé. Today, more worlds are conquered in board rooms than on battle fields. And, as we shall see, what happens on battle fields is often the result of decisions made in board rooms.

All of us can name plenty of tyrants and despots from the past. Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin - these men brought misery and death to millions of people in the course of realizing their own perverted ambitions. But because the overwhelming majority of people do not possess such a psychotic thirst for power, they find it all but impossible to recognize its presence in others.

\* One subject on which the family is unanimous is furthering Nelson's political ambitions; the Rockefellers have contributed a staggering \$25 million to various campaigns promoting Nelson for the Presidency.

Most Americans just want to provide decent lives and comfortable futures for themselves and their families. They are willing to work hard to achieve the necessities of life and even many luxuries. But they could no more conceive of scheming, -plotting and conniving to become economic commissars or kings than they would be interested in abandoning civilization for life as headhunters along the Amazon.

It is Mr. Average American and his family, however, who pay the price for the megalomania of the empire builders. Especially since our domestic would-be tyrants learned long ago that a political-economic conspiracy can become far more powerful than a criminal one-and is far, far safer for the participants.

Whether or not such megalomania is carried by genes we do not know. What can be shown is that it has existed for at least three generations in the Rockefeller family. Despite the protests of the Rockefellers and their hirelings that they are totally uninterested in controlling anything, a survey of the evidence will reveal an all-consuming passion for control over everything and everybody.

The House of Rockefeller is not just a wealthy and successful family. Instead, it is an Empire. No other family has deliberately sought control over so many institutions which affect every facet of American life. Whether it is government, business, energy, banking, the media, religion or education, at the apex of the power structure you will find Rockefeller money and Rockefeller front men and agents. Such total persuasiveness, influencing every important aspect of American life, cannot be happenstance.

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# Chapter Two

## The Saintly Sinner

*“Competition is a sin.”*

-John D. Rockefeller

Enough books have been written to fill a fair-sized library, detailing the incredible story of how Daddy



Oilbucks started Standard Oil and built the Rockefeller fortune. Some of them even tell the truth! We will tiptoe through these shady tulips only long enough to understand the traits and tactics of the Rockefeller founding father, so we may recognize them as they bloom again in modern clan members.

Everything about the Rockefellers seems to be controversial, even their family background. One story goes that the family descends from French Protestants, who changed their name from Roquefeuille to Rockefeller when they were driven from France into Germany. However, a genealogy compiled by the distinguished scholar, Dr. Malcolm Stern, entitled *Americans of Jewish Descent*, convincingly established the claims of many American Jews that the Rockefeller clan originally was one of their own.\*

\* Birmingham, Stephen, *The Grandees: America's Sephardic Elite*, Harper & Row, N.Y., 1971, p. 3.

The controversy about the Rockefeller antecedents is probably not important. But it does highlight an accomplishment more difficult than threading a needle after six martinis (and one that is reported about as often).

The family controls oil holdings worth hundreds of millions in Arab lands, yet Nelson has remained the darling of organized Jewry in New York City. Without such support he could never have been elected Governor of New York State four times. Just how the family manages this bit of wizardry boggles the mind.

William Rockefeller, the father of John D., first became involved in the petroleum business when he peddled the oily stuff at \$2.5 a pint as a cure for warts, snake bite, cancer and impotency. The wandering medicine man called himself "Doctor," even though he couldn't have entered medical school with a search warrant. In addition to being a quack, "Doc" Bill was a bigamist, horse thief and child molester. The good "Doctor" avoided prosecution in New York for raping a 15-year old girl by hightailing it for Cleveland. Once there, he deserted his wife and six children to marry a 20-year old. (At least when Nelson abandoned his wife of 31 years to marry Happy Fitler Murphy, he did not abandon his children. She abandoned hers.)

Although no one ever nominated him for the father-of-the-year award, the "Doc" did take the time to instruct his children in his own unique business ethics. Author William Hoffman reports: "The thing the children most remembered about their father was the delight he took in getting the better of them in business deals. He would con them out of something they considered important, then lecture them on the necessity of always being alert."

The family's friendly biographer, Professor Allan Nevins, quotes "Old Bill" as boasting to a crony:

*I cheat my boys every chance I get. want to make 'em sharp. I trade with the boys and skin 'em and I just beat em every time I can. I want to make 'em sharp.*

**He did.**

The sharpest of the "Doc's" progeny was John D. Any psychiatrist worth a couch would trade several neuroses to have had a chance to learn what made him tick. He was full of more contradictions and paradoxes than a Charlie Chan flick. The main feature of his Jekyll-Hyde personality is that he was straighter than an arrow in his private life and deeply (some say fanatically) religious. At the same time he was totally and utterly ruthless in his grasping for money and power. Many of the old boy's victims were sure that his religion was a pretense, an act. But actually there is no evidence that his claims to



piety were deliberately faked.

Unlike his father, John D. was a nose-to-the-grindstone type who, before he was out of his teens, was a shrewd and successful commission broker in Cleveland. In 1859, his partners sent him over to Titusville, Pennsylvania to see if there was as much financial potential in the gushing black liquid as was rumored. Young Rockefeller liked what he saw. He decided that of the three phases of the burgeoning oil industry-production, transportation and refining-the last promised the greatest profits.

John D. returned to Cleveland and launched what became the mighty Standard Oil Company. From the start of his business career, one thing that Rockefeller hated more than sin was competition. For John D the only efficient way to run anything was by a monopoly. Provided, of course, that the most qualified, most capable, and most deserving person-meaning himself-ran it.

When John D. founded Standard Oil, it was just one of the 27 other refineries in the Cleveland area, and by no means the biggest. But the ambitious businessman-who once declared that -competition is a sin"-soon devised a plan to take on or destroy his competitors. The simplicity. Audacity, and ruthlessness of his scheme is breathtaking.

He bribed and coerced the railroads serving the oil producing region (the Pennsylvania, Erie, and New York Central), to give him a kickback, or rebate, not only on his own shipments, but also on every barrel his competitors sent by rail. The more they shipped, the more he made!

Rockefeller's rebate formula enabled him to reduce his own prices and drive the other oil refiners out of business *using their own money!*

Within a year, his competitors had capitulated.

Lewis Corey, in his book ***The House of Morgan***, comments on the ploys that provided the coups *de grace* to Rockefeller's competitors:

... the battle of competition was waged by means of intrigues, discriminatory railroad rates, business blackmail and expropriating competitors' property ....

In spite of public condemnation, Standard Oil persisted in extorting discriminatory rates from railroads, afterward secured by John D. Rockefeller becoming a power himself in the railroads, particularly New York Central, Erie and Pennsylvania. Rate discrimination was general and infuriated small businessmen to revolt ...

John D. did not get his bag of tricks from his daily reading of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The rebate game was powerful, but it was only one of his cunning schemes. In the early days, "lucky-competitors were offered cash or stock in Standard Oil, in return for selling their firms to Rockefeller at the rock-bottom prices he offered. The smart ones took stock. Later, things got rougher. Matthew Josephson describes in *The Robber Barons* what happened to one stubbornly independent company:

.... where the Standard Oil could not carry on its expansion by peaceful means, it was ready with violence; its faithful servants knew even how to apply the modern weapon of dynamite. In Buffalo, the Vacuum Oil Co., one of the "dummy-creatures of the Standard Oil system. became disturbed one day by the advent of a vigorous competitor who built a sizable refinery and located it favorably upon the waterfront. The offices of Vacuum conducted at first a furtive campaign of intimidation. Then emboldened or more desperate, they approached the chief mechanic of the enemy refinery, holding



whispered conferences with him in a rowboat on Lake Erie.

He was asked to "do something." He was urged to "go back to Buffalo and construct the machinery so it would bust up ... or smash up, to fix the pipes and stills so they cannot make a good oil ... And then if you would give them a little scare, they not knowing anything about the business. You know how . . . - In return the foreman would have a life annuity which he might enjoy in another part of the country. So in due time a small explosion took place in the independent plant.

Ferdinand Lundberg, in his study *The Rich and Super-Rich*, has observed:

*"As the history of Standard Oil by any author, pro or con, clearly shows, Rockefeller was of a deeply conspiratorial, scheming nature, always planning years ahead with a clarity of vision that went far beyond anything any of his associates had to offer."*

John D. specialized in operating through others, just as the family does today. He hired agents everywhere; among competitors', politicians and in the media. He found plenty of people who could be bought. "The ability to deal with people is as purchasable a commodity as sugar or coffee .... I pay more for that ability' than for any under the sun the Standard Oil founder once admitted. Rockefeller's industrial espionage system was by far the most elaborate, most sophisticated and most successful that had ever been established. William Manchester tells us in *Rockefeller Family Portrait*:

The trouble with fighting John D. was that you never knew where he was. He ran his company as though it were a branch of the CIA. All important messages were in code-Baltimore was "Droplet," Philadelphia "Drugget", refiners were "Douters," the Standard itself "Doxy." Shadowy men came and went by his front door, shadowy companies used his back door as a mailing address. For a long time the public didn't realize how powerful he was because he kept insisting he was battling firms that he secretly owned outright. His real rivals were forever discovering that their most trusted officers were in his pocket.

## **The tentacles of the octopus were everywhere.**

One Cleveland oil refiner made a last ditch effort to save his company from a Rockefeller takeover by going to Peru for oil. He found it had all been bought by a company which was a subsidiary of a corporation owned by the Anglo-American Company of England-which belonged to Standard. Soon, his firm was just another satellite in the Rockefeller oil empire.

It was not for nothing that newly impoverished former competitors referred to the Standard Oil biggie as John D. Reckafellow. A lot of bitter, broken men would have liked to have had a piece of that Rock.

In later years the Wizard of Oil tried to disguise his piratical business operations with the protective coloration, of his religious practices.-" God gave me my money," he piously proclaimed. Many wryly mused that if true, God had a very strange code of ethics.

By 1890, Standard was refining 90 % of all crude oil in the United States and its worldwide operations were expanding rapidly. Many have been led to believe that the federal government finally broke up Standard's near monopoly. The truth is that when oil was discovered in, Louisiana, Oklahoma and California, Standard Oil, big as it was, was unable to seize complete control of the mushrooming oil business. In the big oil boom that followed, too many small producers and refiners prospered for John D. to bribe, blackmail, or bomb all of them. In a sense, it was God, - not Uncle Sam, who blocked John D.'s Monopolistic plans.



# Chapter Three

## The Family That Preys Together

*``Nelson Rockefeller becomes Vice President or events make him President someday, he will bump into his family's wealth on practically every major public issue. . ."*

-Thomas O'Toole  
Washington Post

Although international banking is probably the Rockefellers' most important business, Standard Oil remains the keystone in the arch of the Rockefeller Empire. The family is still better known to the public for its oil properties than for its bank shares.

Petroleum is now the single most important commodity in world trade. It supplies the fuel, of course, for almost every motor vehicle in the world, it powers most electric generating plants, and it is the most vital raw material for the manufacturing of plastics, chemicals and drugs. All of this has brought huge benefits to the Rockefellers. As *Time* magazine reported in its, issue of February 18, 1974:

*For 111 years, the business that has been variously known as the Standard Oil Trust, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), Esso and now Exxon has survived wars, expropriations, brutalizing competition, muckraking attacks and even dismemberment by the US Supreme Court (in 1911). It has not only survived but has also grown-from a refinery in Cleveland to a global behemoth that sells petroleum in more than 100 countries through some 300 subsidiaries and affiliates that make up a -United Nations of oil." Not only grown but also prospered-so much so that last month it reported the largest annual profit ever earned by any industrial company: \$2.4 billion after taxes.*

The explosive growth of Exxon, the tiger of the oil industry, is revealed in the following UPI release fifteen months after the *Time* article:

Fortune magazine has just issued its list of the nation's 500 biggest corporations, and never in the 20 years that it has tracked their performance have the rankings been so changed. The reason, the May issue of the magazine reports, is oil.

Fortune's new list of the biggest publicly held industrial corporations for 1974 introduces a new No. 1: the Exxon Corporation. It displaced the General Motors Corporation, which had been America's biggest industrial company for 40 years. Exxon was No. 2 in 1973.

Propelled by soaring prices for oil, Exxon's sales-the gauge by which Fortune determines size-surged from \$25.7 billion in 1973 to \$35.8 billion last year.

To get some idea of the mammoth size of Exxon, consider the following: If Exxon were shorn of all its foreign operations, it would still be the ninth or tenth largest industry in the United States. Yet it gets



only 16% of its oil production and 32% of its sales from this country. If Exxon merely transported oil, it would be the world's biggest shipping firm. It has 155 tankers of its own and varying numbers under charter at sea. It is a substantial international banker, holding fortunes in marks, yen, francs, pounds and dollars all over the world. And on and on it goes.

In order to determine actual Rockefeller family control over Exxon and the other offshoots of the original Standard Oil Trust (Mobil, Standard of Indiana, Standard of California, Chevron, Sohio, Phillips 66, Marathon, et al) we must gather all of the pieces of the puzzle we can find and carefully fit them together. In his testimony before Congress, Dilworth revealed that the Rockefeller family has approximately \$324,600,000 worth of oil stock. This represents an average of about 2 % in each of the four giant oil companies. But, in 1966, testimony before the Patman Committee indicated that the nine Rockefeller family foundations also controlled an average of about 3 % in the Standard Oil Trust descendants. This known total of 5% would give the Rockefellers effective working control over the four giant corporations:

In addition, there are shares held in trust by the Rockefeller banks, insurance companies, universities and other groups whose boards of directors and trustees are interlocked with the Rockefellers.

And yet, incredibly, oil is not even the Rockefellers' biggest business. That honor is reserved for international banking. The Rockefeller family banks are the First National City Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank. The Chase Manhattan is the third largest banking establishment in the world; and while only number three, it is by far the most influential.

The largest bank in the world is Bank of America in California, inventor of the bank credit card, Bank Americard, which now has 39 million cardholders worldwide. Bank of America became a giant through branch banking in California, where it has over 1,000 offices. Until recently, however, when it linked its overseas operations with the Rothschilds of Europe, the Bank of America lacked international horsepower. Now it too has joined the internationalists' crusade for World Government.

Chase Manhattan was created by the union of the Rockefeller-owned Chase Bank with the Kuhn, Loeb controlled Manhattan Bank. The marriage has been a huge success for both families; in 1971 Chase Manhattan claimed \$36 billion in assets. This is impressive enough, but the New York Times has pointed out that it is not the whole story: "... a major portion of their [Chase Manhattan's] business carried on through affiliated banks overseas is not consolidated on the balance sheet."

*Time* also emphasizes the immense power of the Chase Manhattan, noting that "The Chase has 28 foreign branches of its own, but more important, it has a globe encircling string of 50,000 correspondent banking offices." Fifty thousand correspondent banks around the world! if each correspondent bank were worth only a paltry \$10 million, it would give Chase potential world wide clout of five hundred billion dollars ! Such a figure is simply incomprehensible. Unfortunately, it is probably, conservative estimate of Chase's power and influence.

Such financial clout would give the Rockefellers the ability to create an international monetary crisis over, night. Could it be that it is they who have been yo-yoing the price of gold, dollars and foreign currencies during the past few years-creating panics for most investors, but profits for themselves?

Every time an international monetary storm blows up hundreds of millions of dollars flow into European banks' When the storm subsides, those who were "in the know": at the beginning have made enormous sums of money, That the Rockefellers have been very profitably involved through the Chase Manhattan Bank and its overseas facilities, seems more than reasonable.



By almost any standard, Chase Manhattan has become virtually a sovereign state. Except it has more money, than most. It even employs a full-time envoy to the United Nations.

As just one illuminating statistic, during 1973 Chase board chairman David Rockefeller met with 27 heads of state, including the rulers of Russia and Red China, plus scores of lesser dignitaries. Not even Henry Kissinger, he of the - shuttle diplomacy - and much- publicized state dinners, can match Rockefeller's influence with the men at the top.

Chase Manhattan's annual reports contain much information detailing the worldwide expansion of the bank. It has gone international on the grand scale. And it shows no signs of slowing down. In fact, Chase Manhattan is the undisputed world heavyweight champion when it comes to international banking.

During the Senate hearing on Nelson's confirmation, he claimed, "I do not own any shares in the Chase Manhattan Bank." However, he neglected to mention that his family owns 623,000 shares, or 2.54 % of the Chase Manhattan stock. And he also conveniently overlooked the fact that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund owns another 148 000 Chase shares and Rockefeller University holds 81,296.

Myer Kutz tells us in the *New York Times* of April 28, 1974: "The Rockefellers and Rockefeller institutions own a major, essentially controlling interest, estimated at more than 4%, in The Chase Manhattan Bank.-

The Chase Annual *Report* for 1974 reports that the total assets of The Chase Manhattan Corporation stood at **\$42,532,003,302**. That's over forty-two billion dollars. From this, reports Chase, they had a net income of \$180,801,382 for the year 1974 That's over \$180 million profit in just one year-or \$3.5 million in profit a week-of which the. Rockefeller family pockets over four %, or roughly 7.2 million dollars. That's not bad, considering Chase is mainly a device for holding and boosting many of the family's other financial interests.

Once again we must note that actual ownership by the family in Chase Manhattan may be much greater than is admitted. Professor James Knowles in his highly detailed study, " The Rockefeller Financial Group" states:

It is impossible to establish conclusively that the wealthy families represented on the boards of the banks in the Rockefeller Group own a controlling share of the stock. The ownership of large banks is a carefully guarded secret. Even when banks are required to disclose their largest stockholders, as was the case in the 1962 Patman investigation of chain banking, they have used what are called "street names" in referring to stockholding in trust.

These "street names- are wholly fictitious and bear no resemblance to the actual beneficiary or trustees. In the case of Chase Manhattan Bank, for example, its reported twenty largest stockholders in 1962 included fifteen "street names," (e.g., Dudd & Co., Don & Co., Atwell & Co.) .... \*

If fifteen of the twenty largest blocs of stocks are held in fictitious names designed to hide the identities of the real owners, it is impossible to doubt that some, if not most, of the actual owners are part of the Rockefeller Empire.

\* Knowles, James, "The Rockefeller Financial Group,- MSS Modular Publications, NY, 1973, p. 8.

When the few facts that are available to the public are considered-that the Rockefellers control by far the largest amount of stock in Chase Manhattan, that other families closely connected with the Standard Oil



fortune from its beginning also own substantial blocks of stock, that the board of directors of Chase Manhattan reads like a who's who of Rockefeller lieutenants, and that David Rockefeller is chairman of the board of the bank-no one can dispute Rockefeller control of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

But Chase Manhattan is not the only mega-bank in the Rockefeller financial empire. The first bank with which the Rockefeller family became directly involved was the National City Bank of New York, which actually ranks number two in the international standings. Its former president, James Stillman, became a close associate of John D.'s brother, William, who was at the time managing the huge Standard Oil Trust. William Rockefeller tilted the Standard Oil banking business in Stillman's direction and thus National City became the largest bank in New York City. The financial marriage was cemented by the marriage of two of William Rockefeller's sons to two of Stillman's daughters.

Until his retirement in 1967, James Stillman Rockefeller, a product of the Stillman-Rockefeller merger, was chairman of the board of First National City Bank. Previously, James had strengthened the Rockefeller family and financial ties by marrying Nancy Carnegie of the fabulously wealthy Carnegie family.

City Bank has enjoyed such phenomenal growth that it now surpasses the mighty Chase in total assets. While it does not have the prestige or political muscle of the Chase, it really matters very little since both are Rockefeller family banks.

Yet a third large New York bank in the Rockefeller orbit is the Chemical Bank, which is controlled by the Harkness family. Edward Harkness was one of John D.'s closest business associates in the Standard Oil Trust, and as late as 1939 the Harkness family was the largest non Rockefeller owner of Standard Oil stock.

Closely related to the Rockebanks are the gigantic insurance companies, with their investment funds worth hundreds of millions of dollars. Life insurance companies play a critical role in financing because they are the principal suppliers of long-term credit, whereas banks are mainly involved with short-term and medium-term credit. In turn the solvency (or bankruptcy) of other corporations is often dependent on their ability to obtain loans from the Rockefeller-controlled financial giants.

The Rockefeller Group of banks is heavily interlocked with the board of directors of three of the four biggest life insurance companies: Metropolitan Life, Equitable Life and New York Life. The total assets of these three insurance giants amounted to over \$113 billion in 1969. According to Professor Knowles, the Rockefeller Group controlled banks account for about 25 % of all the assets of the fifty largest commercial banks in the country and for about 30 % of, all the assets of the fifty largest life insurance companies.

Buddy, can you spare a dime?

The Rockefeller family control over these banks and insurance companies gives them **leverage** over the economy that goes far beyond their direct ownership.

There are several ways in which the Rockefeller Clan controls vast segments of the economy. The first is through the stockholding of the families in the group. Five % ownership of a widely-held public corporation, according to a 1974 report by the Senate Banking Committee, is considered tantamount to control, especially if your name is Rockefeller. But if we consider only those firms where the Rockefellers own twice that much stock, or have five % of the stock plus two or more top level management positions, we can put the following companies in the column controlled by the



Rockefellers. (The 1975 asset-size rating by Fortune magazine is indicated in parenthesis.)

Exxon (1), Mobil Oil (5), Standard of California (6), Standard of Indiana (13), International Harvester (26),

Inland Steel (78), Marathon Oil (60), Quaker Oats (163), Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel (194), Freeport Sulphur, and International Basic Economy Corporation.

Another means by which the Rockefeller Group has potential influence or control over major segments of the economy is through the trust departments of the Rockebanks. Nearly a decade ago, the assets of commercial bank trust departments were \$253 billion, almost \$100 billion more than those of all mutual savings banks and savings and loan companies. Usually a commercial bank trust department exercises sole voting rights over the stock it holds. But anyone who believes this is the case for the enormously large trusts established for the Rockefeller family probably also hopes to find a real diamond in the bottom of his Cracker Jacks box.

While Dilworth was bending over backwards trying to convince the assembled Senators at the hearings that the family never, but never, interferes with management, Fortune magazine has reported that the Rockebanks often throw their weight into proxy battles, and the very knowledgeable Professor Knowles adds, "No company is secure from possible domination by bank trust departments.-

In 1967, the Rockebanks had a total of \$35 billion in trust department assets -nearly 14 % of the national total! These included \$22.5 billion in stocks. Knowles notes:

Obviously, such stockholdings, most of which are either under the direct control of the families whose representatives sit on the boards of these [Rockefeller] banks or are indirectly under their control through voting rights exercised by the bank trust departments, provide a basis for the effective control of a large share of the American economy.

Chase's trust department, with the bank's companion investment management corporation, controls the single largest block of stock in 21 major American corporations. This means that United Air Lines, Northwest Airlines, Long Island Lighting, Atlantic Richfield Oil, National Air lines and 16 other multimillion dollar firms are also under the Rockefeller thumb. The Los Angeles Times reports:

Control of the bank and of its trust department has the effect of multiplying the family's economic leverage. Every major bank in New York holds millions of shares in trust for other owners-most of whom give the banks the power to vote the shares and, thus influence corporate management.

Corporations which are probably under the control of the Rockefellers~ through financial institutions, trust departments or foundation ownership of stock, include the following (with the 1975 Fortune rating in parenthesis):

IBM (9), Mobil (5), Texaco (4), IT & T (10), Westinghouse (19), Boeing (39), International Paper (56), Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing (59), Sperry Rand (70), Xerox (41), National Cash Register (97), National Steel (64), American Home Products (92), Pfizer (130), Avon (159), and Merck (152).

But wait, there's more! Still wonder if the Rockefellers have amassed a dangerous amount of power? Consider that just the transportation companies under Rockefeller influence (with 1975 Fortune ranking for transportation corporations noted in parenthesis) are as follows:



Perm Central (T3), TWA (T1), Eastern Airlines (T8), United Airlines (T2), National Airlines (T26), Delta (T13), Braniff (T19), Northwest Airlines (T18), and Consolidated Freightways (T17).

Other major corporations in which the Rockefellers have significant influence, either director indirect, but not enough to prove working control, are:

AT & T (U1), Motorola (149), Safeway (R-2), Honeywell (68), General Foods (58), Hewlett-Packard (225), and Burlington Industries (86).

Yet another manner in which the Rockefellers can exert significant control over corporations is through loans.

More and more in recent years companies have had to finance modernization and expansion through bank borrowing. Old John D., biographer Allan Nevins tells us, 11 never allowed any finance capitalist to obtain large shares- of his properties. While Big Daddy did not want to be eaten by the Wall Street loan sharks, he didn't mind becoming one. Roughly 80 % of Chase's loan portfolio, the U.S.'s largest, represents major nationwide corporations. Bank of America, the nation's largest, specializes in making installment loans to millions of individual customers. The Rockefeller banks make fewer loans, but they make them to the giants of industry. According to Professor Knowles, the Rockefeller Group's position in the capital market is even greater than its share of banking and insurance assets would indicate. When a bank makes a large loan to a company, it is in a position to demand that it have a voice in the decision-making machinery of that company. Often this comes in the form of having somebody appointed to the borrower's board of directors.

This relates to yet another method for economic control, interlocking directorates. An interlocking directorate exists between two companies when a member of the board of directors of one company also sits on the board of directors of the other company. This was theoretically outlawed by Section 8 of the Clayton Act, which says that no person shall be a director at one time in any two or more competing companies. This law is enforced almost as strictly as the one against jaywalking in New York City. Tracing all of the interlocks among the Rockefeller Group's representatives on various boards of directors is a challenge that would reduce an Einstein to a babbling idiot. Just a few of the major corporations not previously mentioned that have interlocking-directorate ties with the Rockefeller Groups include:

Allied (Chemical) (8,5), Anaconda Copper (118), DuPont (17), Monsanto (43), Olin Mathison (161), Borden (47), National Distillers (185), Shell (14), Gulf (7), Union Oil (34), Dow (27), Celanese (101), Pittsburgh Plate Glass (113), Cities Service (61), Stauffer Chemical (233), Continental Oil (16), Union Carbide (22), American Cyanamid (107), American Motors (93), Bendix (77), Chrysler (11), S. Kresge (R5), and R. H. Macy, C.I.T. Financial (F9), S. (R27).

In case you were not able to keep a running total of the firms enmeshed in the various strands of the Rockefeller web, let us summarize the known results: 37 of the nation's top 100 industrials, 9 of the top 20 transportation firms, the nation's number one utility, 3 of the 4 largest insurance companies, plus scores of smaller companies engaged in manufacturing, distribution, retail sales, loans, or investments, are controlled by the Rockefellers.

Staggering, isn't it? Put it all together and it does not spell MOTHER. It spells POWER.

"The power of the family fortune is beyond measure," the Washington Post has reported. And this time the paper was telling the truth. "[It is] a nexus of ownership and leverage that is greater than the sum of



its parts. "But, say Rocky, it's all a myth! Sure, Rocky. And Raquel Welch is skinny, and Mark Spitz can't swim.,

One or two Doubting Thomases have even wondered about whether it might be a conflict of interest to merge all of this monetary muscle with the political power of the Vice Presidency, and potentially the Presidency.

Wealth should not be an obstacle to high office, of course, providing that government stays out of business and business stays out of government. But, it is obvious that business and government have been getting closer and cozier for many decades. Today it is virtually impossible to tell who is seducing whom. Those on the ideological Left call it Corporate Fascism and those on the right call it State Socialism. Both are correct.

The point is that the Rockefeller family interests are so closely intertwined with matters of public policy, both foreign and domestic, that virtually every major governmental decision in some way affects the Rockefeller Empire. As Thomas O'Toole observes in the Washington Post (a paper that strongly supported Rocky's confirmation as Vice President):

If Nelson Rockefeller becomes Vice President or events make him President someday, he will bump into his family's wealth on practically every major public issue....

" Taxes, the environment, government regulation of business, prices, interest rates, overseas diplomacy, war and peace - Rockefeller interests are enhanced or hurt by government policy-making in practically every major area of American life....

.... As Vice President or President, he couldn't very well disqualify himself every time a policy decision potentially affected Chase Manhattan Bank. He would be out of work if he did. Even if Rockefeller took a vow of poverty, this empire would remain intact, still dominated by his family.

But the Rockefeller wealth goes beyond this conflict - of - interest question.

What would a middle-level bureaucrat do, for instance, if he knew he was regulating the President's family fortune? Would a senator or congressman be able to resist the combined might of the White House and Wall Street's second-largest bank, not to mention all the corporations which do business there?

Rocky buried the entire issue, as far as Congress was concerned, when he asked: "Am I the kind of man who would use his wealth improperly in public office?" He knew that the question would satisfy the politicians on Capitol Hill, many of whom have received campaign donations from the Rockefeller Empire. Not one member of the judiciary Committee had the nerve to answer his rhetorical question with the resounding -Yes!- it so richly deserved.

As we shall see, the Rockefeller family wants more money and more power. It will use its private fortune, its public position, and anything else it can to acquire it. The senior Rockefeller was a master Machiavellian who began by scheming against local competitors and wound up scheming with cartelists for economic control of: the world. His heirs make his ploys look like the friendly bargaining of a Saturday afternoon garage sale.

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# Chapter Four

## Profit x Philanthropy = Power

*“Philanthropy is the essential element in the making of Rockefeller power. It gives the Rockefellers a priceless reputation as public benefactors which the public values so highly that power over public affairs is placed in the Rockefellers' hands. Philanthropy generates more power than wealth alone can provide.”*

-Myer Kutz  
*Rockefeller Power*

The foundation ploy was one of the cleverest moves shrewd old John D. ever made-and he was responsible for some lusus. By the turn of the century the tactics he had used to create the Standard Oil monopoly made his name synonymous with ruthless exploitation. He was known as John D. Reckafellow, with a worse reputation than Scrooge. He may have been the most hated man in America.

In order to scrub up his image (and possibly assuage his alleged conscience), John D. hired Ivy Lee, the nation's most prestigious ad man of the day. Lee suggested that the aging gentleman offset his skinflint image by starting to give away money. Scrooge was to be turned into an instant Santa Claus. To begin with, Lee (the original Madison Avenue truth-twister) had Mr. Standard Oily carry around a pocketful of dimes which he would strew before deliriously happy and grateful kiddies whenever he made one of his infrequent public appearances. Cynics observed that St. John ripped off money by the millions and doled it back a dime at a time.

Well, not quite. He had an even more Machiavellian scheme in mind. He would "give-money away to foundations under his control and then have those foundations spend the money in ways which brought even more Power and profits to the Rockefeller Empire. The money "given away " would be bread cast upon the waters. But bread that almost always had a hook in it. John D. Jr. was to refer to this as the - principle of scientific giving.

The original Rockefeller foundation was established in 1901 and was called The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. It was set up as part of Lee's PR program to clean up the Rockefeller image. Doubtless the Rockefeller money has done much good in the field of public health and scientific research-although there are some who will give you a heated argument even here.\*

\*Those who believe that Rockefeller even in the health field is phony, point out the fact that Rockefeller monies have been used to degrade natural prevention of sickness and disease through vitamins and health foods and promote the use of drugs. Drugs are manufactured mainly from coal tar derivatives and, besides being in the oil business, the family has for decades been heavily invested in the giant drug manufacturing concerns.

For more information on Rockefeller control of medicine, see G. Edward Griffin's *World Without Cancer*,



By 1910, state after state was approving the 16th Amendment, which provided for a graduated income tax, John D. read the handwriting on the Congressional wall and, using his -deeply conspiratorial nature," began making plans to avoid the consequences of the tax by hiding his wealth in the Rockefeller Foundation.

One quite naturally assumes that the graduated income tax, the second plank of the Communist Manifesto, would be opposed by the wealthy. The fact is that many of the wealthiest Americans supported it. At first the taxes were to be very small, and some of the superrich may have promoted them out of altruism. But others backed the scheme because they already had a plan for permanently avoiding both the income-tax and the subsequent inheritance tax. John D. had figured out how to turn the lemon of the graduated income tax into lemonade for the House of Rockefeller. It is the most classic case of what accountants call "pretax planning" on record.

Chapter XVI, Part II of a two-volume set.

The best way for the Rockefeller-Morgan Insiders to eliminate growing competition was to impose a progressive income tax on their competitors while making sure the law contained built-in escape hatches for **themselves**. Actually, very few of the proponents of the graduated income tax realized they were playing into the hands of those they were seeking to control. As Ferdinand Lundberg notes in *The Rich And The Super rich*:

What it [the income tax] became, finally, was a siphon gradually inserted into the pocketbooks of the general public. Imposed to popular huzzahs as a class tax, the income tax was gradually turned into a mass tax in a jujitsu turnaround ....

The Insiders' principal mouthpiece in the Senate during this period was Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, the maternal grandfather of Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. Lundberg says that "when Aldrich spoke, newsmen understood that although the words were his, the dramatic line was surely approved by 'Big John' [D. Rockefeller] . . . - In earlier years Aldrich had denounced the income tax as -communist and socialistic,- but in 1909 he pulled a dramatic and stunning reversal. The American Biographical-Dictionary comments:

just when the opposition had become formidable he (Aldrich) took the wind out of its sails by bringing forward, with the support of the President (Taft) a proposed amendment to the Constitution empowering Congress to lay income taxes.

The escape hatch was ready. By the time the Amendment had been approved by the states, the Rockefeller Foundation was in full operation. The careful orchestration of both parts of the campaign represents one of the most successful financial coups in history. The money the Rockefellers have made by it is incalculable.

By exempting themselves from the burden they forced on their competitors, the Rockefellers were able to operate in a world of near laissez-faire capitalism while foisting the weight of more and more socialism on their competitors. It is the equivalent of a sprinter forcing every other runner in a race to carry a sixteen-pound shot.

Backing the graduated income tax had another timely advantage for old John. It was about the same time that Judge Kenesaw Landis was ordering the breakup of the Standard Oil monopoly. Wily John D. was able to kill several flying feathered creatures with a single hard object. He not only avoided taxes by creating four great tax exempt foundations; he used them as repositories for his -divested- interests in the



various Standard Oil entities. In the switch, Rockefeller had made his assets non-taxable so that they might be passed down through generations without being ravaged by the estate and gift taxes which everyone else had to pay. As Lundberg observed, old John D. planned ahead.

Each year the Rockefellers can dump up to half their incomes into their pet foundations and deduct the "donations" from their income tax. Nelson admitted at the confirmation hearings: " . . the foundation pays no capital gains tax and no income tax so those funds can continue to multiply. They not only can, they do.

Having the foundations as a tax-free piggy bank is only one of the advantages they provide the family. As *Business Week* has observed: -"The real motive behind most private foundations is keeping control of wealth. "In the foundation world, where - not for profit- really means not-for- taxation,- one exchanges ownership for control.

The Rockefellers have further advantages with their foundations. They can buy, sell or hold real estate, stocks and other securities. Congressman Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking Committee, has charged that the Rockefellers and other foundations act in concert, using their enormous portfolios to perform maneuvers which used to be known indelicately as -rigging the market.-

So powerful have the major foundations become that the Patman Committee concluded: "Unquestionably, the economic life of our Nation has become so intertwined with foundations that unless something is done about it they will hold a dominant position in every phase of American life."

Since this report was issued by the Patman Committee in the early 1950s, absolutely nothing has been done about the power of the Rockefeller-controlled foundations - except to assist them to become even more powerful. And as this knowledgeable study warned over twenty years ago, these foundations now do hold " adominant position in every phase of American life", as we shall see.

It is the Rockefeller family which sits comfortably astride this foundation colossus. Collectively, the Rockefeller foundations have in excess of \$1.5 billion in assets but they also have interlocking control over the other most powerful foundations, the Carnegie Group and the giant Ford Foundation.

When you hear of "Carnegie Foundation" think Rockefeller. For many years the five Carnegie foundations have been mere appendages of the Rockefeller octopus. The chief operators of the Carnegie foundations have for decades been members of the Rockefeller coordinating committee, the Council on Foreign Relations, the glue which holds the Rockefeller Establishment together. (The Council on Foreign Relations, or CFR, is the subject of the next chapter.) In addition, two of the six men on the Carnegie Corporation's finance committee are also directors of Rockefeller financial institutions.

The baby giant of the foundation world is the \$3 billion-in-assets Ford Foundation. From 1953 to 1965, John J. Mc Cloy was chairman of the Ford Foundation, during most of which time he was also chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Mc Cloy was succeeded by another Rockefeller minion, Eugene Black, a director of Chase Manhattan and former head of the World Bank. Currently running the show at the Ford Foundation is Mc George Bundy, formerly on the payroll of the Rockefellers' Council on Foreign Relations. As with the Carnegie foundations, most of the trustees of the Ford Foundation are members of the Rockefellers' Council on Foreign Relations.

It is not too hard to see how, as the Patman Committee has charged, these foundations can collude to act as a single entity.



The terrible part of this business is that the economic fraud permitted the Rockefellers through their foundations- though maddening to the middle-class taxpayers who are aware of it-is the least malignant part of the foundation picture. It is the political and social impact of these foundations which is devastating. So serious is the matter, in fact, that even the irascible Congressman. Patman has not dared venture into such affairs, knowing that the trail is littered with the bleached bones of, imprudent Congressional investigators who sought to reveal how the Rockefellers are using the foundations in their grab for complete domination of the United States,

The first of the Congressional Committees to attempt such an investigation was the Cox Committee, created in 1952 under the leadership of Congressman Eugene E.Cox, a Democrat from Georgia. Warren Weaver notes in U. S, Philanthropic Foundations that the official purpose of this Committee was to determine which -foundations and organizations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and especially to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States."

"Liberal" Democrats in control of Congress first delayed the appropriation of funds for the Cox Committee, then gave it only six months to conclude an investigation that would properly require several years.

Cox hoped to expose foundation fraud and the subversives, behind it; but, as Dwight Mac Donald has pointed out, " the strategy misfired, because the Democratic leaders, who were still in control of the House, boxed the impeccably Americanistic chairman with less dedicated colleagues." It was all-out war-with billions involved.

The first battle ended with a serious casualty Congressman Cox fell gravely ill during the investigation and died.

Without his leadership, the Committee Report became a whitewash.

One member of that Committee refused to be a party to the Cover up. He was Congressman Carroll Reece of Tennessee, a former Chairman of the Republican National Committee and one of Robert Taft's campaign managers. Reece promptly demanded a new investigation.

The Rockefeller Establishment was frantic that its sacred cows might be butchered. "The Washington Post, closely tied to the Rockefellers, never before known for its sense of public frugality, screamed that the Reece probe was "wholly unnecessary and was stupidly wasteful of public funds.-"

The heat was on. So much so that when in a speech on the floor of Congress Mr. Reece referred to a "conspiracy," his use of the term brought down on his head an **avalanche** of anger and ridicule from virtually the entire Establishment Press. At the same time, the foundations unleashed an enormous barrage of vilification against the probe.

While the Press was shouting "- Mc Carthyism, Rockefeller elements in the Republican Party were working behind the scenes to kill the investigation. As Rene Wormser, counsel for the Reece Committee, noted in *Human Events* for July 5, 1969:

A Republican President [Eisenhower, who had the full support of the Rockefellers in his fight against Robert Taft] sat in the White House. The House of Representatives and all its committees were Republican controlled. Mr. Reece was a distinguished and important Republican .... Yet, when a



committee of five members was appointed to conduct the foundation investigation, Mr. Reece found that, of the four others appointed with him, three had been selected from among members of the House who had voted against the investigation.

The key agent in Rockefeller efforts to break up the investigation was Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio, a member of the Committee. During the inquiry, two tennis-shoe types decided to play Agatha Christie and began trailing Hays. They discovered that he went to the same Washington hotel for a closed luncheon on a specific day each week. Dressing as cleaning women, the ladies investigated and established that Hays was reporting to representatives of several major foundations. René Wormser comments in *Human Events* on the Hays' tactics,

Mr. Hays showed himself exceptionally adept at disruption. For example, in one session of 185 minutes, he resorted to constant interruption 246 times. He refused to obey rules of the committee. He insulted and vilified witnesses, counsel to the committee and committee members themselves. His intransigence finally caused a termination of the hearings.

The brazen Congressman Hays even explained the purpose of his conduct to Counsel Wormser. Mr. Wormser noted in his book, *Foundations: Their Power and Influence*: "... Mr. Hays told us one day that "the White House" had been in touch with him and asked him if he would cooperate to kill the committee."

Because of limited time, staff, and money, the Reece Committee was forced to concentrate its investigation on various Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, and on the huge Ford Foundation.

The Committee found that one of the first areas into which John D. invested his money was education. Daddy Oilbucks put his assistant, Fred Gates, in charge of his General Education Board. Gates tipped the Rockefeller philosophy on education in the Board's Occasional Paper No.1;

In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands. The present educational conventions fade from our minds, and unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk.

Later, the General Education Board expanded horizons to take into its "molding hands" the city folk as well. To this end the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, which often had interlocking directorates and many times acted in unison, began in the early Thirties to back John Dewey and his Marxist educationalists with enormous amounts of money.

*As René Wormser observes:*

Research and experimental stations were established at selected universities, notably Columbia, Stanford, and Chicago. Here some of the worst mischief in recent education was born. In these Rockefeller-and-Carnegie established vineyards worked many of the principal characters in the story of the suborning of American education. Here foundations nurtured some of the most ardent academic advocates of upsetting the American system and supplanting it with a Socialist state....

The Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations had jumped into the financing of education and the social sciences with both Left feet. For example, the foundations (principally Carnegie and Rockefeller) stimulated two-thirds of the total endowment funding of all institutions of higher learning in America during the first third of this century. During this period the Carnegie-Rockefeller complex supplied 20 % of the total income of colleges and universities and became in fact, if not in name, a sort of U.S.



Ministry of Education. The result was a sharp Socialist-Fascist turn. As Rene Wormser, Counsel for the Reece Committee, reports:

A very powerful complex of foundations and allied organizations has developed over the years to exercise a high degree of control over education. Part of this complex, and ultimately responsible for it, are the Rockefeller and Carnegie groups of foundations.

These foundations were, by way of grants amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, responsible for the nationwide acceptance of avowed socialist John Dewey's theories of progressive education and permissiveness -the products of which have been marching on our college campuses for the past two decades.

Traditionalist teachers, who had been strongly resisting Deweyism, were swamped by education propagandists backed with a flood of Rockefeller-Carnegie dollars. At the same time the National Education Association, the country's chief education lobby, was also financed largely by the Rockfellers and Carnegie foundations.

It, too, threw its considerable weight behind the Dewey philosophies. As an NEA report maintained in 1934:

A dying laissez-faire must be completely destroyed and all of us, including the "owners," must be subjected to a large degree of social control.

Since America's public school system was decentralized, the foundations had concentrated on influencing schools of education (particularly Columbia, the spawning ground for Deweyism), and on financing the writing of textbooks which were subsequently adopted nationwide. These foundation-produced textbooks were so heavily slanted in favor of socialism that Wormser concluded:"- It is difficult to believe that the Rockefeller Foundation and the National Education Association could have supported these textbooks. But the fact is that Rockefeller financed them and the N.E.A. promoted them very widely.-

Little wonder that Reece Committee Counsel Wormser says evidence compiled during and after the Reece investigation of foundations:

leads one to the conclusion that there was, indeed something in the nature of an actual conspiracy among certain leading educators in the United States to bring about socialism through the use of our school systems...

Congressman Cox had denounced these foundations for precisely these reasons. He named in particular the Rockefeller Foundation, -whose funds have been used to finance individuals and organizations whose business it has been to get communism into the private and public schools of the country, to talk down America and play up Russia....

It goes without saying that, by controlling the textbooks, the progressivists gained an open sesame to the minds of millions of students in the government schools. As John T. Flynn observed, it wasn't necessary to poison every glass of water coming out of every tap in a given community. It was necessary only to drop one cup of poison into the reservoir.

So successful was this conspiracy that by June of 1955, the Progressive Education Association which had been founded by John Dewey officially disbanded. Dr. H. Gordon Hullfish, the Association's



president, explained:

Founded in 1919 the PEA was a protest movement against traditional education, based in large part up on the philosophy of John Dewey. One reason for PEA's end is that many of the practices. It has advocated have been adopted by the nation's schools.

This progressive education is Rockefeller education. After all, they planned for it, they promoted it, and they paid for it!

Those who control education will over a period of several generations control a nation. The Rockefellers have for five or six decades been a controlling influence in the direction of American education.

While education is a powerful tool for controlling the thinking and outlook of people, it is not the only means.

Religion is also an important mold of public opinion.

For many years the Rockefeller Dynasty has bankrolled the Union Theological Seminary of New York, which has done so much to turn the clergy towards state socialism fascism, and to destroy the tenets of traditional Christianity. The highly influential seminary is known for turning out " Christian-Communists.

The family's chief religious philanthropy for a number of years was the notorious Federal Council of Churches, which was pronounced by US Naval Intelligence in 1936 as one of the most dangerous, subversive organizations in the country. According to Naval Intelligence:

It is a large radical -pacifist- organization, and probably represents 20,000,000 Protestants in the United States. However, its leadership consists of a small group which dictates its policies. It is always extremely active in any matters against national defense.

In its many official pronouncements, the Federal Council attacked free enterprise, capitalism and the American way of life, and boldly advocated Socialism. In an official report in 1932,the Federal Council stated:

" The Christian ideal calls for hearty support of a planned economic system.... It demands that cooperation shall replace competition as a fundamental method."

At a full meeting in Indianapolis in December,1932, the Federal Council adopted unanimously this Socialist creed: "-The churches should stand for social planning and control of the credit and monetary system and the economic processes.

The following year,1933,the Council officially declared: "The Christian conscience can be satisfied with nothing less than the complete substitution of motives of mutual helpfulness and good will for the motive of private gain."

The Federal Council was so flagrantly a mouthpiece for the gospel according to St. Stalin that it was forced to change its name. It became the National Council of Churches which today claims to represent some forty million Protestants. While less prone to praising the Soviets as openly as its predecessor, the NCC has repeatedly been denounced by fundamentalist Christian organizations for its slavish adherence to promoting radical socialism and its lovey-dovey attitude toward Moscow. Today, after forty years of



assiduous anti Americanism and the promotion of totalitarian government at home and abroad, the NCC still enjoys the largesse of the Family Rockefeller. Its past president J. Irwin Miller is a perennial Rockefeller front man and a trustee of the Ford Foundation.\*

\*The NCC has donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to buy arms for revolutionary Communist groups in Africa. These arms are used by the Communists to slay Christians, while thousands of American clergymen look the other way. If this is not murder by proxy, what is it?

Through its multiple foundations the Rockefeller family invested its money where it would have the most influence and do the family the most good. And by far the chief beneficiaries of its -charities- have been the Rockefellers.

The question that is racing through the mind of most readers at this point undoubtedly is why the Rockefellers, considered the world's foremost capitalists, have spent hundreds of millions of dollars financing their alleged enemies, the socialists.

One would assume that, since the Rockefellers are thought of as capitalists, they would have used their fortune to foster the philosophy of individual liberty. But, just the opposite is true. We have been unable to find a single project in the history of the Rockefeller foundations which promotes free enterprise. Indeed, except in the fields of health and science (and some of these grants are highly questionable) almost all of the Rockefeller grants have been used directly or indirectly to promote economic and social collectivism, i.e., Socialism-Fascism.

Reasonable men ask what could Motivate the Rockefellers to finance collectivist efforts which seem so totally at odds with their own interests. They forget that John D. Rockefeller was a Machiavellian who boasted that he hated competition. Whenever he could, Rockefeller used the government to promote his own interests and to hinder his competitors. Monopoly capitalism is impossible unless you have a government with the power to strangle would-be competitors.

The easiest way to control or eliminate competitors is not to best them in the marketplace, but to use the power of government to exclude them from the marketplace. If you wish to control commerce, banking, transportation, and natural resources on a national level, you must control the federal government. If you and your clique wish to establish worldwide monopolies, you must control a World Government.

The Rockefellers are not humanitarians; they are power-seeking Machiavellians. They are using their phony philanthropy as a guise for seizing power on a magnitude that would make old John D. Sr. proud.

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# The Rockefeller File

## *by Gary Allen*

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## Chapter Five

### Yes, Virginia, There is an Establishment

*“The Rockefellers are the epitome of the nation's permanent Establishment: governments change, economics fluctuate, foreign alliances shift - the Rockefellers prevail.”*

-Walter Cronkite  
CBS Reports

In previous chapters we have seen that the Rockefellers exercise tremendous leverage over business, banking, and the economy. In the last chapter we showed how the family has used that money to set themselves up in the charity business, and then used their influence through their giveaways to guide education, religion, and the media-and therefore public opinion-along the proper course. Proper for the Rockefellers, that is

The perfect situation, from the Rockefellers' point of view, is to combine their economic muscle and their political oomph so that one hand washes the other. They have mastered to a frightening degree the art of using economic power to build political power which enhances economic power even further, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

We have seen that the Rockefellers have spent generations developing an economic consortium that is the sleekest, smoothest, and most powerful combine on earth. The incredibly powerful political complex the Rockefellers have put together makes their economic activities look like the naive simplicity of a backwoods general store, and consists of organizations which are thoroughly interlocked with and financed by the House of Rockefeller.

Nelson Rockefeller, the unelected Vice President of the United States, is a leader in the campaign to submerge American sovereignty in a World Superstate. Long-time internationalist Alan Cranston (right) is also an avid promoter of World Government, 'in violation of his oath of office as a US Senator.





At the center of Insider power, influence, and planning in the United States is the pervasive Council on Foreign Relations. Headquartered in the Harold Pratt House on 68th Street in New York City, its members have dominated the last seven Administrations and have complete control of the Ford Administration now. The CFR was created by the Rockefellers and their allies to be the focus of their drive for a "New World Order". While we hate to use the terribly trite cliché about the many arms of the octopus being controlled by the same brain, we apologetically must include it because it is simply the most apt analogy.

Some of these organizations, although they are very influential in government, are virtually unknown to the average citizen. Others you may hear cited by the media as a source for an important opinion or - inside information, about some national or international event. What you definitely are not told is that you are hearing the voice of Rockefeller under dozens of different guises from the family's loyal army of ventriloquists.

Collectively, this group of individuals and organizations is known as the Eastern Liberal Establishment; the key figures in it are often referred to as *Insiders*.

The keystone of the entire Establishment arch is the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). The leadership of the CFR is the equivalent to the brain of the octopus. David Rockefeller is chairman of the board of the CFR. It is impossible to comprehend fully the interlock of Rockefeller power without being aware of the all-pervasive influence of the Council. So important is this organization that we will devote the rest of this chapter to it. And throughout the rest of this book we shall designate its members by putting CFR in parentheses after their names.



The Council on Foreign Relations, headquartered in New York City, is composed of an elite of approximately 1600 of the nation's Establishment *Insiders* in the fields of high finance, academics, politics, commerce, the foundations, and the mass media. The names of many of its members are household words; others, equally important, are less familiar. (For example, you may not recognize the name Harold Geneen. But when you hear he is chairman of the board of directors of IT & T, you can be assured he is a very big wheel indeed.)

Although the membership of the CFR is a veritable "Who's Who" in big business and the media, probably only one person in a thousand is familiar with the organization itself and even fewer are aware of its real purposes.

During its first fifty years of existence, the CFR was almost never mentioned by any of the moguls of the mass media. And when you realize that the membership of the CFR includes top executives from the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, the Knight newspaper chain, NBC, CBS, Time, Life, Fortune, Business Week, US News & World Report, and many others, you can be sure that such anonymity is not accidental; it is deliberate.

For fifty years the CFR operated like the Invisible Man in the novel by H.G. Wells. In 1962, Dan Smoot's pioneering study, *The Invisible Government*, was successfully smothered by the paper curtain. Although its results were visible everywhere, the CFR seemed not to exist.

Then in 1972, two separate exposures of the Limousine Liberals of the CFR were published: ***None Dare Call It Conspiracy*** by this author, and ***The Naked Capitalist*** by Professor W. Cleon Skousen, former assistant to J. Edgar Hoover. Although both books were completely ignored by the Establishment's captive book review organs, both became nationwide bestsellers because of widespread interest in them at the grass roots level.

The fact that George Wallace was planning to seize upon the Council and its power, as an election-year issue in his third party candidacy for President, also contributed to the partial lifting of the cloak of secrecy which has surrounded the CFR. Obviously anticipating even more attention to the Council, two very similar articles on the CFR appeared in the *New York Times* and *New York* magazine. The strategy was to admit that the Council on Foreign Relations has long acted as the unelected super government of the United States, but to maintain that it was always motivated by altruism, idealism, and selfless devotion to the public good. Moreover, the articles claimed, the CFR has, at least momentarily, withdrawn to the sidelines. Still, as John Franklin Campbell admitted in his magazine article:

Practically every lawyer, banker, professor, general, journalist and bureaucrat who has had any influence on the foreign policy of the last six Presidents—from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon—has spent some time in the Harold Pratt House, a four-story mansion on the corner of Park Avenue and 68th Street, donated 26 years ago by Mr. Pratt's widow [an heir to the Standard Oil fortune] to the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc....

If you can walk - or be carried - into the Pratt House, it usually means that you are a partner in an investment bank or law firm—with occasional assignments in government. You believe in foreign aid, NATO, and a bipartisan foreign policy. You've been pretty much running things in this country for the last 25 years, and you know it. [Emphasis added]

Establishment apologist Anthony Lukas, writing in the New York Times magazine, also admitted that the Insiders of the Council have been responsible for our disastrous foreign policy over the past twenty-five years:



From 1945 well into the sixties, Council members were in the forefront of America's globalist activism: the United Nations organizational meeting in San Francisco (John McCloy, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Joseph Johnson, Thomas Finletter and many others),\* as ambassadors to the world body (Edward Stettinius, Henry Cabot Lodge, James Wadsworth and all but three others); the US occupation in Germany (Lucius Clay as military governor, McCloy again and James Conant as High Commissioners); NATO (Finletter again, Harlan Cleveland, Charles Spofford as US delegates).

For the last three decades, American foreign policy has remained largely in the hands of men - the overwhelming majority of them Council members-whose world perspective was formed in World War II and in the economic reconstruction's and military security programs that followed.... The Council was their way of staying in touch with the levels of power ....

One of the "many other" CFR members active in the founding of the UN, whom Mr. Lukas did not mention, was the notorious traitor, perjurer, and Soviet agent, Alger Hiss, who actually served as Secretary General of the San Francisco meeting.

Prior to this time the number of stories about the CFR appearing in the mass media could be counted on the fingers of one hand. One of these early articles appeared in **Harper's magazine in July 1958, and it is revealing to look at it now** because its author, "Liberal" columnist Joseph Kraft, was himself a member of the CFR, and he was obviously directing his message to potential members of the Establishment's exclusive circle. Describing the influence of the CFR, Kraft said:

It has been the seat of ... basic government decisions, has set the context for many more, and has repeatedly served as a recruiting ground for ranking officials.

It is worth noting that Kraft called his article "School for Statesmen" -an admission that the members of the Council learn a "line-of strategy to be pursued in Washington".

Indeed, the CFR has served as a virtual employment agency for the federal government, under both Democrat and Republican administrations. In his New York Times magazine article, Anthony Lukas observed:. . . everyone knows how fraternity brothers can help other brothers climb the ladder of life. If you want to make foreign policy, there's no better fraternity to belong to than the Council..." This - fraternity- of Insiders has been so successful that its members have virtually dominated every administration in Washington since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

CFR members occupied the major policy-making positions, especially in the field of foreign relations, under Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon; and they are just as powerful today, under the Administration of Gerald Ford.

As Joseph Kraft phrased it: " the Council plays a special part in helping to bridge the gap between the two parties, affording unofficially a measure of continuity when the guard changes in Washington."

George Wallace made famous the slogan that there is not a dime's worth of difference between the Democrat and Republican parties. Many observers have noted that while the two parties use different rhetoric and aim their spiels at differing segments of the population, it seems to make little difference who actually wins the election. The reason for this is that while grass roots. Democrats and Republicans generally have greatly differing views on the economy, political policies, and federal activities, as you climb the sides of the political pyramid the two parties become more and more alike. The reason their dime's worth of difference is that instead of having two distinctly different groups called Democrats and Republicans, we actually have Rockedems and Rockepubs.



Every four years the Americans have the privilege of choosing between the Rockefeller candidate and the Rockefeller standard bearer. In 1952 and 1956, CFR Adlai Stevenson challenged CFR Eisenhower. In 1960, it was CFR Nixon vs. CFR Kennedy. In 1964, the conservative wing of the COP stunned the Establishment by nominating its candidate over Nelson Rockefeller. At which point Rockefeller and the CFR wing proceeded to picture Barry Goldwater as a dangerous radical who would abolish Social Security, drop atom bombs on Hanoi, and in general be a reincarnation of the Fascist dictator Mussolini. The CFR Rockefeller drew up the indictment, the Rockefeller prosecuted the case, and Goldwater went down to ignominious defeat-without ever understanding how he had been sandbagged by the leaders of his own party.

Having disposed of the challenge to the Establishment in 1964, the CFR was firmly back in the saddle in 1968. That year CFR Nixon was "pitted-against CFR Humphrey. The 1972"-contest " featured CFR Nixon vs. CFR McGovern. The Rockefellers were sure to win no matter which candidate emerged victorious.

In recent years, Establishment apologists would have you believe that the CFR was thrust into the cold by Richard Nixon (one such article was even titled "-The Death Rattle of the Eastern Establishment-). Such protestations are about as sincere as Br'er Rabbit begging not to be thrown into the briar patch.

The truth is that Nixon was completely under the thumb of the CFR, and served his masters faithfully-until they abandoned him to open the White House doors for Nelson Rockefeller as an *unelected* Vice President. At the beginning of his Administration, Nixon placed at least 115 CFR members in key positions in the Executive Branch an all-time high for any President. The vast majority of these men are still around today, running the Ford Administration.

Perhaps the most important and certainly the most prominent of all these Establishment *Insiders* is Henry Kissinger.

No man alive could more effectively represent the Council on Foreign Relations than Herr Kissinger, who for all practical purposes has emerged as the Assistant President of the United States. Kissinger was a Rockefeller man, serving on the staff of the CFR, when he received his appointment to the Nixon Administration.

Kissinger has long recognized how much he owes to the Council on Foreign Relations. In the preface to his book *The Necessity For Choice*, published in 1961, he said:

Five years ago, the Council on Foreign Relations gave me my first opportunity to work systematically on problems of foreign relations. My relations with it have remained close and my admiration for it has, if anything, increased.

Consider: In 1956, Kissinger was an obscure German immigrant who was a mere professor at Harvard University. In less than twenty years, he has become so powerful that he survives the dismissal of his ostensible boss, and apparently tells presidents, prime ministers, and other potentates what to say and do. What is the source of his remarkable authority?

Professor Kissinger's public commitments were in nearly every case the opposite of those expressed by Richard Nixon in his successful bid for the Presidency. But, after the rah-rah of the campaign was over, the CFR boys were brought in to run the show-and Henry Kissinger was Numero Uno.

Richard Nixon's own membership in the Council on Foreign Relations became an issue in 1962, during



his contest with Joe Shell in California for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. After that, Mr. Nixon arranged with the Council for his name not to appear on public releases as a member. The CFR admits that it is sometimes necessary for its members to appear to have left the Council. On page 42 of the Council's 1952 Report, for example, we read:

*Members of the Council are sometimes obliged, by their acceptance of government posts in Washington and else where, to curtail or suspend for a time their participation in Council activities.*

Was Richard Nixon a secret member of the CFR throughout his Presidency? The Reece Congressional Committee discovered during its investigation of foundations that there are a number of secret members of the Council, including industrialist Cyrus Eaton and Senator William Fulbright. Our guess is that Richard Nixon was among them.

Consider, after all, Mr. Nixon's CFR foreign policy - a subject in which he has certainly earned his scarlet "A". Disarmament without inspections, increased "trade-on credit with the Communists, abandonment of our anti Communist allies, détente with the Soviet Union and Red China, are all programs of the CFR. Every one of these policies contradicts the Republican Party Platform of 1968. But, once in the White House, Mr. Nixon ignored the Republican Platform on which he was elected and proceeded to follow the dictates of the Council on Foreign Relations.

What are the Rockefellers attempting to accomplish with their CFR?

For the first time we now have an actual member of the CFR who is willing to testify against the organization. He is Admiral **Chester Ward**, US Navy (Ret.), who as a hotshot youngish Admiral had become Judge Advocate General of the Navy. As a "man on the rise" he was invited to become a member of the -prestigious- CFR. The Establishment obviously assumed that Admiral Ward, like so many hundreds before him, would succumb to the flattery of being invited into the inner sanctums of the Establishment, and that through subtle appeals to personal ambition would quickly fall in line. The *Insiders* badly underestimated the toughness and stern character of Admiral Ward. He soon became a vocal opponent of the organization. And while the Rockefellers were not so gauche as to remove him from the rolls of the organo longer invited to attend the private the private luncheons and briefing sessions. The Admiral states:

The Objective of the influential majority of members of CFR has not changed since its founding in 1922, more than 50 years ago. In the 50th anniversary issue of Foreign Affairs [the official quarterly publication of the CFR], the first and leading article was written by CFR member Kingman Brewster, Jr., entitled -Reflections on Our National Purpose." He did not back away from defining it: our national purpose should be to abolish our nationality. Indeed, he pulled out all the emotional stops in a hardsell for global government. He described our "Vietnam-seared generation" as being "far from America Firsters" an expression meant as a patronizing sop to our young people. In the entire CFR lexicon, there is no term of revulsion carrying a meaning so deep as -America First.-

While CFR members are not robots and may disagree on many minor matters, according to the Admiral, this "lust to surrender" our independence is common to most of them:

Although, from the inside, CFR is certainly not the monolith that some members and most non members consider it, this lust to surrender the sovereignty and independence of the United States is pervasive throughout most of the membership, and particularly in the leadership of the several divergent cliques ....



If the Rockefeller family's CFR has a "passion to surrender- US sovereignty to whom are we supposed to surrender? Admiral Ward answers that the goal is the

"submergence of US sovereignty and national independence into an all-powerful one-world government." And, according to the Admiral, about 95 % of the 1,600 members of the CFR are aware that this is the real purpose of the Council-and support that goal!

For centuries, naive idealists have dreamed of a "parliament of man" that would put an end to poverty, ignorance and disease. "Modern one-worlders have added pollution and over-population to the list of evils World Government would cure. The allure of a world super state to such starry-eyed dreamers is obvious.

But what is the appeal of a World Government to such canny rationalists as the Rockefellers and others of the international super-rich? You might think that such a World Government would threaten their financial power and therefore would be the last thing on earth they would support. The answer is obvious - they expect the coming World Government to be under their control!

You will remember that John D. Rockefeller Sr. ,who proclaimed that "**competition is a sin,**" used every devious trick he could devise to create a national oil monopoly. His strategy was as ruthless as it was effective: Get control of your competitors, and then keep control of them.

Old John D. quickly learned that political power was essential to protect and advance his economic clout, so he went into the politics business. Once he controlled the purse strings of enough captive Congressmen, he could get them to pull strings to benefit Standard Oil and the family's other business interests. In other words. he sought national control to protect his national monopoly.

Today, however, the Rockefeller interests are not just nationwide, they are worldwide. Both Exxon and Chase Manhattan Bank do business in more than one hundred countries. The majority of these countries are found in what is euphemistically called the "third world". Many of these are former colonies of Western nations who owe their so-called independence to the Rockefellers and the CFR. Now they are ruled, for the most part, by tin-pot dictators who have no more understanding of the realities of economics than Elizabeth Taylor does of the sanctity of a convent. And there is always the chance that one of these new "people's republics- will forget who owns them.

An even greater danger to the internationalists of the CFR, however, is the fear that enough Americans will finally understand what they are doing and, in the age-old tradition of an angry electorate, "throw the rascals out" Faced with the possibility that any one of a hundred mininations might suddenly thumb its nose at you; or even worse, that the citizens of your own country might get wise to the game plan and give you the heave-ho, what do you do?

The answer has been obvious to the Rockefellers for more than fifty years: you create a one-world government which you will control, and you have that government rule all the others.

This has been the game plan for at least the past 54 years-ever since Daddy Oilbucks himself donated money to build the League of Nations headquarters in Geneva. Unfortunately for his own ambitions, there were still enough un-bought Senators and un-controlled newspapers in the United States to thwart his plans. His countrymen escaped the noose he and his comrades had prepared for them by refusing to join the budding World Government.

But the conspirators learned their lesson and did not make the same mistake again. They went to work at



once, first, by creating the Council on Foreign Relations, and then by using it to soften up the US for the next World Government they would propose.\*

\*For more details about this whole plot, read **None Dare Call It Conspiracy** by this author.

The *Insiders* cloak their grasp for world political power in many idealistic cloches, and hide their true intentions behind a number of code phrases.

The current favorite seems to be "**New World Order**.-"

The expression is as old as the diabolical scheme of a secret society of the Eighteenth Century called the Illuminati, for *a novus ordo seclorum* -in fact, "new world order" is merely a translation of the Illuminati's avowed goal. (see **ONE US DOLLAR BILL** )

By 1945, the Rockefellers were ready. Grandson Nelson was one of the 74 CFR members at the founding meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco. Later, Nelson and his brothers donated the land for the United Nations complex along the East River in New York-possibly because they did not want the new headquarters of their World Government to be more than a short taxi-ride away from their penthouses.

Such a "New World Order" most emphatically does not mean an impotent debating society to the CFR. It means an international regime that controls the world's armies, the world's weapons, its courts, its tax collectors, its schools, its governments and everything else. In succeeding chapters we will see exactly how the Rockefellers intend to nurture their embryonic structure until it has all of these powers, and more. For the moment, take our word that the " New World Order" these international wheeler-dealers have in mind would not be a republic, bound down by the chains of a constitution (as Jefferson phrased it), working to increase freedom for all of us, where the rights of every citizen are protected from a tyrannical Big Brother.

The "New World Order" the Rockefellers are planning will be a world dictatorship. Conservatives will call it Socialism or Communism, Liberals will call it Fascism. The label makes little difference; it will be the Gulag Archipelago on a worldwide basis.

Of course, proponents of such a World Government disguise their intentions behind all kinds of double talk. For example. Senator Alan Cranston of California (for many years the president of the Rockefeller-interlocked United World Federalists), defended his proposal for a world super-state with these words:

(World Government) Proposition 64 does not propose that we give up a shred of sovereignty. Plainly it proposes a means by which we can gain the ability to exercise our presently impotent sovereignty in the vital area of war prevention. It proposes that we create a limited world government and deposit our sovereignty there ....

Let us repeat that. Senator Cranston says we won't give up a shred of sovereignty- if we -create a limited world government and deposit our sovereignty there.-

Lewis Carroll couldn't have said it better. George Orwell didn't even try; he called it "newspeak."

But while Senator Cranston and many of his colleagues play the string section in the orchestration for World Government, other CFR members trumpet other parts in this carefully rehearsed symphony. Nelson Rockefeller, for example, as an -altruistic millionaire," sounds the melody line for international



taxation. In his book *The Future of Federalism*, first published in 1962 and then reprinted when he was nominated for the Vice Presidency, Nelson stated: "...I think the answer is some free-world super-national political being with the power to tax. . . ." Ask yourself this question: Does Nelson Rockefeller want to tax his wealth to aid the world's poor? If so, why doesn't he eliminate those expensive bureaucratic middlemen, and simply give his money to the downtrodden masses now ? Is it possible that he is trying to become richer-wads and wads richer, as the family representative put it - by dividing your wealth with himself?

During the confirmation hearings over his nomination as the nation's second unelected Vice President, a few courageous Congressmen, such as Representative John Ashbrook and Senator Jesse Helms, asked how it would be possible for Nelson to uphold an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States when he was already on record as supporting a World Government that would scrap our national charter. Such inquiries, however, were ignored by both Rockefeller and the national media. You would think that the issue of the survival of the United States might rate a line or two in your local Daily Bugle. But instead, all of the space was given to a planned farce about whether or not Rocky financed a derogatory book about a political opponent. That's like launching a newspaper crusade accusing Jack the Ripper of throwing gum wrappers in the gutter and ignoring his penchant for slitting throats!

In *The Future of Federalism*, Noble Nels proclaimed:

No nation today can defend its freedom, or fulfill the needs and aspirations of its own people, from within its own borders or through its own resources alone .... And so the nation-state, standing alone, threatens, in many ways, to seem as anachronistic as the Greek city-states eventually became in ancient times.

Get it? The man who could not be elected to the White House, but managed to arrange an entrance there anyway, says that a free and independent United States is now anachronistic.

Webster's defines "anachronism" as something from a former age that is incongruous in the present.

Every effective World Government proponent learns early in the game some rhetorical tricks, such as calling black white. Nelson Rockefeller is no exception. In the same book, he suggests:

The federal idea, which our Founding Fathers applied in their historic act of political creation in the eighteenth century, can be applied in this twentieth century in the larger context of the world of free nations - if we will but match our forefathers in courage and vision.

Even Nelson Rockefeller knows that the American Revolution was a protest against exactly the sort of centralized power that he himself now advocates. The British Empire was the World Government of its day. Our forefathers did not want to be inter-dependent; they wanted to be independent. And they were willing to pay the price for their independence in the same coin that free men must always be willing to pay-blood and gold.

During the early 1950's, Nelson Rockefeller encouraged the wide distribution of a photograph of himself. It showed him holding a globe in his hands, and staring pensively into the future. Many people are convinced that the symbolism involved was not accidental.

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# Chapter Six

## The Rockefeller Mediocracy

*“Equally important is CFR's influence in the mass media .... They control or own major newspapers, magazines, radio and television networks ...”*

-Admiral Chester Ward  
(CFR and USN, Retired)

The Rockefellers, as we have seen, have never been ones to leave public opinion to chance. That is why they have invested their charitable monies so judiciously in education and religion. It would be naive to think that the family would not exert every possible subtle and unsubtle influence over the nation's mass media.

In Chapter One we described how the Rockefellers use leverage to maximize the power of their investments in industry and finance. They follow the same principle when they buy influence over education. They do not pour money into local school board races; they put their bucks into the schools that train the teachers and they finance the writing of textbooks. Now that every public school is at the mercy of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (which Nelson Rockefeller created and ran under Eisenhower), the family couldn't care less who controls the local school board. In the field of religion, the money goes to key seminaries where ministers are trained and to the National Council of Churches which claims to represent forty million Protestants.

The Rockefellers grab, with all the gusto they've got, at the apex of whatever instrumentality they wish to control. The influence of the Council on Foreign Relations in the federal government is concentrated in the Executive Branch. That is where the action is-at the top. And so it is with Rockefeller control of the media. They are not interested in controlling the *Burnt Mattress Weekly Blat*; they go for the leaders in the field. In the old days, John D. sent his agents out to bribe editors and to buy up small papers, but that is very inefficient and antiquated in the electronic age. Now, the local papers are dependent on wire services and syndicated columnists to fill their news and editorial pages.

The Rockefellers have made sure that the real movers and shakers in the field of mass communications have been initiated into their CFR lodge. Admiral Ward informs us:

Equally important is CFR's influence in the mass media. Out of its 1,551 members, 60 were listed in official CFR reports as engaged in "journalism." An additional 61 were listed in -communications management," a highly descriptive title, because CFR members do indeed "manage" mass communications media, especially the influential segments. They control or own major newspapers, magazines, radio and television networks, and they control the most powerful companies in the book publishing business.

Few would argue the fact that the *New York Times* is the most influential newspaper in the U.S. "A significance of the *Times*," Times man James Reston has written, "is its multiplier effect. What appears in the *Times* automatically appears later in other places.

Concerning this multiplier effect, Alice Widener, columnist for *Barron's*, notes:



It is a fact that most editors and newsmen on the staffs of Life, Look, Time, Newsweek, etc., and most editors, reporters, and commentators at NBC, CBS, and ABC take their news and editorial cues from the New York Times. . Technically, it is a great newspaper; but it reports much of the news in conformity with its editorial policies.

The late Arthur Hays Sulzberger, chairman of the board of the *New York Times*, was a member of the CFR, and today there are at least 11 people in high positions with the *Times* who are CFR members. Sulzberger's son-in-law Orvil E. Dryfoos (CFR) succeeded him as publisher. The current publisher is Arthur Ochs "Punch" Sulzberger (CFR).

Other CFR members at the *Times* are: Harding Bancroft, Executive Vice President. James Reston, Vice President and columnist; A. M. Rosenthal, managing editor; Seymour Topping, assistant managing editor; Max Frankel, Sunday editor; Harrison Salisbury, associate editor; C. L. Sulzberger, columnist; and David Halberstam, columnist.

The *Times* is infamous for its anti-anti-Communism and its support of socialist-fascist legislation. Its treatment of Stalin as a kindly liberal running a Russian branch of the ACLU should have made it a laughing stock, but didn't. Neither did the *Times* 'Herbert L. Matthews' (CFR) treatment of "Dr. Castro" as the George Washington of Cuba. Matthews swore repeatedly that Castro was anything but a Communist. Later, jokers commented that Castro could honestly say, "I got my job through the *New York Times*."

Needless to say, the support Nelson Rockefeller has received in his political career from the normally Democrat Times has been nearly total.

Running a close second to the *New York Times* in the prestige race is the *Washington Post*. Every Senator and Congressman, regardless of his party or political persuasion, has the Post on his desk each morning. Like the *Times*, the Post is read by the people who count when it comes to running the country. The Post's owner and publisher Katharine Graham is a member of the CFR, as are other top editors and management personnel. For years the Post has been referred to as "the uptown Daily Worker." The only time the Post has ever opposed "big government" is when it has been used to investigate Communism. When this has happened, the people at the Post frantically start waving the Constitution and babbling about "freedom of speech" - something they regularly suppress when it involves opposition to fascism-socialism or the Rockefellers.

One of the most influential members of the Post's staff is the incredibly talented truth-twister, cartoonist Herbert L. Block. Herblock's cartoons are syndicated daily in hundreds of papers. (And for every person, who reads the editorial page, there are probably a hundred who look at the lead cartoon.)

The *Los Angeles Times* is the West Coast's most important newspaper. Formerly staunchly conservative, the paper made a sharp Left turn fifteen if teen years ago and while it still retains its COP standing for protective coloring, it has become an organ for Establishment socialism. The *Times* is connected to the Rockefellers' CFR through board chairman Franklin Murphy and the fact that it owns a wire service in conjunction with the ultra-Liberal *Washington Post*. In addition, the *Los Angeles Times* owns the important *Newsday* on Long Island.

Other major newspapers with CFR interlocks are: the *Arkansas Gazette*, *Des Moines Register & Tribune*, Gannett Co. (publisher of newspapers in 40 cities from New York to Hawaii), *The Houston Post*, *Minneapolis Star & Tribune*, *The Denver Post* and *Louisville Courier*. \*



Equally important has been CFR influence within the wire services. For many years Arthur Sulzberger was a director of the Associated Press while today Katharine Graham and John Cowles, Jr. are on the board. In addition, the *New York Times* has its own news service as does the *Washington Post-Los Angeles Times*. Every daily newspaper in the country uses one or more of these wire services for news and editorials.

Today it might be argued that television has superseded the newspaper as the primary creator of public opinion. Naturally, the Rockefellers have reached for control of the tube. William S. Paley, chairman of the board of CBS, is a CFR member as well as a trustee of the Ford Foundation. CBS has over 200 TV and 255 radio affiliates nationwide. CBS's president, Arthur Taylor, and Michael O'Neill of CBS publications are both members of the CFR. The former president of CBS was Dr. Frank Stanton (CFR), who is also a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Institution. CBS directors who are CFR members include Roswell Gilpatrick, Courtney Brown, Henry Schacht, and William Burden. CBS (sometimes referred to as the Conspiracy Brainwashing System) newsmen who are CFR members include Charles C. Collingwood, Richard C. Hottelet, Marvin Kalb, Larry LeSueur, and Daniel Schorr.\*

\* There are more than thirty Committees on Foreign Relations in major US cities which the CFR says are -affiliated- with the Council. Members of these local CFR Committees staff scores of other newspapers and radio television stations.

The National Broadcasting Company is a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America. Until his recent retirement, the head of RCA-NBC was long-time CFR member David Sarnoff. Like CBS's Paley, Sarnoff was born in Russia. Under him, RCA was a major financial contributor to the CFR. Sarnoff spent much of his time promoting -foreign aid." Succeeding David Sarnoff at RCA is son Robert, a director of the Advertising Council, a spinoff of the CFR.

NBC newsmen John Chancellor and Irving R. Levine are CFR members, as are directors Thornton Bradshaw and John Petty.

The American Broadcasting Company is the Tag-Along Tooloo of the Big Three networks. It has 153 TV stations and specializes in escapist entertainment. It generally leaves the -documentary- propaganda to the Big Two. Its news audience amounts to only 7 million, while the other networks divide up the remaining 35 million news watchers. It does not have the CFR ties that CBS- and NBC do, but Chase Manhattan Bank controls 6.7 % of its stock-enough to give it a controlling interest. Chase, through its trust department, controls 14 % of CBS and 4.5 % of RCA. Instead of three competing television networks called NBC, CBS, and ABC, what we really have is the Rockefeller Broadcasting Company, the Rockefeller Broadcasting System, and the Rockefeller Broadcasting Consortium.

\* Certainly no one was very surprised that CBS carried an almost unprecedented 2-hour propaganda show on "The Rockefellers- during prime viewing time on Friday, December 28, 1973. CBS used its star, Walter Cronkite, to narrate this spectacle, which was so sugary it must have sent thousands of diabetics scrambling for their insulin. Cronkite closed by saying that if any family had to have as much money and power as the Rockefellers, it was a good thing it was the Rockefellers! For a political candidate to buy that kind of television time would cost an astronomical sum. But Rocky has-friends. It didn't cost him a nickel.

Although the advent of television has somewhat diminished the influence of the slick magazines upon mass opinion, their importance is still significant. Until its demise (caused by advertisers switching to television), the nation's second-leading magazine in circulation was *Look*, with 7,750,000 copies distributed per issue. *Look* was owned by Cowles Communications, headed by Gardner and John



Cowles. Both Cowles brothers are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Cowles publishing empire encompasses *Harper's* a list of trade journals, a string of newspapers and television stations, and Harper & Row. Managing the operation for the Cowles family is Cass Canfield of the CFR and World Federalists. John Cowles is married to Canfield's daughter.

John Cowles runs the *Minneapolis Tribune* and *Des Moines Register*. He is a trustee of the Rockefeller-interlocked Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and of the Ford Foundation, and he is a member of the National Policy Board of American Assembly - a front created by Averell Harriman, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and the CFR to run propaganda seminars for leaders in American business, labor, communications, and the academy. He is on the Advisory Council of the US Committee for the US and the ultra-Leftist National Committee for an Effective Congress, which operates a "be kind to the Communists- lobby in Washington.

According to the American Legion's *Firing Line* of August 15, 1954, John Cowles joined twenty-three others signing telegrams to US Senators -asking support of measures which would stifle all Congressional investigations of Communism."Little wonder, Brother John is very serious about merging America into a World Government with the Communists. The following is from a U.P.I. dispatch of June 7, 1959:

John Cowles, publisher of " The Minneapolis Star and Tribune " said today that the traditional American concept of national sovereignty is obsolete...

Gardner Cowles, chairman of the board of Cowles Communications, works hard to keep up with the Leftist activities of his brother. Besides being a member of the CFR, he is also a member of the Atlantic Union Committee.

Running *Look* magazine for the Cowles boys was William Atwood (CFR), who once wrote that we could "thank our lucky stars that Castro is not a Communist.-

What Americans can thank their lucky stars about is that *Look*, which published more smears against anti Communists than any other publication outside the official Communist Press, went broke.

After nearly four decades as a leading opinion maker in America, *Life* bit the same dust as *Look* and for the same reason, despite a whopping circulation of 8.5 million. *Life's* corporate brother, *Time*, the leading news weekly, with a circulation of 4.2 million (as compared to *Newsweek's* 2.5 million and U. S. *News & World Report's* 1.8) is healthy, as are Time Inc.'s *Sports Illustrated* and *Fortune*.

The Time corporation recently bought its first newspaper, the *Newark Evening News*, for \$34 million, and later purchased thirty-two more in the Chicago suburbs. It also owns Little, Brown & Company, an Establishment book publisher; 300,000 shares of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer; 600,000 acres of timberland; and, is part owner of media in South America, West Germany, Hong Kong, and Australia. In addition to all this, Time Inc. owns some thirty television stations in America, giving this mammoth conglomerate a voice in every form of mass media newspapers, magazines, movies, television, book publishing, and even teaching machines.

The builder of this empire was the late Henry Luce (CFR), whose impact on American thinking has been enormous. As Theodore White (CFR) has noted, " He revolutionized the thinking of American readers." Luce started his rise to publishing glory with loans from CFR Establishmentarians Thomas Lamont and Dwight Morrow (like Lamont, a J. P. Morgan partner), Harvey Firestone, E. Roland Harriman, and



various members of the Harkness family (Standard Oil fortune). Their influence became especially apparent when he started his business magazine, *Fortune*, in the middle of the depression. As John Kobler writes in *The First Tycoon*:

"It is a bemusing paradox that *Fortune*, the magazine of business, questioned the efficiency of the free-enterprise system and even took on a faint socialist tinge. Some of its editors and contributors stood far to the left...."

Apparently that is what Luce's Rockefeller connected financial angels wanted. And, although he later seemed to oppose F.D.R., Henry Luce cheered his accomplishments: " I didn't vote for F.D.R. but it was all right with me that he won. He accomplished a lot of necessary social reform.-"

Jeanne Harmon, a former *Life* staff writer, tells in *Such Is Life* how tolerant Luce was of the Communist cell openly working at Time-Life. Mrs. Harmon relates how headlines were suddenly altered to convey meanings never intended, and how she and her fellow reporters were subjected to pressures to ignore some stories and push others. She also reveals that Whittaker Chambers was not welcomed back to Time-Life after he had testified against Alger Hiss (CFR).

Henry Luce was at one time actually considered an anti Communist. Yet he always bitterly opposed anyone like Robert Taft , General Douglas MacArthur, or Barry Goldwater, whom he thought might actually do something about Communist subversion in the United States. Luce's bogus anti-Communism was used to promote his World Government crusades. He was a member of the CFR and the Atlantic Union. Henry Luce was also a strong supporter of the United Nations, even after Alger Hiss's role in its establishment was revealed.

### ***The Rockefeller Mediocracy***

In the late Fifties, Henry Luce switched from the "World Government to oppose Communism- line to the - peaceful co-existence and World Government with Communism- line, and *Life* went back to glorifying the Soviet Union as it had done during World War II. In 1966 , Luce took a group of 43 US businessmen behind the Iron Curtain to promote aid and trade with the enemy.

The chairman at Time Inc.is Andrew Heiskell (CFR), who is married to a *New York Times* heiress. Editor-in-chief of all Time Inc. publications is Hedley

Donovan, a Rhodes Scholar, former reporter for the Limousine Leftist *Washington Post*, and a member of the CFR. Other CFR - Establishmentarians in the Time Inc. hierarchy are vice chairman Roy Larsen and directors John Gardner and Sol Linowitz.

The CFR members of Time Inc. also include James Linen, chairman of *Time's* executive committee; vice presidents Otto Fuerbringer and Barry Zorthian and directors Frank Pace, Jr. and Rawleigh Warner. So closely is Time Inc. now linked with the Rockefellers that the two jointly own a helicopter.

Rapidly closing the circulation gap with *Time* is *News week*.

*Newsweek* is owned by the *Washington Post*.

Chairman of the board Frederick Beebe is a member of the CFR as was the late owner, Katharine Graham's son Phillip. Retired editor Malcolm Muir is a CFR member, as are current editors Osborn Elliot and Robert Christopher, and vice president Nicholas Katzenbach. Other CFR men at *Newsweek*



are editorial page editor Philip Geyelin, columnist Stewart Alsop, contributing editor Carl Spaatz, Atlanta Bureau chief William Anderson, and directors Katharine Graham and Kermit Lansner.

Other magazines in the CFR orbit are *Business Week*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *McCalls*, *World Review* (formerly *Saturday Review of Literature*) and *Scientific American*

\* One of the most curious publications to join the list of **CFR** interlocked journals is the ostensibly conservative magazine *National Review*. Although *National Review* has in the past claimed to be an opponent of the Eastern Liberal Establishment, it has never called attention to the conspiratorial activities of the Rockefeller Dynasty - and, in fact, has bitterly ridiculed anyone who suggested that there were any conspiratorial wolves mixed in with the Liberal sheep. Many well-informed conservatives were puzzled by *National Review's* refusal to consider the possibility that most of the liberal "mistakes" - the magazine decried - were actually carefully planned and deliberate acts; their bewilderment is bound to increase when they learn that editor-in-chief William F. Buckley, Jr., who has boasted of his personal friendship and warm admiration for such important Insiders as Henry Kissinger, and who enthusiastically endorsed Nelson Rockefeller for Secretary of Defense, is himself a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Book publishers with representatives on the CFR include :

MacMillan, Random House, Simon & Schuster, McCraw-Hill, Harper Brothers, IBM Publishing and Printing, Xerox Corp., Yale University Press and Harper & Row. Many of these specialize in publishing textbooks.

The Book of the Month Club's chairman Axel Rosin is a member of the CFR.

Given this kind of power over the media, it is hardly surprising that the Rockefeller family generally gets the powder puff treatment from the media. The interlocking CFR web woven by the Rockefellers explains why Nelson received such unanimous hosannas from the media during his hearings for the Vice Presidency. Though a few individual reporters were mildly critical of some facets of Nelson's career, the managers of the major papers and magazines positively drooled over themselves at the prospect of Sir Nelson the Fair being a heartbeat away from the Presidency. This is not exactly the tone used on Barry Goldwater in 1964. The one-eyed press is a Rockefeller-con trolled Cyclops.

There is yet another power the Dynasty has over the mass media. The average newspaper depends on advertising for from two-thirds to three-fourths of its revenues. Ike Mc Anally, for four decades a reporter with the *New York Daily News*, comments in *Counter attack*:

The most persistent influence upon the editorial policies of metropolitan newspapers today is the large advertiser. In many instances these advertisers are department stores. Some of these make open and contemptuous demands upon the front offices of newspapers to support the left wing. Others relay " suggestions. "

... Newspapers have surrendered unconditionally to left wing front office pressures, real and imaginary....

... They realize that if they write a story which might draw unfavorable reaction from, for instance, a department store, the city editor is apt to throw their copy back at them.... It is inevitable that with front offices swinging over, individual newsmen have more elastic principles.



Here's how it works. Every one of the major department store chains

" R. H. Macy & Company, Federated Department Stores, Gimbel Brothers, Sears, Roebuck & Company, J. C. Penney Company, The May Department Stores Company, Interstate Department Stores, and Allied Stores Corporation- has on its board of directors at least one officer who is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and/or a partner in the CFR interlocked international banking firms such as Kuhn, Loeb; Lazard Freres; Lehman Brothers; Dillon, Read & Company; or Coldman Sachs.

Department stores, of course, are not the only buyers of advertising space. Oil companies are also biggies. So are banks. As are the myriad of corporations listed in the early part of this book as under Rockefeller family domination. Establishment adventurers will, of course, permit a paper to take a moderately conservative stand, but it is taboo to discuss the Rockefeller Establishment and its links with the International Communist Conspiracy.

With all of this membership in America's key mass media, it can hardly be an accident that few people know about the Council on Foreign Relations. If the Rockefellers wanted publicity for the CFR you can bet there would be feature spreads in *Time* and *Newsweek* plus a " 60 Minute- CBS Special narrated by Walter Cronkite. If you check *The Readers Guide to Periodical*

Literature at your local library, you will find but a single listing on the CFR in over 50 years. And that in the relatively obscure *Atlantic Monthly*. A check of newspaper files shows that only two feature articles on this incredibly powerful organization have appeared, one in the *Christian Science Monitor* and one in the *New York Times*. As we said before, such anonymity can hardly be accidental.

The involvement of the Rockefellers with the media has multi-multi implications. One is that the Rockefeller gang's plans for monopolistic World Government are never, but never, discussed in the machines of mass misinformation. The media decides what the issues will be in the country. They can turn on the poverty issue or turn it off. The same holds true for population explosion, pollution, peace, **détente**, or whatever. We have in this country what columnist Kevin Phillips has termed a mediacracy.

The mediacracy can take a man like Ralph Nader and make him an instant folk hero. Or they can take an enemy of the Rockefellers and create the image that he is a cretin, a buffoon, a bigot, or a dangerous paranoid.

The use of psychology and propaganda, or if you will, brainwashing, is not a Communist invention. It was developed in the West in such places as the Rockefeller financed Tavistock Institute in England. While the Communists have used these tools for mindbending, so have the Rockefellers. The hidden persuaders from Madison Avenue, the Rand Corp. think-tank or Hudson Institute, can and do manipulate public opinion. The Establishment elitists refer to it as " the engineering of consent." That means we are made to think the manacles they are slipping on our wrists are love bracelets. The techniques developed by the Rockefeller "Thought Trust " have just been adopted and used more brutally by the Communists.

With money the Rockefellers gained control of the media. With the media the family gained control over public opinion. With control over public opinion they gained control of politics. And with control of politics, they are taking control of the nation.

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# Chapter Seven

## Surrender by Consent

*"We shall have world government whether or not you like it - by conquest or consent."*

-CFR member James Warburg  
testifying before the Senate foreign Relations Committee on  
February 17, 1950

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, there can be absolutely no doubt that the major Rockefeller goal today is the creation of a "**New World Order**" a one-world government that would control all of mankind. But, wanting a Global Superstate and getting one are two different things. How do the Rockefellers expect to round up all of us cows and herd us into their World Government corral?

The Rockefellers know that the roads to World Government can be as varied as human hopes, fears, ambitions, ignorance and greed. And since the Rockefellers' never put all of their financial or political eggs into one basket, you will not be surprised to learn that they are involved in promoting every conceivable route to a World Superstate. If there is an approach they have overlooked, we can't think of it. (And if you can, please don't mention it out loud-or the *New York Times* might announce tomorrow that the Council on Foreign Relations or a Rockefeller Foundation grant is supporting it.)

A complete listing of all organizations, movements, publications, and programs supporting World Government, which in turn are managed behind the scenes by the Rockefeller-CFR axis, would fill a book the size of the Los Angeles area telephone directory. Obviously, we can mention only a few of the more important trails along the Rockefellers' drive toward World Government.

Certainly the most visible pathway toward **World Government** is the organization that was created in 1945 by the Rockefellers for precisely this purpose - the **United Nations**. As we shall see in the next chapter, the controlled media have deliberately created a myth that the UN is a meaningless debating society. We are supposed to believe that the Rockefellers have spent millions on an organization that is, at best, an expensive but relatively harmless irritant. This public image of the **UN** has been invaluable to the global master planners, and it is about as accurate as an itinerant peddler's claim for his sure-fire snake oil potion.

If the Rockefeller thought-controllers can persuade enough Americans to accept voluntarily the surrender of US sovereignty to the United Nations, their long campaign for World Government will be over. The -New World Order -will have arrived- with all the hoopla of a Wall Street ticker tape parade. The Rockefellers would be willing to pay almost any price for such a bloodless coup d'etat , Infact, they are paying millions of dollars every year to finance just such a possibility. Here are just a few of the organizations in the United States which are financed and/or directed by the Rockefeller - CFR combine that are actively promoting the voluntary demise of American independence.

American Assembly

American Association for the United Nations



American Friends Service Committee

Arden House Group

Atlantic Union

Business Council

Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences

Center of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Chatham House

Citizens Committee for International Development

Committees on Foreign Relations

Committee for Economic Development

Council on Foreign Relations

Federation of World Governments

Foreign Policy Association

Institute of International Education

Institute for World Order

National Planning Association US National Commission

The Trilateral Commission World Affairs Council

United World Federalists

If you recognize more than half of this list, congratulations!

You are already well-informed about this Rockefeller road to serfdom. But if most of these names are new to you, we respectfully suggest that you have some homework to do. And while doing it, please remember that some of the most innocent sounding groups, or some apparently ineffective body whose avowed purposes seem totally non-political, may be one of the most dangerous tentacles on the whole World Government octopus.

Such is the case with one of the oldest organizations mentioned above, Atlantic Union. It is the granddaddy of regional government schemes, composed of those who believe that getting half a loaf is half way to getting a whole loaf. Atlantic Unionists argue that regional government is a necessary way station on the road to total World Government. Until Rocky's boy Henry sprung *détente* on them, Atlantic Union was also the organization for one-worlders who claimed to be anti-Communists. (And, indeed, there were some legitimate anti Communists in the group.)



The Atlantic Unionists believe that our War of Independence was all a ghastly mistake. This may seem a little odd as we prepare to celebrate the nation's bicentennial, but there are as many unreconstructed Tories on Wall Street as there are unreconstructed secessionists in Alabama.

The idea of Atlantic Union had its origin in the fertile brain of an Englishman named Cecil Rhodes, whose dream was to see the United States reannexed to the British Empire. To this end he established the Rhodes Foundation, providing for the education in England of bright young Americans.

In 1939, a Rhodes Scholar named Clarence Streit wrote a book called *Union Now*, which advocated a gradual approach to final world union by way of regional unions, starting with the union between the US and Britain. Committees were set up all over America, and Mr. Streit reported that over two million Americans had signed petitions asking for union with Britain.

In Streit's own words, Atlantic Union, now expanded to include Western Europe, was the first step towards total world government: "It [*Union Now*] proclaimed the need of world government and insisted that no country needed this more urgently than the United States.

Streit, who has been a close associate of Communists and socialists all his adult life, has no hostility towards collectivism. He said in *Union Now*: - Democracy not only allows mankind to choose freely between capitalism and collectivism, but it includes Marxist governments."

In his pamphlets Streit asks the question: "Does the rise of socialism in some Western European democracies prevent our federating with them?" He answers with an emphatic "No !"

In March 1949, Federal Union set up a political-action unit called the Atlantic Union Committee. The first president of this Committee was former Supreme Court justice Owen J. Roberts, who said he considers national sovereignty a "silly shibboleth."

More than twenty years ago the Los Angeles Examiner described what Atlantic Union would mean to America:

They [the nations of Western Europe] would impose their socialism in place of our republican self-government, extract taxes from us as they pleased, draft our men for their armies and our women for their factories, appropriate bulk of our productive wealth for their own enrichment.

How can any Senator or Representative elected to represent the people of the United States bring himself to advocate so clear a policy of national self-destruction?

The goals of Atlantic Union have not changed. But very few newspapers are as courageous or outspoken anymore. Bucking the Rockefellers is not the way to build your advertising revenue.

Less than a dozen years after its founding, the Atlantic Union Committee had grown to 871 wealthy and influential members, 107 of whom were members of the CFR. Today it has some 2,000 members.

An Atlantic Union Resolution which would, in effect, repeal the Declaration of independence, was first introduced in Congress in 1949. It has been reintroduced every year since, but until recently never received much attention-despite its endorsement by such Rockefeller CFR stalwarts as Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, George McGovern, Dwight Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, John Foster Dulles, Jacob Javits, William Fulbright, Eugene McCarthy, and Henry Kissinger.



In 1975, the Atlantic Union resolution was once more introduced into the House of Representatives. Incredibly, 111 Congressmen (38 more sponsors than the resolution ever had before), all sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, officially co-sponsored the measure which would supersede our Constitution! According to the bill's chief sponsor, Illinois Republican Paul Findley:

This proposal never before had so much vigorous fresh blood as it has today. Nearly half of its sponsors are new 59 to be exact. Of these, 26 are freshmen, elected last November; 13 others voted for it when it was stalled on the floor last year by the thin majority of 210 to 197. Most significant of all, 10 of those who voted against it two years ago and still remain in the House are sponsoring it today; 56 of the 210 who opposed it in 1973 are no longer among the members of the House.

In 1973, the Atlantic Union resolution missed passing by a scant 13 votes. As Findley gloated, many of those who voted against it are now gone and several others who once opposed the measure have seen the Rockefeller handwriting on the wall and have become sponsors.

As you probably suspect, Atlantic Union is a Rockefeller operation.

The Oilbucks Gang has been tied to Atlantic federation for some 35 years. In fact, when Nelson Rockefeller was given the Atlantic Union's highest honor: the Pioneer Award, in 1964, Clarence Streit told the assembled dignitaries at the presentation that Nelson Rockefeller had saved the organization from a dangerous division back in 1939. It seems that the two strongest chapters, one in New York City and the other in Washington, were at loggerheads on where the group's headquarters would be established. Both wanted it in their own city.

"Ever the politician. Streit wanted to satisfy both factions, but he didn't have the shekels to finance such an elaborate operation. It was at that moment the Rockefeller cavalry came galloping to the rescue. Nelson promised to provide an entire floor at 10 East 40 th Street, New York City, rent free.

Twenty-five years later, it was Rocky's open espousal of ending American independence, expressed in his book *Future of Federalism*. that gave many secret World Government supporters in Congress the courage to speak up. According to Streit:

"The Future of Federalism- came at a time when other US political leaders and many of our best friends in Congress were afraid even to mention such words as

"federal" or " union-in connection with Atlantica, lest they arouse controversy and opposition from misguided

The Rockefeller family has provided free rental for the Atlantic Union headquarters, and Streit informs us that this fact had been kept a secret for 25 years. Even this admission was made at a private dinner of *Insiders*. You will find no mention of this incredible fact in the newspapers the next day. (Streit's disclosure appeared in their own publication, and was later placed in the *Congressional Record* for all to see by a - misguided patrioteer.-)

You are not supposed to know that the richest family in the country wants to abolish the independence of the United States.

For those Americans willing to go directly into the Great Merger with the Communists, without shilly-shallying around with regional intermediaries, the Rockefeller-CFR combine has several organizations available to support. The most blatant, as well as the most successful, is probably the United World



Federalists. The United World Federalists was formed in 1947 by two CFR stalwarts, Norman Cousins and James P. Warburg (whose statement, promising world government "by consent or conquest," began this chapter). One of the most famous slogans of this Rockefeller front was "One world or none."

The UWF has been particularly effective at appealing to the idealism of youthful Americans, through chapters on many high school and college campuses, with its promise of "world peace through world law." Most of these young members apparently assume that a World Government created and controlled by *Insiders* would protect individual rights, guarantee freedom of the press, respect religious beliefs and practices, and so on. Naturally, the UWF says nothing to disillusion them.

The United World Federalists has been a CFR operation since it was created, more than 25 years ago, by amalgamating three small organizations, the World Federalists, Student Federalists, and Americans United for World Government. Its membership has been heavily interlocked with that of the CFR from the day it began. Yet so successful has been the Rockefeller-CFR public relations job on behalf of the UWF that today it can-and does-promote virtually every major plank of the Communist Party, without losing an ounce of its Establishment-created -respectability."

The first president of the United World Federalists was Cord Meyer Jr., who, of course, was also a member of the CFR.

In a very curious book called *Peace or Anarchy*, Meyer touted the usual *Insider* line that the United States should be thrilled to disarm itself and merge into a -Federated World Government" under the control of the United Nations. And here is the kind of "peace- the UWF president wanted to see established:

... once having joined the One-World Federated Government no nation could secede or revolt ... because with the Atom Bomb in its possession the Federal Government [of the World] would blow that nation off the face of the earth.

Significantly, when he stepped down as UWF president, Meyer slid into a top position with another Rockefeller organization, the Central Intelligence Agency. His activities since then have been cloaked in a veil of secrecy, but one can only assume that his vision of an all powerful World Government, happily blowing recalcitrant nations" off the face of the earth," has not changed.

In recent decades, UWF\* supporters have become much more subtle in their advocacy of a World Superstate. The game is still the same, but the names have been changed to protect the guilty. They are now selected by Rockefeller's PR boys on Madison Avenue to be much more palatable to the public. You will not, for example, find a UWF member today stating the group's goals quite as crudely as a UWF professor named Milton Mayer did in 1949, when he said: " We must haul down the American flag ... haul it down, stamp on it, spit on it." The Rockefellers, you understand, never spit; they expectorate.

Although less than one American in a thousand would consider for a moment the suggestion that his political leaders have actually advocated abandoning our independence, the truth is that the UWF has been endorsed by such big-name politicians as Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, Hubert Humphrey, Richard Nixon, Jacob Javits, Dwight Eisenhower, Frank Church, justice William O. Douglas, and Ronald Reagan.

For decades Atlantic Union and United World Federalists and scores of less-effective Rockefeller fronts have followed a course of patient gradualism. They do not expect Americans to accept World



Government overnight like water dripping on a rock, they plan to wear down all opposition in time.

\* To make their commitment to globalism, not nationalism, even clearer, the UWF changed its name in 1969 to World Federalists, USA

But there are increasing indications that the leaders of the conspiratorial internationalists are running out of patience. Sure, they will permit the UWF and assorted cherries to continue on their merry way, urging us to put the gun to our collective heads and pull the trigger-all the while promising us we'll be better off for the experience, of course. But as we shall see in the next chapter, some of the top brass have contingency plans well prepared to move considerably faster should it become necessary.

One development that may signal more severe storms on the horizon was the formation, more than two years ago, of a new entity called "The Trilateral Commission." The founding meeting was called by David Rockefeller, the number one man in the Council on Foreign Relations and Chairman of the Board of Chase Manhattan Bank. When David asks some 200 leading bankers, businessmen, politicians, and labor leaders *throughout the world* to join him in forming a multi-national planning commission, you can be certain that the invitation has all of the force of a royal command.

Long-time Rockefeller watchers know that major shifts in the internationalists' plans are frequently signaled by brief articles in the *New York Times*. So when that *Insiders'* house organ mentioned in a small dispatch on June 18, 1974, that "the lives and fortunes of large numbers of human beings hang upon the outcome of decisions taken by a small handful of national leaders- on the Trilateral Commission, it was time to pay more attention -a lot more attention- to the group. If your life hangs upon (a rather strong choice of words for so august a publication as the *Times*) the deliberations and decisions of this commission, it is time to find out what they are deciding.

The tipoff came with the appointment of **Zbigniew Brzezinski** as a director of the commission. Shortly after the formation of the Trilateral Commission, the new director (who is an officer of the CFR) wrote an article for the CFR's official journal, *Foreign Affairs*, in which he said:

The world is not likely to unite [willingly] behind a common ideology or a super-government. The only practical hope is that it will now respond to a common concern for its own survival.

.... The Atlantic [Union] concept was a creative response to the problems of the cold war era. Today, the Atlantic framework is too narrow to encompass the multitude of challenges-and opportunities -that confront the international community. It is a recognition of this reality to propose ... that the active promotion of such trilateral cooperation must now become the central priority of U.S. policy.

In other words, Brzezinski says it's time to forget about the rather open and above-board approach to world government proposed by Atlantic Union. Voluntary union will not be achieved in time; it's time to try another approach. What is that "other approach"? Simply stated, it is to impose the very same controls over nations that World Government advocates propose, but this time to do it under the guise of solving economic, ecological, or energy problems.

The chairman of The Trilateral Commission is Gerard C. Smith, another CFR member and former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.\* Here is how he describes the purpose of The Trilateral Commission:

The United States, Western Europe, and Japan face a common condition. They are the major industrial areas of the world, and they share common concerns about the problems of environment and modern



industrial society.

They jointly share a global responsibility and we think their relations are threatened by domestic concerns which tend to drive the regions apart. (Emphasis added.)

\*The significance of Smith leaving the Arms Control and Disarmament. Agency to run this new Rockefeller operation should not be overlooked. The Disarmament Agency is a key part of the Insiders` program for a World Superstate. (See Chapter Eight.) For Smith to step down from such a major post means the Trilateral Commission must really be important.

According to Smith, the problems each country is facing may pose a serious obstacle to the establishment of a " New World Order." There is a danger that some nations may become so concerned about solving their own problems (such as having enough fuel to keep their factories going and enough food to feed their citizens), that they will lose sight of the larger objective-building World Government.

The first meeting of David Rockefeller's new group was held in Tokyo on October 21-23, 1973. Sixty-five persons were listed as North American members. Of those, thirty five are also members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Six position papers, called " The Triangle Papers," have been issued so far by the Commission: two from the Tokyo meeting in October 1973, three from a meeting in Brussels in June 1974, and one from a Washington, D.C. meeting in December 1974. If the -Triangle Papers- are any indication, we can look for four major thrusts toward world economic controls: The first, toward a - renovated world monetary system"; the second, involving the looting of our resources for the further radicalization of -have-not-nations; the third, toward stepped-up trade with the Communists; and the fourth, toward milking the energy crisis for greater international controls.

So if you've been wondering what the next move of the World Government *Insiders* will be along the road to surrender by consent-they've already made it. The Trilateral Commission has been created by David Rockefeller to guide his fellow internationalists in using their private influence to make certain their governments remain on the proper public course-a headlong rush toward the Great Merger. And the country that ignores its warnings, and pays too much attention to its -domestic- concerns, may find itself in a food/fuel/financial crisis that will make the Great Depression seem like an idyllic trek through the Promised Land.

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# Chapter Eight

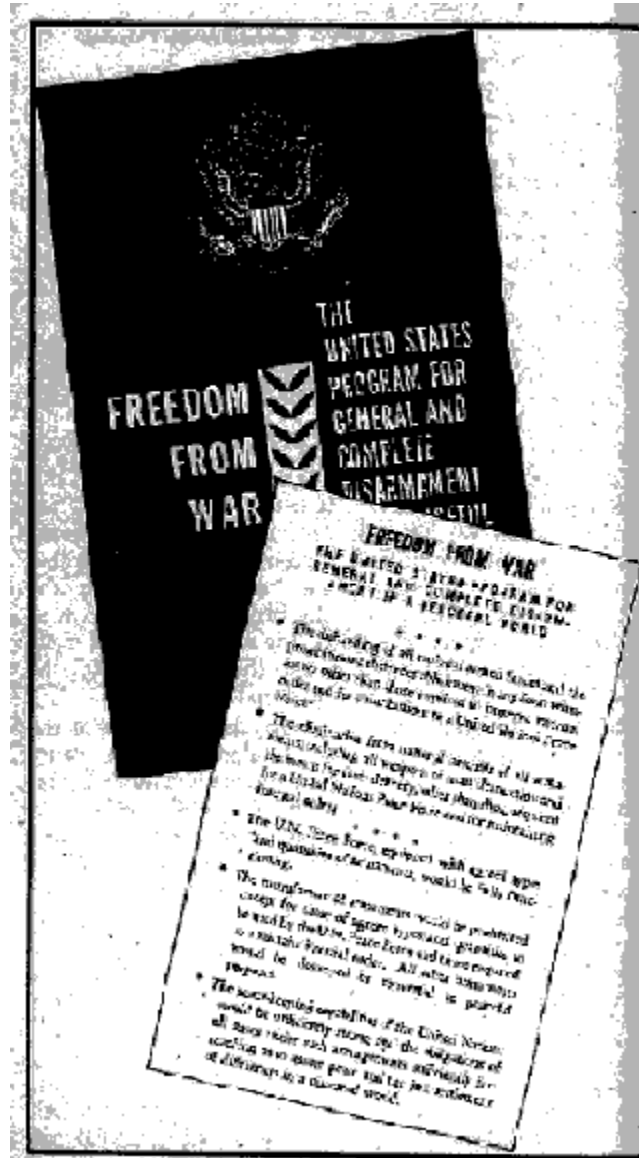
## Surrender by Conquest

*``In Stage III [of disarmament] progressive controlled disarmament ... would proceed to a point where no state would have the military power to challenge the progressively strengthened UN Peace Force and all international disputes would be settled according to*



*agreed principles of international conduct .... The Peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations would be sufficiently strong and the obligations of all states under such arrangements sufficiently far reaching as to assure peace and the just settlement of differences in a disarmed world."*

-Department of State Publication 7277



On his return from Vladivostok , USSR, where he had signed an agreement drafted at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), President Ford announced in a typically mixed metaphor that he had" put a cap- on the arms race. In the light of previous deals with the Communists, such a pronouncement was incredible. It conjured up memories of Chamberlain, newly arrived from Munich, standing on the sacred ground in which his head was buried and announcing through the sand that the treaty in his hand was proof we would have" peace in our time.-

While the Liberal press was singing hosannas to SALT II as the pinnacle of détente



(French for both a trigger and a lessening of tensions), the Communists were gobbling up territory faster than the Oklahoma Sooners. Using Soviet arms, the Reds were sweeping through Cambodia and South Vietnam. With the planned opening of Suez, they were preparing to link their naval forces in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. And, Portugal, a long-time American ally, was being converted into a Soviet outpost in Western Europe. If this *is détente*, bring back the Cold War.

The road toward SALT began at the dawn of the nuclear age, when Leftist scientists and academics, standing at the wailing wall of disarmament, began to bemoan their fear that America's superior nuclear capacity would somehow frighten a worried Soviet Union into launching a major war. The "solution" to this peril begins with the Pugwash Conferences and might conclude with the forced surrender of a disarmed US

In 1955, the Parliamentary Association for World Government issued a call for a series of "Conferences on Science and World Affairs" between Russian and American scientists and intellectuals. The first of these was held in 1957 at the home of Russophile Cyrus Eaton in Pugwash, Nova Scotia. Eaton, who began his career a secretary to John D. Rockefeller and is now a business partner of the Rockefellers in promoting Red trade, earned the Lenin Peace Prize for fronting the deal and financing the first five Conferences. Since then, more than twenty have been held, most of them outside the United States. All have been financed by the tax-exempt Rockefeller CFR foundations.

"On September 23, 1960, three years after the first Pugwash Conference, the Soviets presented a plan for total and complete disarmament - to the United Nations. It called for a systematic reduction in arms by major powers of the world. The so-called "Soviet plan" immediately became the beneficiary of extremely influential American support, when a group of powerful proponents of disarmament within the CFR endorsed it.

This was no mere happenstance. A secret CFR disarmament program, entitled "Study No.7," was made public a few months later. Prepared by the CFR for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "Study No.7" argued that the United States "must: (1) search for an international order ... in which many policies are jointly undertaken by ... states with differing political, economic and social systems, and including states labeling themselves as 'socialist.'" [That is, Communist.] In order to build such a "new international order," the CFR said, we must -maintain and gradually increase the authority of the UN," and "conduct serious negotiations to achieve international agreement on limitation, reduction and control of armaments.-

And here is the amazing part: This CFR position paper had preceded the Soviet proposal of September 23, 1960, by nearly a year. Pugwashed or not, the two schemes were almost identical!

This Pugwash-CFR conspiracy is one of the most brilliant achievements in psychological warfare since the Trojan Horse. While Americans were being told of the horrors of nuclear war and the supposed advantages of limiting our defenses, the Russians were arming to the teeth.

It was in June of 1964 that the Ford Foundation, already famous for bankrolling Rockefeller- approved fascist socialist causes, put up \$325,000 for a Pugwash production called the "Joint US - USSR Study Group in Disarmament."

The climate which Rockefeller partner Cyrus Eaton's Pugwash group and the CFR had created was by now well established. Advocates of the New World Order began to crow that World Government was at last in sight.



In September of 1961, the Department of State released Publication 7277, entitled : *Freedom From War: The United States Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World*.

It was a three-stage program which provided:

In Stage III progressive controlled disarmament and continuously developing principles and procedures of international law would proceed to a point where no state would have the military power to challenge the progressively strengthened UN Peace Force and all international disputes would be settled according to agreed

\* *Strategy for the Sixties*, Jay Cerf and Walter Pozen, New York Praeger, Inc., 1961.p92 THE ROCKEFELLER FILE

principles of international conduct. . . . The peacekeeping capabilities of the United Nations would be sufficiently strong and the obligations of all states under such arrangements sufficiently far reaching as to assure peace and the just settlement of differences in a disarmed world.

The same month that State Department Publication 7277 was issued, the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was created by Congress. Within forty-eight hours the new Agency presented its disarmament scheme to the United Nations. Naturally, it was a carbon copy of the CFR-Soviet-Pugwash proposal presented to the UN *by the Communists* the year before While the newspapers and TV have prattled endlessly about disarmament, nary a word has been said about the other side of the coin: all such proposals call for arming the United Nations! This apparently is the best-kept secret since the formula for Coca-Cola.

In October of 1968 the US Disarmament Agency issued a revised proposal, entitled : *Arms Control and National Security*, which declared:

Since 1959, the agreed ultimate goal of the negotiations has been general and complete disarmament, i.e., the total elimination of all armed forces and armaments except those needed to maintain internal order within states and to furnish the United Nations with peace forces. . . . While the reductions were taking place, a UN peace force would be established and developed, and, by the time the plan was completed, it would be so strong that no nation could challenge it.

Notice that the document said," Since1959" The US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was no established until September 1961. But it was in 1959 that the CFR " Study No.7 " was prepared and its content were transmitted to the Soviets.

How successful have these New World Order disarmers been in implementing their plans? What has happened to our military strength since disarmament was accepted as official US Government policy? The first Secretary of Defense to implement this policy was CFR member Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense from 1961 through 1968. In *The Betrayers*, Phyllis Schlafly and Chester Ward discuss McNamara's wrecking job. Where Robert McNamara left office, they note, he had:

... reduced our nuclear striking force by 50% while the Soviets had increased theirs by 300%.

... caused the US to lose its lead in nuclear delivery vehicles.

... scrapped 3/4 of our multi megaton missiles.



... cut back the originally planned 2,000 Minutemen to 1,000.

... destroyed all our intermediate and medium-range missiles.

... canceled our 24-megaton bomb.

... scrapped 1,455 of 2,710 bombers left over from the Eisenhower Administration.

... disarmed 600 of the remaining bombers of their strategic nuclear weapons.

... frozen the number of Polaris subs at 41, refusing to build any more missile-firing submarines.

... refused to allow development of any new weapons systems except the TFX (F-111).

... canceled Skybolt, Pluto, Dynasoar and Orian [missile systems].

In fact, McNamara destroyed more operational US strategic weapons that the Soviets could have destroyed in a full-scale nuclear attack!

Supporting McNamara's efforts at unilateral disarmament were CFR members John J. McCloy and William C. Foster. McCloy, who preceded David Rockefeller as chairman of the board of both the CFR and the family' piggy bank, Chase Manhattan, was picked by President John F. Kennedy to be chairman of the General Advisory Committee for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a post which he still holds. William C. Foster was appointed director of the Agency. In 1969, Foster was replaced as director by Gerard C. Smith, another CFR member. Smith's successor in 1973 was Fred Ikle who (this will probably not surprise you) is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

John J. McCloy's current General Advisory Committee is composed of I. W. Abel, Dr. Harold Brown (CFR), William C. Foster (CFR), Kermit Cordon (CFR), Dr. James R. Killian, General Lauris Norstad (CFR), Dr. Jack Ruina (CFR), Dean Rusk (CFR), William Scranton, Dr. John Archibald Wheeler, and, Judith A. Cole, staff director.

What is going on here, alas, is all too simple. The Rockefeller - Establishment *Insiders* of the Council on Foreign Relations are working to weaken America's defensive capacity so the Soviets can "catch up." This policy, they believe, will lead eventually to a merger of political and economic interests- what the CFR calls a New World Order.

This is not academic skylarking. It is, as we have seen, official US policy. The operative phases of this scheme began in earnest when CFR *Insiders* persuaded President Lyndon Johnson to propose the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in 1966. The SALT talks to negotiate a first disarmament treaty were scheduled for July 1968. They were postponed until November 1969 because the Soviets were busy with their invasion of Czechoslovakia-only two weeks after Soviet officials signed the Declaration of Bratislava, guaranteeing Czech independence!

We have made such great progress at SALT that when the first meetings were scheduled in 1968, the Soviets had only 850 long-range missiles while the US had 1,054. But following the seventh SALT meeting, when President Nixon signed accords in Moscow on May 26, 1972, the Soviets had 1,618 ICBMs either deployed or under construction while we, in turn, still had 1,054 - the same number as in 1968. This, in short, is the way we have negotiated. We have frozen production and exported US technology to permit the Kremlin first to catch up, and then to surpass us.



What trends must we stop to prevent an ultimatum from the Soviets? To begin with, there is the effort to limit defense spending- especially in the area of strategic weapons development.

In the 1974 *Economic Report of the President* we learn that in 1953 our total government spending as a %age of national income was 33.2 %. That included 16 % for domestic spending, including welfare, etc. Twenty years later, in 1973, government spending had risen to 38.6 % of the national income. During this time the - better Red than deadboys hid cut defense back to 7 % of the national income while increasing domestic spending to 31.6 %. You might tap dance through those statistical tulips again. They confirm that the CFR plan is fully operative-that we are being prepared for the New World Order by being collectivized and disarmed at the same time.

Nor do those figures tell the whole story. With the advent of our -professional- Armed Forces, fifty-six % of the defense budget is now going for salaries. Congressman Larry McDonald (D.-Ca.) of the House Armed Services Committee observes:

The Liberals in Congress are constantly calling for the slashing of the -bloated- Defense budget so they can further increase Welfare spending. Since we cannot cut salaries, about the only thing which can be cut is hardware. Trimming the so-called fat actually turns out to be slicing out bone and muscle. If we had a war, we would have lots of men in uniform, but they wouldn't have adequate equipment with which to fight.

This result is a tribute to the skullduggery and conspiracy of the *Insiders* of the Rockefeller Council on Foreign Relations who planned it that way. Our -military industrial complex- had to be destroyed to make Soviet superiority - more plausible. It has, as a result, been literally starved to death on purpose.

Of course all of this was anticipated when President Nixon signed the SALT I agreement in Moscow back in May of 1972. Even the very -Liberal- Senator Henry Jackson (D.Wash.) admitted: -Simply put, the agreement gives the Soviets more of everything: more light ICBMs, more heavy ICBMs, more submarine-launched missiles, more submarines, more payload, even more ABM radars.

In no area covered in the agreement is the United States permitted to maintain parity with the Soviet Union.-

It is all too obvious that SALT has not limited the Soviets in any way. The US is being disarmed while the Communists are being given a first-strike Ultimatum Force.\*

\* The fact that SALT is merely an extension of the 7277 Disarmament Plan was acknowledged in this agreement which stated: The USA and the USSR regard as the ultimate objective of their efforts the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the establishment of an effective system of international security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Remember the steel rolling plants we sold the Soviets on credit? Remember the aluminium factories the Rockefeller-Eaton Axis is building in Eastern Europe? And remember the Kama River truck factory, financed by David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, which will be the largest in the world, covering some forty square miles? Truck factories, of course, are where tanks are built.

Now, ask yourself this question: If the Soviets are really sincere about détente and peaceful coexistence, why are they arming at such breakneck speed? Why aren't they diverting that spending into desperately needed consumer goods? And why is Henry Kissinger letting them get away with it? The answer is that the Comrades are preparing to deliver the New World Order ultimatum in case Americans refuse to lay



down and play dead. In other words, the traps have been set for world government by consent and by conquest.

The Communists are working hand-in-hand with our Establishment Insiders. When the former are powerful enough, the latter will insist we must scrap our national sovereignty and merge into a New World Order-our survival will require it!

If we have not the will to resist-to fight for national sovereignty-then we have no deterrent at all. We invite the nuclear ultimatum. And we are, indeed, in grave danger. The last SALT agreement arranged for a -working meeting- between President Ford and Soviet Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev in Vladivostok, November 23 and 24, 1974, after the President had visited Japan and South Korea to make "assurances." As usual, the trusted Dr. Kissinger arrived early to "work out the details." The President dutifully signed what was put in front of him.

The details, as it turned out, limit the US and Soviets to 2,400 land and sea-based missiles and long-range bombers through 1985. The United States, we are told in Newsweek for December 9, 1974, has some 2,206 intercontinental missiles (ICBMs), submarine-based missiles (SLBMs), and long-range bombers. The Soviets, we are assured, have deployed 2,375 such missiles and bombers. In addition, we agreed to equip only 1,320 missiles with MIRV warheads.

After dispatching Henry Kissinger to Peking to brief the Red Chinese, President Ford returned home to present his version of the summit to twenty-six Congressional leaders. Back in Washington the President crowed: "We put a firm ceiling on the strategic-arms race. What we have done," he stated with a straight face, "is to set firm and equal limits on the strategic forces of each side, thus preventing an arms race ... Vladivostok is a breakthrough for peace ... future generations will thank us.-

The National Observer for December 14, 1974, expressed amazement: "With such fanciful descriptions Mr. Ford, he of the plain word and honest face, is beguiling us-or has been beguiled and is merely repeating the phrases the beguilers used on him.-

The prestigious Aviation Week & Space Technology for December 9, 1974, warned: "The Vladivostok agreement puts a cap on nothing. The new SALT buzzword about 'putting a cap on the arms race' is just some more White House press agency that would be ludicrous if it had not proved so disastrous to the Nixon Administration and US interests at past summits."

So there you have it. Rockefeller Contingency Plan II - be used in the event that the American people cannot be persuaded to accept the surrender of US sovereignty to their New World Order-will be the blunt ultimatum: let the UN run the whole show, or those nasty Communist will blast us all to bits.

Step One was a massive media campaign, brainwashing the public into abject horror at the thought of nuclear war

Step Two was to increase Soviet military muscle (more on this in the next chapter), to lend some credence to Soviet claims of nuclear power.

Step Three was to make certain the US Armed Force were not permitted to advance technologically. The development of new weapons systems was forbidden; existing armaments were allowed to rust.

Step Four was to win Congressional approval for the Soviet-CFR planned disarmament scheme. What was approved wasn't disarmament at all; it was a proposal to arm a World Government police force by



taking weapon from the US and giving them to the UN.

Steps One through Three have already been implemented. And even while you are reading this Insiders in New York, Washington, Geneva, and London are working to convert Step Four from a plan to a fact '

As the CFR's James Warburg declared to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee twenty-five years ago:" We will have world government whether or not you like it-by conquest or consent." Warburg and his fellow conspirators have made certain that whichever deck is used to deal the next hands, the cards have already been stacked against us.

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# The Rockefeller File

## *by Gary Allen*

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## Chapter Nine

### Building the Big Red Machine

*“There has been a continuing, albeit concealed, alliance between international political capitalists and international revolutionary socialists - to their mutual benefit.”*

-Antony C. Sutton  
*Wall Street And The Bolshevik Revolution*

That the Rockefellers are a unique and remarkable family is an understatement comparable to Custer observing that "the Indians seem restless today - just before his last stand. No fiction written would create such a family. No Hollywood movie mogul could concoct such a group to star in a celluloid epic.

The Rockefellers are bigger than life and stranger than fiction.

Yet, while many biographers have told of their fabulous wealth and virtually unlimited economic and political power, few have dealt with the most remarkable aspect of the family - its close relationship over many generations with its supposed arch-enemies, the Communists. Of course, there is much about this strange relationship that we do not know. But what is already a matter of public record is astounding. To say that things are not always what they seem is a hackneyed cliché, but there has never been a mystery to match that of the world Communist movement and the identity of its ultimate backers.

A bit of background is required in order to understand our subject. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was obviously one of the great turning points in history. It is an event over which misinformation abounds. The myth makers and re-writers of history have done their jobs well.

Today, most people believe the Communists were successful in Russia because they were able to gain the support of peasants who were sick of the tyranny of the Czars. This is not what happened.

While most know that the Bolshevik Revolution took place in November 1917, few recall that the Czar



actually abdicated seven months earlier. With the collapse of Czar Nicholas II's monarchy, a provisional government was established by Prince Lvov, who wanted to pattern the new Russian government after the American Republic. But, unfortunately, Lvov was maneuvered out and replaced by Alexander Kerensky, an admitted Marxist who claimed to be an opponent of the Bolsheviks.

At the time the Czar abdicated and for the next several months, the eventual leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, were not even in Russia. Lenin was in Switzerland and had been living in exile since 1905. Trotsky also was in exile, working as a reporter for a Communist newspaper in - would you believe - New York City.

Trotsky was allowed to return to Russia with an American passport; Lenin was spirited across Europe in the famous sealed train. They joined forces and by November, through bribery, cunning, brutality and deception, were able to hire enough thugs and make enough deals to seize control of Petrograd. The Bolsheviks came to power not because the downtrodden masses of Russia called them back, but because very powerful men in Europe and the United States, including members of the Rockefeller family, sent them in.

But while these facts have been somewhat suppressed, the biggest secret of all is that throughout this period, the financing for the revolution came from super capitalists in the West, and primarily from the United States.

A meticulously documented book on this subject was written by Antony Sutton, a research fellow for the prestigious Hoover Institution for War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. Entitled *Wall Street And The Bolshevik Revolution*, this book by a respected and fastidiously thorough scholar was almost universally

*Building The Big Red Machine* ignored by the mass media. One does not have to be a Quiz Kid to figure out why. Sutton sets the stage for the Bolshevik Revolution with this background:

" While monopoly control of industries was once the objective of J. P. Morgan and J. D. Rockefeller, by the late nineteenth century the inner sanctums of Wall Street understood that the most efficient way to gain an unchallenged monopoly was to " geopolitical - and make society go to work for the monopolists - under the name of the public good and the public interest. This strategy was detailed in 1906 by Frederick C. Howe in his *Confessions of a Monopolist*. Howe, by the way, is also A figure in the story of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In his book Howe had stated:

These are the rules of big business. They have superseded the teachings of our parents and are reducible to a simple maxim: Get a monopoly ; let Society work for you; and remember that the best of all business is politics, for a legislative grant, franchise, subsidy or tax exemption is worth more than a Kimberly or Comstock lode, since it does not require any labor, either mental or physical, for its exploitation.

Sutton postulates why wealthy men like the Rockefellers would cooperate with and even finance the very Communists who are allegedly sworn to bury them.

The British-born scholar points out:

... one barrier to mature understanding of recent history is the notion that all capitalists are the bitter and



unswerving enemies of all Marxists and Socialists. This erroneous idea originated with Karl Marx and was undoubtedly useful to his purposes. In fact, the idea is nonsense. There has been a continuing, albeit concealed, alliance between international political capitalists and international revolutionary socialists-to their mutual benefit.

Through Sutton we can learn the names of the secret men who bankrolled the conspiracy in Russia. We know that no revolution can be successful without organization and money. The -downtrodden masses- usually provide little of the former and none of the latter. But the Rockefellers and their cohorts can provide both. In *The Surrender of An Empire*, the brilliant English historian Nesta Webster observed:

Had the Bolsheviks been, as they are frequently represented, a mere gang of revolutionaries out to destroy property, first in Russia, and then in every other country, they would naturally have found themselves up against organized resistance by the owners of property all over the world, and -the Moscow blaze would have been rapidly extinguished. It was only owing to the powerful influences' behind them that this minority party was able to seize the reins of power and, having seized them, to retain their hold of them up to the present day.

Sutton introduces his evidence of -powerful influences" behind the Communists by stating:

In brief, this is a story of the Bolshevik Revolution and its aftermath, but a story that departs from the usual conceptual strait jacket approach of capitalists versus Communists. Our story postulates a partnership between international monopoly capitalism and international revolutionary socialism for their mutual benefit. The final human cost of this alliance has fallen upon the shoulders of the individual Russian and the individual American. Entrepreneurship has been brought into disrepute and the world has been propelled toward inefficient socialist planning as a result of these monopoly maneuverings in the world of politics and revolution ...

So long as we see all international revolutionaries and all international, capitalists as implacable enemies of one another, then we miss a crucial point-that there has indeed been some operational cooperation between international capitalists, including fascists.

Sutton then proceeds to present evidence of such cooperation. The proofs-which are on the public record that international banking elements, most notably Morgan and Rockefeller interests, financed the take-over by the Bolsheviks, are simply overwhelming. The thousands of facts and documents that Sutton cites are too numerous to even summarize here. For those interested in the complete

Building " The Big Red Machine " story, I highly recommend reading Sutton's book,

**Wall Street And The Bolshevik Revolution And "War on Gold" try "The Rise of Hitler"**

The Hoover Institute researcher asks the obvious question: What is the motivation behind this coalition capitalists and Bolsheviks? The advantages to the Communists are obvious. But of what possible benefit could such a union be to the super-capitalists of the West?

Sutton suggests that Russia was then - and is today- the largest untapped market in the world. Moreover, Russia then and now, comprises the greatest potential competitive threat to American industrial and financial supremacy." Wall Street, - says Sutton," must have shivers when it visualizes Russia as a second super American industrial giant." By saddling Russia with unproductive economic system dependent on the West for continuous infusions of capital and technology for survival Russia could be both exploited and contained Sutton concludes:



Revolution and international finance are not at all inconsistent if the result of revolution is to establish more centralized authority. International finance prefers to deal with central governments. The last thing the banking community wants is laissez-faire economy and decentralized power because these would disperse power.

This, therefore, is an explanation that fits the evidence. This handful of bankers and promoters was not Bolshevik, or Communist, or socialist, or Democrat, or even American. Above all else these men wanted markets, preferably captive international markets-and a monopoly of the captive world market as the ultimate goal....

Wall Street did indeed achieve its goal. American firms controlled by this syndicate were later to go on and build the Soviet Union, and today are well on their way to bringing the Soviet military-industrial complex into the age of the computer.

Of course, far more is involved here than just monopolists seeking new captive markets. The same people who bankrolled the Russian Communist Revolution turn out to be the same ones who fastened the Man graduated income tax onto the American middle-class while avoiding it themselves; and it is the same group that foisted the fraudulent Federal Reserve System onto an unsuspecting American public. The actions of these super-capitalists over a period of many decades reveal that they were not merely plotting to acquire more profits; they were involved 'in a conspiracy for control of the world!

No doubt all this has been a handy and profitable byproduct of the super-capitalist capture of Russia. But, it is only part of a bigger picture. Like the cartel capitalists, the Communists work for a world government. And world government is promoted from both the top and the bottom of the conspiratorial apparatus.

In the Bolshevik Revolution we have some of the world's richest and most powerful men financing a movement which claims that its very reason for existence is to strip of their wealth such super-rich cartel and banker capitalists as the Rockefellers.

But obviously these men have no fear of international Communism. It is only logical to assume that if they financed it, and are willing-even eager-to cooperate with it, it must be because they control it. Can there be another explanation that makes sense? Remember that for over 100 years it has been a standard operating procedure of the Rockefellers and their allies to control both sides of every conflict.

Having created their colony in Russia, the Rockefellers and their allies have struggled mightily ever since to keep it alive. Beginning in 1918 this clique has been engaged in transferring money and, probably more important technical information to the Soviet Union. This is made abundantly clear in Antony Sutton's monumental three volume history, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*. Using for the most part official State Department documents, Sutton proves beyond any possible doubt that virtually everything the Soviets possess has been acquired from the West, principally America. It is not an exaggeration to say that the USSR was made in the USA. No one has even attempted to refute Sutton's almost excessively scholarly works. They can't. But the misinformation machines that compose our mediocracy can ignore Sutton. And they do. Totally.

None of the foregoing makes sense if Communism really is what the Communists and the Rockefeller Establishment tell us it is. But if Communism is an arm of a bigger conspiracy to control the world by power-mad billionaires (and brilliant but ruthless academicians who have shown them how to use their power) it all becomes perfectly logical.



It is at this point that we should again make it clear that this conspiracy is not made up solely of Rockefellers and other bankers and international cartelists, but includes every field of human endeavor. Starting with Voltaire and Adam Weishaupt and running through John Ruskin, Sidney Webb, Nicholas Murray Butler, and on to the present with *Insiders* such as Henry Kissinger and John Kenneth Galbraith, it has always been the scholar looking for avenues of power who has shown the "sons of the very powerful" how their wealth could be used to rule the world.

We cannot stress too greatly the importance of the reader keeping in mind that this book is discussing only one segment of the conspiracy. Other important segments which work to foment labor, religious and racial strife in order to promote socialism have been described in numerous other books. These other divisions of the conspiracy often operate independently of the Rockefellers and other international bankers and it would certainly be disastrous to ignore the danger to our freedom they represent.

It would be equally disastrous to lump all businessmen and bankers into the conspiracy. A distinction must **be drawn between competitive** free enterprise, the most moral and productive system ever devised, and cartel capitalism dominated by industrial monopolists and international bankers. The difference is crucial: the private enterpriser operates by offering products and services in a competitive free market, where consumers have numerous choices offered to them, while cartel capitalists use the government to force the public to do business with them. These corporate socialist-fascists are the deadly enemies of competitive private enterprise.

Liberals are willing to believe that the Rockefellers will fix prices, rig markets, establish monopolies, buy politicians, exploit employees and fire them the day before they are eligible for pensions, but they absolutely will not believe that these same men would want to rule the world or would use Communism as the striking edge of their conspiracy. When one discusses the machinations of the Rockefellers and their allies, Liberals usually respond by saying "But don't you think they mean well?"

However, if you assemble the evidence, carefully present your proofs, and try to expose these power seekers, the Establishment's mass media will accuse you of being a dangerous paranoid who is - dividing- our people. In every other area, of course, they encourage dissent as being healthy in a 'democracy.'

The Rockefeller-CFR *Insiders* began pushing to open up Communist Russia to US traders soon after the revolution. However, at that time public opinion ran so high against the Bolsheviks because of their barbarism that it was official US government policy not to deal with the outlaw government. The US did not even recognize the Bolshevik regime until 1933.

Galloping to the rescue were the super-capitalists of the West-men like the Vanderlips, the Harrimans, and the Rockefellers. One of the first to arrive was Frank Vanderlip, an agent of the Rockefellers and president of the Rockefeller First National City Bank, who once favorably compared Lenin to George Washington.

Before the Bolshevik revolt, Russia had succeeded the US as the world's number one oil producer. The chaos and destruction of the revolution effectively eliminated Standard Oil's competition from Russia for several years until Standard could move in and get a piece of the Russian oil business.

In 1926, Standard Oil of New York and its subsidiary, Vacuum Oil Company, concluded a deal to market Soviet oil in European countries. Part of the price for the arrangement, it was reported at the time, was a loan of \$75,000,000 to the Bolsheviks. In 1927, Russia's secret partner, Standard Oil of New York, built an oil refinery in Russia. The refinery helped immeasurably in putting the Bolshevik



economy back on its feet. According to Professor Sutton," This was the first United States investment in Russia since the Revolution." (We have been unable to find out if Standard Oil was even theoretically expropriated by the Communists.)

It is possible the Rockefellers still own oil production facilities behind the Iron Curtain and get the profits out through Switzerland. By doing this, they would not have to share the loot with stockholders or the tax collector.

Wherever Standard Oil would go, Chase National Bank was sure to follow. In order to rescue the Bolsheviks, who were supposedly the archenemy of profit-seeking businessmen, the Chase National Bank was instrumental in establishing the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce in 1922. President of the Chamber was Reeve Schley, a vice-president of Chase National Bank. According to Professor Sutton:

In 1925, negotiations between Chase and Prom-bank extended beyond the finance of raw materials and mapped out a complete program for financing Soviet raw material exports to the US and imports of US cotton and machinery ... Chase National Bank and the Equitable Trust Company were leaders in the Soviet credit business.

The Rockefeller's Chase National Bank also was involved in selling Bolshevik bonds in the United States in 1928. Patriotic organizations denounced the Chase as an "-international fence." Chase was called " a disgrace to America ... They will go to any lengths for a few dollars' profits.-

Congressman Louis McFadden, chairman of the House Banking Committee, maintained in a speech to his fellow Congressmen:

The Soviet government has been given United States Treasury funds by the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Reserve Banks acting through the Chase Bank and the Guaranty Trust Company and other banks in New York City ...

... Open up -the books of Amtorg, the trading organization of the Soviet government in New York, and of Gostorg, the general office of the Soviet Trade Organization, and of the State Bank of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and you will be staggered to see how much American money has been taken from the United States Treasury for the benefit of Russia. Find out what business has been transacted for the State Bank of Soviet Russia by its correspondent, the Chase Bank of New York;

In his three-volume history of Soviet technological development, Professor Sutton proves conclusively that there is hardly a segment of the Soviet economy which is not a result of the transference of Western, particularly American, technology.

This cannot be wholly the result of accident. For fifty years the Federal Reserve-CFR-Rockefeller-Insider crowd has advocated and carried out policies aimed at increasing the power of their satellite, the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, America spends \$90 billion a year on defense to protect itself from the enemy the *Insiders* are building up.

What has been true in the past is even more valid today. Heading the parade to transfer technology and increase aid and trade with the Communists are the Rockefellers and the Council on Foreign Relations.

The bandmaster for the entire enterprise is David Rockefeller.



Most Americans regard Nelson Rockefeller as the most important member of the Rockefeller family. He is, after all, the (unelected) Vice President of the United States. Since 1960 he has been a perennial candidate for the Presidency. Nelson Rockefeller is a compulsive extrovert who loves to be in the public eye. As a result, he is far better known than his brothers. **But notoriety is an unreliable measure of power.**

Students of the Eastern Establishment are well aware that while Nelson gets the ink, it is little brother David who 'wields the power.' " As the *de facto* head of the American Establishment,- reports *Time*," It has been said that for him the presidency would be a demotion. " The *New York Times*" - concurs: "He has come to be regarded as a spokesman for enlightened American capitalism.- Of course, to the *New York Times*, "enlightened American capitalism" means government planning of virtually every facet of the American economy, major transfers of America's vital technology to the Communists, the internationalizing of American business through multinational holding companies, and the creation of a World Government.

In 1964 David Rockefeller and Nikita Khrushchev were closeted in Moscow for two and a half hours. The Chicago *Tribune* of September 12, 1964, reported:

David Rockefeller ... briefed President Johnson today on his recent meeting with Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev of Russia ... the Red leader said the United States and the Soviet Union " should do more trade." Khrushchev, according to Rockefeller, said he would like to see the United States extend long-term credits to the Russians.

As a matter of fact, the meeting between Rockefeller and Khrushchev had been held two months earlier, in July. Apparently whatever trouble had developed was not settled until the President was briefed in September. Within a month, Khrushchev was deposed. David Rockefeller was soon meeting on the Black Sea with his successor, and in October of 1966 L.B.J. announced his new policy of "building bridges" to Eastern Europe. This was at the time the Communists were escalating the Vietnam War, and virtually all of the war materiel to do so came from the ammunitions factories of Eastern Europe. It seemed politically incredible for Johnson to propose such a policy while American troops were being killed and maimed by ammunition and weapons from the Communist bloc. It would have been flabbergasting if one had not been following the machinations of David Rockefeller.

On October 7, 1966 , President Johnson, a man who has appointed a CFR member to virtually every strategic position in his administration.,stated:

We intend to press for legislative authority to negotiate trade agreements which could extend most-favored-nation tariff treatment to European Communist states ...

We will reduce export controls on East-West trade with respect to hundreds of non-strategic items ...

Six days later, the *New York Times*- reported:

The United States put into effect today one of President Johnson's proposals for stimulating East-West trade by removing restrictions on the export of more than four hundred commodities to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe ...

Among the categories from which items have been selected for export relaxation are vegetables, cereals, fodder, hides, crude and manufactured rubber, pulp and waste paper, textiles and textile fibers, crude fertilizers, metal ores and scrap, petroleum, gas and derivatives, chemical compounds and products,

dyes, medicines, fireworks, detergents, plastic materials, metal products and machinery, and scientific and professional instruments.

Virtually every one of these "non-strategic" items has a direct or indirect use in war. Later, items such as rifle cleaning compounds, electronic equipment, computers, and radar were declared "non-strategic" and cleared for shipment to the Soviet Union. Congress drew the lines at sending -strategic- goods to the Reds, but the trick was simply to declare almost everything "non-strategic" A machine gun is strategic, but the tools for making it and the chemicals to propel the bullets were declared "nonstrategic."

The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese received 8 % of their war materials from Russia and the Soviet bloc nations. Since their economies are incapable of supporting a war, the Communist arm of the conspiracy needed help from the Finance Capitalist arm. The United States financed and equipped both sides of the terrible Vietnamese war, killing nearly 55,000 of our own soldier by proxy. Again, **the mass media kept** the American public from learning this shocking truth.

Not surprisingly, the Rockefellers have been leaders in championing this bloody trade. On January 16, 1967, one of the most incredible articles ever to appear in a newspaper graced the front page of the Establishment's daily, the *New York Times*. Under the headline, "Eaton Joins Rockefellers To Spur Trade With Reds," the article stated:

An alliance of family fortunes linking Wall Street and the Midwest is going to try to build economic bridges between the free world and Communist Europe.

The International Basic Economy Corporation, controlled by the Rockefeller brothers, and Tower International, Inc., headed by Cyrus S. Eaton, Jr., Cleveland financier, plan to cooperate in promoting trade between the Iron Curtain countries, including the Soviet Union ...

International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC) is run by Richard Aldrich, grandson of Federal Reserve plotter Nelson Aldrich, and Rodman Rockefeller (CFR), Rocky's son. On October 20, 1969, IBEC announced that N. M. Rothschild & Sons of London had entered into partnership with the firm.

Cyrus Eaton, Jr. is the son of the notoriously pro-Soviet Cyrus Eaton, who began his career as secretary to John D. Rockefeller. It is believed that Eaton's rise to power in finance resulted from backing by his mentor. So the agreement between Tower International and IBEC continues an old alliance. Although Eaton's name does not appear on the CFR's membership rolls, the Reece Committee which investigated foundations for Congress in 1953 found that the notorious Soviet apologist was a secret member.

Among the "non-strategic" items which the Rockefeller-Eaton axis is going to build for the Communists are ten rubber goods plants and a \$50 million aluminum producing plant for the Reds. (Aluminum for jet planes has been considered -non-strategic- under the Johnson Nixon-Ford Administrations.)

Even more incredibly, the *Times* reveals:

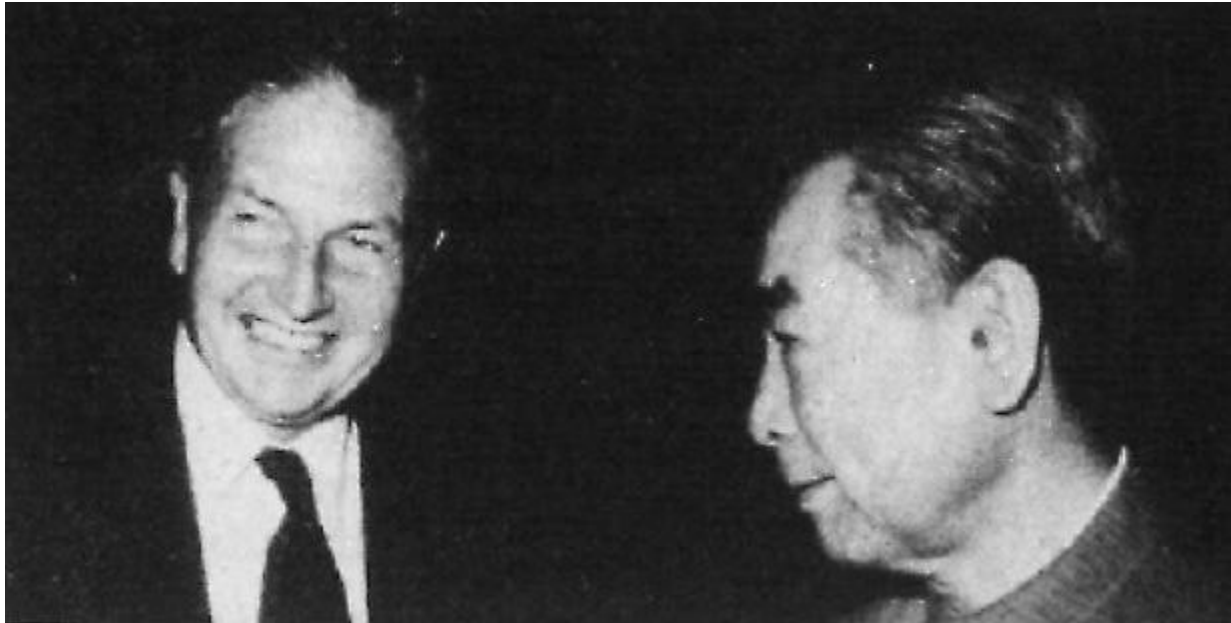
Last month, Tower International reached a tentative

*New York Times January 16 1967*

*Eaton Joins Rockefellers To Spur Trade With Reds.*



*Cleveland and New York Financers to set up an East-West Exchange*



David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, is the most important and most effective promoter in the US of aid to the Communists. He was all smiles (above) after concluding a deal in Red China with Chou En-lai; he has joined with Cyrus Eaton Jr. (see clipping on left) to promote further trade with the Soviet Union; his successes have delighted such important Communist rulers as Soviet Finance Minister V. F. Garbuzov, (below). Thanks to the House of Rockefeller, "trade" with the Communists (always financed by the US taxpayer, of course), now amounts to millions of dollars every year.

## Eaton Joins Rockefellers To Spur Trade With Reds

**Cleveland and New York  
Financiers to Set Up an  
East-West Exchange**

By ROBERT E. BEDINGFIELD

An exchange of funds between the United States and the Soviet Union is going to try to build economic bridges between the free world and Communist Europe.

The International Development Corporation, controlled by the Rockefeller brothers and Tupper International Inc., headed by Cyrus S. Eaton Jr., Cleveland financier, plan to cooperate in promoting trade between the United States and the Soviet Union, including the Soviet Union, and the United States, Canada, and Latin America.

The I.D.C. was organized in 1962 under the principal direction of Nelson A. Rockefeller, now New York's Governor. It was organized as an investment company specializing in enterprises in underdeveloped areas. The company already has interest in 22 foreign units.



Tupper Inc. President  
Cyrus S. Eaton Jr.

but more is in the Communist bloc.

Tupper International is a wholly owned subsidiary of Tupper Industries, a partnership

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Agreement with the Soviet patent and licensing organization Licensintorg, covering future licensing and



patent transactions. Until now, Mr. Eaton said, the Russians have left the buying and selling of licenses and patents to the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the official Soviet agency in this country for promoting Soviet-American trade.

This means that the Rockefellers and Eatons have a monopoly on the transfer of technological capability to the supposed enemies of the super-rich, the Soviet Union. According to the *Times*:

Mr. Eaton acknowledged the difficulties that Amtorg's representatives had encountered here in trying to arrange licensing agreements with American companies." As you can imagine," he said, " it is almost impossible for a Russian to walk into the research department of an American aerospace company and try to arrange the purchase of a patent."

Certainly every loyal American will say to himself, " Well, I would hope to God the Soviets couldn't walk into our defense plants and buy a patent." The Rockefellers and the Eatons have solved that problem for the Communists. Now, instead of dealing with an official agency of the Soviet government, American concerns will be dealing with the Rockefellers. You can imagine how many doors that will open to the Communists!

Thus, by the purchase of patents for the Communists, the Rockefellers are virtually in charge of research and development for the Soviet military machine. Their goal is to enable the Soviets to mass-produce American developments. And let us emphasize that the transfer of such technical knowledge is even more important than the sale of weapons. Ammunition is used once, then it is gone. Weapons break down, vehicles need replacement parts, and sophisticated arms are not easy to produce in a backward economy, no matter how much manpower is available.

While the trade doors were, opened during the LBJ Administration, the advent of détente under the Nixon Kissinger era produced an open house in American plants

and research labs for the Red traders. Now, a process that may have taken an American corporation a decade to develop is transferred *in toto* to the Communists. Does it make sense to spend \$90 billion a year on national defense and then deliberately to increase the war-making potential of an avowed enemy? It does to Mr. Rockefeller and the *Insiders*.

Since the Rockefellers now have an exclusive contract to supply American patents to the Soviets, they are by dictionary definition agents of the Big Red Machine. It goes without saying that they are the most important Communist agents in history. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to define the Communists as Rockefeller agents?

An increasingly important tool for the looting of America by the Rockefellers and their cohorts is the Export-Import Bank, known as Eximbank. It was established in 1934 to finance and promote trade with the Soviet Union. But it wasn't until Richard Nixon signed a -Presidential Determination- on October 18, 1972, that the Eximbank began to finance trade with the Soviets.

The process by which the Eximbank works is simple enough. An US exporter goes to his own bank, which makes arrangements for the Eximbank to loan money to the exporter's foreign buyer. Eximbank then grants a credit to the American bank, which in turn pays the US exporter. Thus the exporter is immediately paid, the American bank is cut in on the deal, and the foreign importer gets a subsidized interest rate.

Who pays the interest subsidy? You hardly need ask. The US taxpayer pays it through Treasury grants

to the Eximbank. While most Americans consider themselves lucky if they can arrange to borrow money for less than twelve % interest, and even the prime rate (the rate at which the largest American corporations with the best credit rating can borrow) is as high as ten %, the Eximbank has been making loans to foreigners at six % interest. The difference is a four % subsidy to any foreigner who buys our goods.

What happens if the foreign buyer defaults? Auf Wiedersehen. Adios. Sayonara. If the customer sneaks out of the restaurant without paying the check, the waiter puts the arm on the American taxpayer who, once again, picks up the tab. How would you like to be in a business in which the government paid you in full for all sales and accepted the responsibility for collecting all accounts receivable? As the late General Thomas Lane noted:

In this system, the U.S. exporter has nothing to lose by sales to bad credit risks. The US commercial bank has nothing to lose. The inclination therefore under our profit system is to sell products to anyone who will sign a loan agreement which you can run by the Eximbank. Irresponsibility is rewarded ...

It is an old story. Public money is nobody's money. As a sense of civic responsibility declines, the public money is used to private advantage [often the Rockefellers].

As with other free enterprisers, we favor foreign trade. But when American exporters ask the taxpayers to take the risks while they take a guaranteed profit, it is not trade but looting. It is as though you were an automobile dealer with an exclusive to sell Cadillacs to deadbeats in Chad, and you had a guarantee that American taxpayers would make all payments the Chads defaulted. Assuredly, you could "sell-a lot of cars that way. You could unload every Cadillac General Motors could produce! And you wouldn't care a fig whether the *customer* ever pays for the car.

Shortly after the May 1972 Summit Conference in Moscow, the Nixon Administration began pushing to extend the credit of the US taxpayers directly to the Soviets. As part of the Nixon-Kissinger *détente*, Congress was to extend to the Bolsheviks tariff status as a "Most Favored Nation,- and Eximbank loans were to be arranged for the transfer of the most advanced American technology to Russia and for the development of Soviet energy sources. A UPI release dated July 17, 1973, provides the explanation David Rockefeller gave for such outrages:

David Rockefeller, board chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, urged Congress Tuesday to grant most favored nation trading status to the Soviet Union, claiming the move could help slow the arms race. "The desire of the Soviets to use Western trade, credits and technology to bolster their own economy hopefully could be accompanied by their giving lower priority to military programs," Rockefeller testified . . . "We haven't stopped the arms race by withholding exports (in the past)," he said.

David told an audience in Rome that he would replace the Iron Curtain with "a plate-glass curtain." He claimed -Better communication and then understanding through expanding trade are ingredients of world peace." Just as the scrap metal we sold Japan before Pearl Harbor helped bring peace!

So far, Most Favored Nation status has not been granted by Congress because of publicity about Russia's policy of refusing emigration by Soviet Jews to Israel. But the sluice gates for loans have been opened. Already legal counselor for Eximbank, under pressure from President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has pushed the bank's directors to approve questionable loans to the Reds.

As part of the massive effort to build the Communist economy by looting the United States, *on credit*, Richard Nixon appointed William Casey as president of the Export-Import Bank. Casey, a member of



the Rockefeller-controlled CFR, is the perfect man for the job that Kissinger and the Rockefellers have in mind. As part of his goal of promoting "trade-with the Communists," last year he told the Society of American Business Writers:

To implement this vital aspect of our overall foreign policy, our Ambassadors to Communist nations have been instructed to put trade promotion at the top of their list of priorities. Shortly we will have doubled the number of State Department employees serving in commercial positions in the USSR, eastern Europe and [Communist] China.

Naturally the Communists are delighted to have the American super-capitalists build

factories for them as long as the American taxpayers agree to pick up the tab when the Commissars default. **It is foreign aid in a big, big way!**

The first of the giant projects we are inflating our currency to build on credit for our Bolshevik brothers is the Kama River factory, which is to be the largest producer of trucks in the world. But please don't mention that trucks are the backbone of modern military operations, and that during open warfare truck factories are quickly converted to build tanks. If you do so, Liberals will look at you as if you have four heads and nine eyes.

The Kama River factory will produce 150,000 heavy trucks and 150,000 heavy engines per year. This output is greater than the combined production of such trucks by all factories in the United States. The complex is being built by a division of the Pullman Company at a cost of two million dollars. The Soviets are going to put up ten % of the cash for the project, while David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank and the Export-Import Bank will each advance forty-five %.

To say that Eximbank is bending over backwards with our tax dollars to accommodate the Soviets is like saying that J. Paul Getty is fairly confident his personal cheque won't bounce. On Exim's usual loans, repayments must start in three to five or, at the most, seven years. The repayment period for this loan is twelve years, with a grace period of 4.5 years. Which means that it will be 16.5 years, if ever, before anyone sees the first payment! Try to get that kind of a deal as an American businessman ... at six % interest.

And what happens when the Comrades don't pay? Do we foreclose and repossess the factory? That's about as practical as growing bananas in Minnesota. Krupp, the German industrial giant, almost collapsed as a result of its extension of credit to the Soviets. It had to be bailed out by its government.

But, you say, surely David Rockefeller, the shrewdest and most powerful banker in the world, would not risk Chase Manhattan's money unless he were sure of repayment. You're right. David is sure of repayment. Chase's loan is guaranteed by the US taxpayer through other government agencies, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Foreign Credit Insurance Association. The US taxpayer is on the hook for every dime. Just as with the Eximbank loans, OPIC and FCIA guarantee the businessmen - a profit no matter how badly the deal turns out. What is happening is that we are giving the Soviets a two-billion-dollar truck plant, and insuring the Rockefellers' cut on the deal.

The Kama River project kicked off a spree of such looting. One of these loans is for thirty-six million dollars to help construct and equip an international trade center in Moscow. Joint venturing in this deal - all fully guaranteed by you, the taxpayer - are Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America. Arranged by Armand Hammer of Occidental Petroleum, a personal friend of Lenin and son of a founder of the US Communist Party, the huge Trade Center will be built by the Bechtel Corporation. Comrade Hammer

and his Occidental Petroleum also have a huge natural gas deal in the mill with the Soviets. According to former Eximbank boss Henry Kearns:

For a proposed gas development deal in Siberia that the Soviets are eager to make, the required Eximbank credit is \$1.5 billion - more than the bank has- granted any other customer. The Soviet Union has already received Exim credits of about \$350 million without disclosing financial data ...

The Nixon-Kissinger Administration had to pour millions in paper currency into our economy, thus pushing inflation higher, to lend the Soviet Union \$180 million at six % interest. The deal is for the construction on a Soviet site of a new fertilizer plant made in the USA This, incidentally, comes at a time when America is in the midst of a severe fertilizer shortage. Crops are being limited in our own country because of that shortage, but our government is determined to help the Comrades at our expense, by looting us of the hardware to build this desperately needed fertilizer plant,

The cost of the Russian fertilizer plant will be \$400 million. Of this, the Soviet Union is putting up only \$40 million-a mere 10 % of the cost. All the rest will come from the US

In addition to the Export-Import Bank's loan, for which the bank has already made a preliminary commitment, private American banks will lend another \$180 million for the Russian plant-but at a realistic 10 to 12 % interest. The American taxpayer is therefore subsidizing the Export-Import Bank's part of the loan-a subsidy that could cost between \$50 million and \$75 million in lost interest over the 12-year period of the loan.

" The Soviet Union is the last great undeveloped market for the US, " says Alfred R. Wentworth, senior vice president of Chase Manhattan Bank and head of Chase's recently opened Moscow office. " It now is opening up, and our bank wants to participate in the many opportunities being created.-

To be sure no one misunderstands, Chase Manhattan Bank has been running advertisements in major newspapers across the country. They read:" Now you can get banking insights on developing business relationships in the Soviet Union direct from our Moscow office ... In addition to our Moscow office, we have another in Vienna for dealings in Eastern Europe ... Our Moscow representatives can be contacted at:

**Metropol Hotel, 1 Karl Marx Square, Room 227, MOSCOW, USSR.**

**Tel: 225-6277.**

From 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza to 1 Karl Marx Square, we are international money experts with a knack for making good sense out of confusing East-West trade talk."

One would expect the Rockefellers to open up shop at the most prestigious (and, as *Business Week* says, " symbolic") address in town. As *Newsweek magazine* headlined its report: The Kremlin now has a - Comrade at Chase.-

So has Peking. After David and Nelson Rockefeller called for the - " normalizing of relations " and establishing " trade-with Mao Tse-tung and the Red Chinese", Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger reversed the Republican platform and a hundred Nixon promises to follow that line also. The door was opened for trade with the butchers of Red China.

While Mr. Nixon's sudden cozying up to the Peking mob received reams of comment and publicity,



there is one aspect of all this which has attracted virtually no attention. It is the fact that large oil deposits have been found near the Senkaka Islands in the East China Sea.

Our Insider - arranged deals with Red China are cut from the same cloth as our "trade-with the Soviet bloc; we have made numerous concessions and have asked none in return. Perhaps one of the concessions" we-will receive will be drilling rights for Standard Oil. After all, David Rockefeller has been promoting an opening with Red China for the past five years. Yes, the plot thickens. And in this case oil is thicker than blood.

"I'm very encouraged,- said David Rockefeller in July 1973." In every case we've been invited by the socialist governments and have been warmly and generously received even though I head a large capitalist bank and my name is closely identified with capitalism.-

David was so impressed with the glories of Mao land that he wrote a puff piece for the *New York Times* of August 10,1973, entitled " From A China Traveler." The chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations observed:

One is impressed immediately by the sense of national harmony ... Whatever the price of the Chinese Revolution, it has obviously succeeded not only in producing a more efficient and dedicated administration but also in fostering high morale and community of purpose ... The social experiment in China under Chairman Mao's leadership is one of the most important and successful in human history.

Batten, Barton, Dursten & Osborne couldn't have written better ad copy to puff the " social. experiment which has killed some sixty-four million of its own people and keeps millions more in the slavery of labor camps.

" And you must remember," says David Rockefeller,

" the Chinese are not only purposeful and intelligent, they also have a large pool of cheap labor. So they should be able to find ways to get trading capital." If wages are low behind the Iron Curtain in Europe, imagine how attractive they are in Red China. Such things are not missed by David Rockefeller.

What does the building of the Big Red Machine in the Soviet Union and Red China mean? Constructing some of the world's largest factories for the Soviet Union, and shipping the Communists the most sophisticated US technology and equipment, has a multitude of implications. Professor Antony Sutton, the world's foremost expert on the use of Western technology to develop the Soviet Union, has written an entire book on this subject under the provocative but very deliberate title, *National Suicide*.

The military potential of the industrial plants which we are building for the Soviets should be obvious to anyone. Trucks, aircraft, oil, steel, petro-chemicals, aluminum, computers-these are the very sinews of a military industrial complex. These factories, the product of American genius and financed by American capital, could have been built in the United States. Instead, they are constructed at the US taxpayers' expense in the Soviet Union-a nation whose masters still keep millions in concentration camps and who have sworn to bury us.

And the program to loot America to build the Soviet Union is escalating. Remember that the factories we are constructing for the Communists represent the latest in American technology. This technology is unobtainable anywhere else in the world.

Another important thing to remember is the strong possibility that Russian factories using American

capital and American technology will, with Soviet slave labor, produce goods which will undersell those produced by American labor in world markets. Just as many thousands of Americans have already lost their jobs to foreign labor (working in European and Asian factories constructed with American foreign aid) still more American workers will see their jobs destroyed by their own government. And these runaway -capitalists- are well aware of the cost benefits of such slave labor.

But as important as jobs are, there is even a more important aspect to the on-going -partnership- between the Rockefellers and the Communists which has been operating for over fifty years. At stake is the very survival of independence and liberty in this country.

Professor Sutton has assembled an abundance of evidence which nobody has even attempted to refute. First, he has shown that Communism is a stagnant system incapable of innovation or high productivity. Its survival, even at a subsistence level for its captives, has required regular transfusions of capital and technology. Without aid from the West, the Soviet Union would have long since collapsed. But without the Soviet Union, the Rockefellers and other super-rich would not have had an " enemy-to justify their schemes for monopoly World Government.

The Soviet Union was first saved by Herbert Hoover with food. Next, came Lenin's New Economic Plan which let the super-capitalists back into Russia. This was followed by FDR's diplomatic recognition of Russia (long advocated by the Rockefellers), which allowed the Soviets to obtain desperately needed credits. World War II turned on the \$11 billion Lend-Lease spigot. Following the war. Russia was allowed to denude much of Germany of factories and scientists. During the Kennedy Administration. We started, providing wheat for hungry Soviet factory workers. During the Vietnam War, America shipped vital supplies to the East European bloc, which was providing North Vietnam with the war equipment to kill our own soldiers. Now we are supplying the world's largest truck factory, extremely sophisticated computers and a cornucopia of other manufacturing technology. To cap the climax, the *Wall Street Journal* of April 25, 1975, headlines " US Quietly Allows Uranium Shipments to Soviet Union For Processing Into Fuel." Is that unbelievable?

Where was the public outrage that the mediocracy is capable of creating?\*

As former Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal observed:

"Consistency never has been a mark of stupidity. If the diplomats who have mishandled our relations with Russia were merely stupid, they would occasionally make a mistake in our favor." In short, what is happening is not just the looting of our economy, but treason. There is something rotten, but it's not in Denmark, it is in Manhattan.

The game plan is simple: We are going to be blackmailed into surrendering or merging with the Soviets. Meanwhile, our Congress wants to stop weapons development so that we can have more welfare programs. Since most of the military budget goes to salaries which cannot be cut, any slashing of " fat" usually means that real muscle-weapons systems-has been amputated.

For five decades the Communists' propaganda line has been that they were going to destroy the Rockefellers and the other super-rich. Yet the Rockefellers have been breast feeding the Bolshevik monster since its childhood. Today they are leading the parade to provide their Soviet Frankenstein with a high-protein diet. We are supposed to believe those international cartelists do this because they are foolish or greedy. Of course the Rockefellers are greedy for the profits produced by their alliance with the Soviet Union, but that cannot be the total answer. Lenin claimed that capitalists would sell the Communists the rope with which they would be hung, if it could be done for a profit. The Rockefellers



know that. And now they are building them factories in the Soviet Union.

\* A group of concerned Americans arranged for Sutton, who has testified numerous times before Congressional Committees, to present these facts before the COP Platform Committee in Miami in 1972. The committee did not show up to hear Sutton's testimony and a scheduled news conference was canceled. A newsman told Sutton that his story was "too hot- for the newspapers to deal with. When Sutton returned to Hoover, he was ordered by his superiors to make no more public statements during the campaign. Somebody important had obviously made a phone call. Later, Sutton's contract at Hoover was not renewed. He obviously was stepping on too many tender toes.

But the Rockefellers are not fools. They are brilliant, far-sighted plotters who became immensely powerful by devious Machiavellian planning, and by infiltrating, subsidizing and controlling their opposition.

Plain old-fashioned common sense insists that the Rockefellers know something about Communism that we do not. Since they subsidize it and do not fear it, logic tells us they are either partners with the Communist hierarchy - or they control it.

But if this is true, how do the Rockefellers keep their partners from taking the gun and turning it against their secret backers? We do not pretend to know that answer. There has to be a control mechanism. The Rockefellers would not be so foolish as to let a competitor put a pistol to their heads-let alone provide the pistol. So we must conclude once again that the Rockefellers know something that we do not. Certainly this ultimate secret is known only to the top handful of the conspirators. No researcher is going to learn the answer by pouring over the *New York Times* at his local library.

Because we cannot identify the control mechanism, or describe how it works, many will ridicule our thesis. But, how do they explain the fifty-year Rockefeller program to build the power of Communism? Since the days of John D. Sr., the Rockefellers have prided themselves on their intelligence-gathering capabilities. They know more about their competitor opponents than those competitors know about themselves. You can bet your bippy that the Rockefellers are not naive about the Communists.

But let us assume that they are. Let us assume that in the end the Rockefellers will be the major victims of the Communist empire they have played such an important role in creating. Assume that it has all been done out of sheer stupidity and greed. Where does that put us? Right in the Gulag Archipelago along side them, that's where it puts

Either way you lose. The Big Red Machine may or may not devour the Rockefellers. We are convinced it will not, because we believe the Rockefellers and their allies control the comrades who control the guns. But the question is rather academic, because the whole purpose of the Big Red Machine is to swallow us! And unless some big changes are made mighty quickly, that's exactly what it will do.

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# Chapter Ten

## The People Planners

*“It is Kissinger's belief... that by controlling food, one can control people, and by controlling energy, especially oil, one can control nations and their financial systems. By placing food and oil under international control along with the world's monetary system, Kissinger is convinced a loosely knit world government can become a reality by 1980.”*

-Paul Scott  
nationally syndicated columnist

The Rockefellers learned nearly a century ago that there are two standard ways for one of their companies to absorb another corporation. If the firm to be acquired is much smaller, a "take over" is the simplest procedure: buy em out.

But if the competitor is more your equal, a merger- "must be arranged".

The same principles hold true among nations. No matter how much this country sends abroad as foreign aid, technical assistance, loans that are never repaid, or other largesse, there is simply no way another country -or even a bloc of countries- can be made powerful enough to take us over.

Recognizing this political fact of life, the master planners devised the strategy of a merger - a Great Merger - among nations.

But before such a merger can be consummated, and the United States becomes just another province in a **New World Order**, there must at least be the semblance of parity among the senior partners in the deal - How does one make the nations of the world more nearly equal? The Insiders determined that a two-prong approach was needed, use American money and know-how to build up your competitors, while at the same time use every devious strategy you can devise to weaken and impoverish this country. The goal is not to bankrupt the United States, we must emphasize. Rather, it is to reduce our productive might, and therefore our standard of living, to the meager subsistence level of the socialized nations of the world.

Only a fascist-socialist dictatorship would have the power to accomplish such a - redistribution.- Notice that the plan is not to bring the standard of living in less developed countries up to our level, but to bring ours down to meet theirs coming up.

You may be assured, however, that the Rockefellers and their allies are not talking about reducing their own quality of life. It is your standard of living which must be sacrificed on the altar of the New World Order.

The Rockefeller game plan is to use population, energy, food, and financial controls as a method of people control which will lead, steadily and deliberately, into the Great Merger. Much of the spade work for setting up this ploy is being done by Henry Kissinger, who was a personal employee of Nelson Rockefeller for a decade before Rocky placed him in the Nixon Administration. On numerous occasions Herr Kissinger has declared that his goal is to create a "New World Order." Syndicated Washington columnist Paul Scott reveals:

It is Kissinger's belief, according to his aides, that by controlling food, one can control people, and by controlling energy, especially oil, one can control nations and their -financial systems. By placing food



and oil under international control along with the world's monetary system, Kissinger is convinced a loosely knit world government operating, under the frame-work of the United Nations can become a reality before 1980.

Common sense tells us that a Rockefeller hireling such as Kissinger would not be setting up an "international control" system which takes assets from the Rockefellers and gives them to someone else. Obviously, the game plan is to take other people's assets and put them under the umbrella of a Rockefeller-controlled World Government.

This new strategy may be termed the crisis route to World Order. It runs parallel to and eventually will converge with the Atlantic Union treaty and regional government approach to the Universal State. Washington columnist Paul Scott calls this "the new strategy change from the direct to the indirect approach to bring about world government. "The plan, as publicly stated by the CFR's Richard Gardner, part-time State Department functionary and Columbia University Professor of Law and International Organization, amounts to this: Instead of trying to make the UN a complete world dictatorship immediately, the Establishment will identify different problems in different countries. Then they will propose a "solution," which can only be achieved by some kind of international agency, so that each country concerned will be forced to surrender another segment of its national independence. Gardner considers this piecemeal approach the practical road to the end of nationhood:

We are likely to do better by building our "house of world order - from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It will look like a great - booming, buzzing confusion " to use William James' facetious description of reality; but an end run around national sovereignty, eroding it piece by piece, is likely to get us to world order faster than the old-fashioned frontal assault.

So this is what the Rockefeller gang, working through agents like Kissinger and Gardner, have in mind-an "end run around national sovereignty." Gardner continues, with obvious glee:

The hopeful aspect of the present situation is that even as nations resist appeals for " world government-and "the surrender of sovereignty," technological, economic and political interests are forcing them to establish more and more far-ranging institutions to manage their mutual interdependence.

One of the most obvious back-door approaches to World Order is through the control of food. The ploy is to establish a World Food Bank, with the necessary goodies supplied (naturally) by the United States. The concept was proposed at the International Monetary Fund Conference in Nairobi by long-time Rockefeller front man Robert S. McNamara (CFR). R. Strange McNamara (yes, that really is his middle name) was made president of the World Bank after he had successfully completed his earlier assignment of crippling this country's military might. McNamara advocated the food-producing nations of the world surrender their surpluses to a " world authority," which would then take charge of redistributing the bounty to the 'have-not" nations. The topic was to be discussed at the UN's World Food Conference in Rome in November 1974. Between the time of the original proposal and the Rome conference, Richard Nixon was shuffled into an early retirement and was replaced by a compliant Jerry Ford.

One of Ford's first official acts was to go before the UN General Assembly and assure the international flotsam gathered there that the voice of the Rockefeller's Charlie McCarthy, Henry Kissinger, was the very voice of America in all matters pertaining to international relations. Later, Ford announced that the Secretary of State would appear as keynote speaker on behalf of the United States at the upcoming World Food Conference, superseding the more logical choice, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, who was the official head of the US delegation. Of the hundreds of political commentators around the country, only Paul Scott had the courage to assess the implications of Ford's actions:

Whether he fully realizes it or not, President Ford has put his stamp of approval on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's grand design foreign policy for the establishment of a loosely knit world government before the end of the 1970s.

By calling for the development of a global strategy and policy for food and oil within the structure of the United Nations, the President clearly signaled his acceptance of the "new international order" being sought by Kissinger.

Scott went on to point out that instead of using this nation's enormous food production as a weapon of US foreign policy, to promote the expansion of freedom throughout the world, Ford accepted Kissinger's plan of passing policy control over US food surpluses, "and eventually all US food " to a national food bank.

Herr Henry made no bones about the fact that all of this is designed to further the New World Order. He told the delegates at Rome: "We are faced not just with the problem of food but with the accelerating momentum of our interdependence." And "our-man in Rome went even further; he declared we should" make global cooperation in food a model, for our response to other challenges of an interdependent world - energy, inflation, population, protection of the environment.

Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz admitted of the proposed food bank that "in the end it will be the American taxpayer who pays for it." Who else? And the fact that worldwide distribution of our food will inevitably create food shortages and skyrocketing prices in America has not been overlooked by the Rockefeller conspirators. That is part of the plan.

And before you conclude that any such program would be emphatically rejected by an angry American electorate, remember this: by the time the plan is implemented, the UN will have an army to back up its looting of America! Doubtless the clan's minions in the bureaucracy and the media will refer to the planned food shortage as a mandatory national diet program.

The whole thrust of the Rome gathering was that it is the obligation of the United States-which means you, the worker and taxpayer -to feed the world. This, despite the fact that for years America has supplied more than 80 % of the food given to foreign countries. It is such American giveaways that in recent years have provided over \$25 billion in foodstuffs to such ingrates as Marxist India, now a dictatorship openly allied with the Soviet Union, where the bulk of our grains winds up feeding rats, not hungry people.

\* While US reserves of food and feed grains are already being depleted, Russia and Communist China have quietly been using part of their massive purchases of bargain-priced American grain to build up their stockpiles. Crews of US and foreign ships carrying US grain to Russian and Chinese ports have been told by Communist dock workers that every third or fourth shipment of US grain is being placed in permanent storage facilities as part of those countries' national reserves.

At least \$200 billion in such aid has been similarly squandered to more than 125 nations-including more millions now going to members of the OPEC cartel, which has quadrupled oil prices. To pay for all of these giveaways, the Insiders who run the show have used printing press inflation money to add hundreds of billions of dollars to our National Debt. This, coupled with the consequent reduction of domestic supplies, has sent our own food prices out of sight. -

But, at least in the past our stupidity was of our own doing and under our own control. Informed Americans could have stopped it-and could still stop it today-by throwing the Congressmen who voted



for the giveaways out of office. In the future, when the Rockefeller Kissinger plan for the international authority over food is implemented, our food supply will no longer be under our control. What then?

Increasingly we hear plaintive bleats from the Rockefellers' sheep in the media, calling for Americans to make increased sacrifices to feed the rest of the world. Incredible as it may seem, the truth-twisters of the airwaves and press are attempting to make us feel guilty that we are not starving.

None of these Rockefeller lackeys dares suggest, of course, that the difference between American agricultural production and the poverty levels of the so-called -have not- nations is the difference between individualism, with its reliance on private property and free enterprise, and feudalism-fascism-socialism-collectivism. It is the difference between incentives and a planned economy; between efficiency and wasteful boondoggles; between a million salesmen pushing the "too much - and a million ration clerks dividing up the "too little."

This is not to say America's agricultural system is perfect. To the extent that we have instituted price supports and subsidies, paying men not to grow food, we have suffered. Nevertheless, the success of American agriculture under freedom is a model the rest of the world should be encouraged to copy.

But if more nations achieved independence in food production, much of the impetus for world government would disappear faster than a freeloader when the check arrives. In order for the Rockefellers to achieve their New World Order, first they must create famines and the fear of further suffering. All that is required to create a famine is to put all agriculture under control of government bureaucracy, then wait awhile. The bigger the bureaucracy the shorter the wait, and international bureaucracy is the ne plus ultrain producing red tape instead of wheat.

Intertwined with food production grab is the push for population control. People planning are an important tool in building the net that will drag us fishes into the New World Order. The -population bomb- real or exaggerated, is being used in conjunction with food, energy, and international money problems as part of the One-Big-Brother snare.

Coinciding with the UN-sponsored conferences in Nairobi and Rome, the United Nations sponsored the World Population Conference at Bucharest, Romania in August 1974. Headlining the program was none other than John D. Rockefeller III, who proclaimed: " I come to Bucharest with an urgent call for a deep and probing reappraisal of all that has been done in the population field.

I have changed my mind and now believe family planning alone is not adequate. "

An Associated Press report explained: - Rockefeller ... has for years been one of the world's leading advocates of family planning. He donated millions of dollars toward population research and is founder and chairman of the Population Council, a private US organization funded largely by [millions of dollars] the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations." The wire service continued: "His speech reflected the viewpoint voiced at this conference by many members of the Third World and Socialist [that is, Communist] countries." John D. III obviously felt right at home behind the Iron Curtain, as he called for a redistribution of wealth and piously proclaimed that modern development should emphasize "inequitable distribution of the fruits of progress."

In his remarks to the gathering of people planners, the eldest of the Royal Rockefellers made three main points: First, he echoed the Communist line that the rich must give their wealth to the -poor. Second, he asserted that voluntary family planning is inadequate and called for Big Brother to start dictating whether or not a couple is permitted to have a baby. Third, in calling for -moderate levels of

consumption- in advanced nations, Rockefeller advocated that Americans voluntarily reduce their standard of living.

The fact that it is a little incongruous-not to say hypocritical -for a man whose family is worth uncounted millions, who has thousands of servants, hundreds of luxurious homes and lives in an opulence unknown by the oriental potentates of yore, to ask the rest of his fellow citizens to scale down their living standards, went unnoticed in the *New York Times*. But to belabor the obvious, whose wealth do you think Rockefeller wants to share, yours or his?

Going along with the call by Rockefeller (who claimed the -United Nations is the world's highest authority for governmental control over people), the conference set in motion the machinery to institutionalize the totalitarian demands of the Stop the Storkers.

The Washington Post ,a chief Establishment mouthpiece, has discussed the Nazi like policies being advocated by the people planners:

The day may be approaching when couples will have to prove eligibility and demonstrate qualifications before they are permitted to become parents.

Or there may be baby ration cards for couples, group marriages, mass distribution of anti-fertility drugs, parent licensing, legal Polygamy, abortions on demand, more varied life options for women and more restricted ones for men-such as forced paternity leave for new fathers.

Understand that such enforced infertility is not planned for India or Senegal, but for the United States, where zero population growth is already a fact.

All this, despite the provable fact that there is ample room on earth for all of us-in fact if every man woman and child in the entire world moved to the State of Washington, (twentieth in size of all the states), each would have 490 square feet of space.

But we are being led to believe that unless we give Big Brother total power over people's rights to have children, we will all be ankle deep in human beings within a decade. Such august organizations as the National Academy of Sciences are helping to hawk this Rockefeller line, with doomsday messages such as:"There can be no doubt concerning the long-term prognosis. Either the birth rate of the world must come down or the death rate must go up.

This is not to discount the possibility that overpopulation, particularly in backward nations, cannot be a genuine problem. But, if the Rockefellers were truly interested in curbing population growth without enslaving everybody, there is a much better solution. When a country's standard of living goes up, the birth rate goes down-voluntarily. Assist nations such as India and Red China to benefit by the adoption of free market, private property principles, and the abundance produced by such newly free peoples would astound the world. The Rockefellers, however, are interested in more controls, not fewer problems.

The specious Rockefeller argument that the world must accept Mao-style people control or perish is so phony that it is amazing the conspirators have gotten anyone to buy it. As Reverend R. J. Rushdoony points out in his excellent book, *The Myth of Overpopulation*:

Socialism always creates ultimately an imbalance between the number of people living and their food supply, which results in hunger or famine. There is in this sense therefore always a problem of



overpopulation under socialism. Socialism, moreover, affects both the food supplies, by limiting it, and also the population, by both expanding it at one stage and limiting it at another.

To the Rockefellers, socialism is not a system for redistributing wealth - especially not for redistributing their wealth -but a system to control people and competitors. Socialism puts power in the hands of the government. And since the Rockefellers control the government, government control means Rockefeller control. You may not have known this, but you can be sure they do!

When the Rockefellers join the UN's World Population Conference in calling for the promotion " of a new economic order by eradicating the cause of world poverty, by ensuring the equitable distribution of the world resources, by eliminating the injustices of existing world trade systems and exploitation perpetrated by capitalistic ... corporations, - something smells as fishy as an unwashed tuna boat.

Curbing population growth is just part of the Rockefeller war on the American family. Abortion is another. According to John H. Knowles, president of the Rockefeller Foundation and one of America's foremost promoters of the slaughter of the unborn, the goal of the Foundation is to achieve the capacity in America for 1.8 million abortions every year.

Not coincidentally, it was John D. Rockefeller III who was appointed by Richard Nixon as chairman of the newly created Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. In accepting the appointment, John D III pontificated:

The average citizen doesn't appreciate the social and economic implications of population growth and what it does to the quality of all our lives. Rather than think of population control as a negative thing, we should see that it can be enriching.

One of the early reports of the Rockefeller Commission recommended:

... that present state laws restricting abortion be liberalized along the lines of the New York State Statute, such abortions to be performed on request by duly licensed physicians under conditions of medical safety.

And the Commission further suggested that -federal, state, and local governments make funds available to support abortion services in states with liberalized statutes."Rockefeller is so callous about individual beliefs that he would forcibly extract money from Catholic taxpayers, among others, to finance what their religion teaches is the murder of the unborn. Tough rocks, says the Rock: "Religious preconceptions must be overcome. "

The New York model abortion law which chairman John enthusiastically applauded was passed, of course, under the leadership of brother Nelson. During the Vice Presidential confirmation hearings Dr. Charles Rice, Professor of Law at the Notre Dame Law School, characterized Nelson as "the incarnate symbol of the anti life movement - and said that Mr. Rockefeller" is perhaps the leading proponent of permissive abortion in the United States.-

The Rockefellers have even financed the establishment of an abortion mill. In the summer of 1971, Planned Parenthood-New York City opened its first large scale abortion center -a prototype for the development of additional centers throughout the city, state, and nation. The center was originally designed to perform more than 10 000 abortions a year for an average fee of \$80, with funds provided in many cases by Medicaid. The initial funds to establish the abortion mill came from a \$200,000 pledge from The Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

The past three generations of Rockefellers have not been notoriously considerate of other people's feelings and beliefs. When a group of pro-life activists picketed a speech by Nelson Rockefeller in Nebraska, the loveable old politician told a 15 - year old girl: "Don't knock it [abortion], girl, you might need one someday.

In all wars this nation has fought, from the battle of Lexington in 1776 through the last fatality in Vietnam, American combat deaths totaled 668,226 men. Yet, in just the single year of 1972, 700,000 innocent babies were killed in this country, legally, before they could draw their first breath. (Current estimates are that this figure could increase to 1.6 million abortions a year.)

That is the price of the Rockefellers' promotion of easy abortion in the United States. But it is just part of the price all of us will pay (and pay, and pay), if the people planners succeed in herding all of us into their New World Order.

Yes, the Rockefellers are planners. As John D.'s aide, Fred Gates, once confessed: "In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands." Now, thanks to the taxpayers, the Rockefellers have almost limitless funds. As a result, faceless bureaucrats in Washington whom you did not hire and whom you cannot fire -now tell you how to run your business, whom you may hire, where your children will be bussed to school, what products you can purchase, and even what foods you can and cannot eat. It is only a matter of time until the dictocrats tell you how many children you are permitted to have.

There is nothing wrong with planning. The question is who is doing it. Our Founding Fathers believed people should be free to plan their own lives. The Rockefellers believe their agents in the federal government must plan your life for you. It is a simple choice: Will you run your own life, or will you be forced to obey the dictates of bureaucrats, social workers, college professors, sociologists, psychologists, and others who are fronting for the House of Rockefeller?

Nelson is very candid about it. In an October 1975 interview in Playboy magazine, Rocky admitted: "I am a great believer in planning. Economic, social, political, military, total world planning." (Emphasis added.)

When Big Brother arrives, he may well be wearing horn-rimmed glasses.

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# Chapter Eleven

## The Great Energy Swindle

*"The craziest notion that has hit this country in a long while ... is that shortages of gas, beef and a lot of other things are bad for the American people. What America needs is more shortages"*

-James Reston (CFR)  
New York Times



Having set the wheels in motion for establishing international controls over food and population, the Rockefellers then made their move in the all-important energy field. As Dr. Medford Evans has noted: "Energy makes the world go'round." And he adds the obvious, but crucial fact: "Who controls what, makes the world go round controls the world." In other words, when the New World Order controls the planet's energy, the world dictatorship will be established.

Syndicated columnist Paul Scott informs us: "Once [the] concept of international policy control over food is accepted by UN members, Kissinger then plans to move to establish this same concept over oil and eventually all energy in the world.-"

You will recall that in the last chapter we quoted a report by Mr. Scott that Kissinger believes that by controlling energy, especially oil, the Insiders can control nations and their financial systems; and that such international controls of oil and monetary systems could bring about a world government within the next five years.

But according to the Rockefeller-Kissinger game plan, before oil can be internationalized, there must be a crisis which threatens to bring about a worldwide depression. Remember, "crises ... are the great federators." There can be little doubt that the current international petroleum crisis has been deliberately contrived. It was engineered from start to finish. The planning involves typical bureaucratic idiocy which may or may not have been intended to have the result which it inevitably did; and to conspiratorial planning by Rockefeller agents who at all times knew exactly what they were doing.

Contrary to the incantations of the doomsayers, America is not running out of oil. As Don Oakley of the Copley News Service notes: "Forevery one of the billions upon billions of barrels of petroleum the United States has consumed since Colonel Drake drilled the first well in 1859, at least another barrel remains in the ground." According to John Knight, editorial Chairman of the Knight newspapers: "A figure of 100 billion barrels [of oil reserves] is offered as conservative, although some studies place the figure at several hundred billion barrels excluding shale oil.-

Get that? We are sitting on several hundred billion barrels excluding shale. Yet even today the United States consumes only about six billion barrels of oil a year.

Shale oil is-oil locked up in porous rock. The Interior Department estimates our "easily-recoverable shale oil at eighty billion barrels, and shale oil recoverable with intensive technology at six hundred billion barrels. The six hundred billion barrels that appear to be recoverable are enough to last one hundred years at the present rate of consumption. However, most US shale resources are on federal lands in Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah. None is yet being produced commercially because the federal government has been very slow - some say suspiciously slow -to permit development of this crucial resource.

We are literally surrounded by oil. U, S. News & World Report stated as far back as November 22, 1971 that our total offshore oil reserves amount to approximately 780 billion barrels. This does not, of course, include the estimated twenty billion barrels of oil in Alaska. Counting only the offshore oil, the Alaskan reserves and the easily recovered shale oil, the United States has 880 billion barrels of oil reserves. At the current rate of consumption, my calculator says that this is **enough oil to last beyond the year 2121**. That is a lot longer than any of us is going to last. Surely we can produce alternative forms of power and energy in that amount of time!

Why is it, asks economist Tom Rose, that after over three hundred years of continuous material progress in America, without fuel shortages, we should suddenly stumble upon an energy crisis in 1973 ? If

America has abundant fuel supplies, why aren't they abundantly available? Could it be, asks Professor Rose, that the historical process by which these supplies have been made available has changed? He observes:

Historically, energy in America has been supplied by profit-seeking private entrepreneurs and profit-oriented corporations. These risk-takers have invested millions and millions of dollars every year in their long-range plans to supply the ever-growing energy needs of the American people. Historically, they have adjusted their production plans to price signals received through the competitive marketplace. For over three centuries this free market process has been eminently successful. And competing sources of energy have always been in abundant supply at reasonable prices.

In recent decades, however, the bureaucrats and the politicians have thrust themselves into the market process. As Professor Rose notes, "during the last two or three decades-especially since 1955 when the FPC (Federal Power Commission) started controlling the wellahead price of gas and oil-energy suppliers have faced non-market signals ... Neither the Mideast war nor American prosperity has caused our present energy crisis. It was caused by political meddling.-"

That last point is so crucial to understanding the mess we are in that we want to repeat it. Fuelish, oil-consuming Americans didn't cause the energy crisis. The Mideast war didn't cause it. Our growing prosperity didn't cause it. Political meddling (by some of the brightest -planners around, we might add) did.

Have you heard the Rockefellers, Standard Oil execs, or even other petroleum countries screaming bloody murder about the fact that a bunch of paper-shuffling bureaucrats have so distorted the realities of supply and demand that we now face a worldwide crisis? Yes, Mobil has run a few ads hinting at this. But, if the Rockefellers really wanted to demonstrate what a palpable fraud the energy crisis really is, they would be showing 60-minute documentary specials on ABC, NBC and CBS. Instead, these networks have produced a spate of specials to bamboozle the public into believing we are down to our last gallon of Exxon.

One of the major excuses for the massive interference by government in the development and marketing of energy resources has been the ecology movement. The "crisis" used to strangle development of offshore oil began with the Santa Barbara oil spill in 1969. The "Liberal" media heralded the Santa Barbara spill as a greater disaster than the bubonic plague. Television newswatchers were treated every night to heart-rending closeups of goeey gulls covered with crude oil.

A study of the Santa Barbara spill was subsequently undertaken by forty leading scientists under the direction of Dr. Dale Straughan, a marine biologist from the University of Southern California. This \$250,000 study produced a 900 page report which declared: "Not only had overall damage by the spill been greatly overestimated, but where damage had been done, nature had returned it to normal."

The conclusions of Dr. Straughan and her team became one of the biggest secrets since the whereabouts of judge Crater. The Brinkleys, Cronkites, and others who had made a national horror story of the unfortunate spill were so busy beating the drums to stop all offshore drilling that they didn't have time to cover the less dramatic, truthful story of what really happened in Santa Barbara. They were too preoccupied with promoting a shortage - producing power grab by government to report that out of approximately fourteen thousand offshore wells which

have been drilled, there have been a grand total of three - yes, three-serious oils pills.



The phony propaganda about the Santa Barbara spill was the excuse used by the Nixon Administration to cancellases and strangle offshore oil and gas drilling, not only in Santa Barbara Channel, but around the nation. Just as it had done time and time again, the Administration surrendered to the cries of the mob and kept silent about the known facts. While consumption of petroleum and gas was jumping every year, the Nixon poohbahs put the lid on expansion of supply. Anybody who has plodded his way through elementary economics knows that if demand increases while supplies and prices remain the same, the inevitable result will be a shortage. The masters of Nixonomics knew what they were doing, and they did it anyway.

But stopping further offshore drilling was not the only plus from the Santa Barbara oil spill for the creators of our shortages. In the wake of this "ecological disaster," Senator Henry Jackson of Washington was able to put through his oft-defeated bill to establish a national policy on environmental protection and to create the Council on Environmental Quality. The law seemed innocent enough at first glance. But, as Dan Smoot relates in: *The Business End of Government*

.. it was a sleeper, as activist attorneys exultantly called it after it was safely on the statute books. This legislation provided the activists with legal standing to make court attacks against major business activities throughout the United States ....

The environmental l - policy law left the definition of environment so vague and open-ended that it gave federal courts almost limitless power to veto the actions of executive agencies and the laws of Congress. No business can initiate a major activity without first dealing with a government agency of some kind-about permits, licenses, rights-of-way leases, land leases, use of public thoroughfares, and so on. Any group of two or more people willing to post a small bond and engage an attorney can bring court action against a government agency, alleging that, in granting permission for a business activity, the agency failed to file an adequate environmental -impact statement as required by the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. They can demand a court injunction to halt the business activity until the government agency files an adequate impact statement and suggests an alternative approach.

The Jackson Bill, which Richard Nixon refused to veto, was used to delay the construction of the Alaskan pipeline for an incredible five years. Under the guise of keeping the tundra virginal for the dainty hooves of caribou, the ecomaniacs tied up the pipeline project in the courts. A pipeline across the frozen tundra of central Alaska is about as conspicuous as a thread stretching from the eighth to the ninth hole of a golf course-and about as harmful to the game. But the Jackson Environment Law gave the radicals not only respectability in the courts, but a legal club that declared any developers must be assumed guilty until they proved their innocence.

Stung by public outrage, Congress finally acted to allow the contractors to begin construction of the pipeline. So after a five-year delay, we can look forward to crude pouring out the end of that pipeline sometime in 1978. But had the Nixon Administration not gone smilingly down to defeat at the hands of the ecomaniacs, Alaskan crude would now be flowing into refineries at the rate of one million barrels a day-which just happens to be almost the same amount that the US has been importing from the Middle East. Needless to say the Sierra Clubbers are about as popular in Alaska as Bobby Riggs at a baby shower for Gloria Steinem.

One of the most important moves in the effort to create artificial shortages of petroleum occurred in June 1970, when President Nixon issued an Executive Order creating the Environmental Protection Agency. A preliminary Report on the activities of the 9,000 bureaucrats in the EPA has now been issued by the House Appropriation Subcommittee. It declares:

The subcommittee is convinced that the Environmental Protection Agency has played a major role in the current energy crisis. The approval by the agency of overly restrictive state plans, which call for the meeting of primary and secondary ambient air standards at the same time, has resulted in the need for the industry to convert from coal to low sulfur fuels. This increased requirement for oil and gas has been a major contributor to our current fuel problems.

In addition, the automobile emission control standards imposed by the agency have greatly increased the requirements for gasoline, which is also in short supply and will probably require rationing.

Mr. Nixon's Environmental Protection Agency, in the name of controlling air pollution, has forced auto manufacturers to pile all kinds of gas-eating gadgets onto our motors. The net result has been a drop of at least twenty % in mileage, and considering the near impossibility of keeping such engines properly tuned, the loss may be as high as fifty %.

According to Shirley Scheibla, Barron's Washington editor, the gadgets applied to our cars by the EPA now resulting the use of 300,000 extra barrels of gasoline a day; by 1980, the controls will require the consumption of an added two million gallons of gasoline a day. Meanwhile, federally required reduction of lead in gasoline has reduced fuel efficiency by another twenty %. And, no two experts even seem to agree on whether the required gadgetry actually decreases pollution. Some think that the net effect is an increase. We don't pretend to know, but it seems to us that if our car is burning up to twice as much gasoline, the net amount of pollutants coming out the exhaust pipe has probably increased.

The ten thousand independent oil companies in the US drill 80 % of the wells. Government or "people-control of the oil industry would, in practice, mean Rockefeller control over their competitors. It would mean the death knell for the independents and create One Big Oil Company under the sway of the House of Rockefeller. Yes, competition is still a sin.

If you still have any lingering doubts about the Rockefellers promoting the energy shortage for power and profit, consider the fact they have financed their alleged enemies, the ecomaniacs.

Incredible, you say? Well, it's true. And for reasons other than the Rockefellers' love of blue sky and falling profits. The - environmental legislation - pushed through Congress was based on lobbying by innumerable "experts." Putting together these -citizens lobbies- takes lots of money; and contrary to the hokey publicity from most such groups, the dollars do not come from school children donating their milk money-or even from college students foregoing a beer. The money to fight " the entrenched interests- comes largely from those same entrenched interests, and the foundations which they have created. It represents the old ploy of Bre'r Rabbit begging Bre'r Bear not to throw him into the briar patch. Only in this case, Bre'r Rabbit is the Rockefellers and the briar patch is socialistic controls. Remember, more controls mean worse shortages; and when oil and gas are scarce, prices go right through the skylight.\*

\* About one-third of the cost of a gallon of gas goes to the oil company. When gasoline reaches one dollar a gallon, as most experts anticipate, Standard Oil's share will be a lot bigger than when you could filler up at 34.9c

During Congressional Hearings on the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, none other than J. C. Harrar, then president of the Rockefeller Foundation (and a CFR member, of course), advocated the United Nations developing an international program for dealing with worldwide pollution. Other lobbyists who joined the clamor for more government controls were financed by the Ford Foundation, which is more closely interlocked with the Rockefellers than two teenagers in the last row of drive-in



movie. Edward Rogers, general counsel of the Ford-backed Environmental Defense Fund, actually advocated international control of automobiles.

The testimony at such hearings and the lists of those presenting it are monotonously repetitious. In one way or another all those appearing favored an increase in federal control over the "environment" - which boils down to federal controls over almost everything and everybody. Some witnesses, less sophisticated than their mentors, boldly called for the destruction of the capitalist system; others suggested that - regional- or -international planning agencies are needed to cope with pollution.

The loud - mouth Marxists have relatively little impact on Congress, of course. It is the corporate socialists in the Brooks Brothers suits who are really dangerous. They bring with them the credibility, prestige and financial backing of the Rockefeller complex, and you can be - sure Congress listens to them very closely.

Although it seems to have been around forever, the environmental movement appeared on the national scene almost overnight. Five years ago, not one person in a thousand had even heard the word ecology. But suddenly all of - us were supposed to panic at the thought of the slimy hand of pollution suffocating us as we sleep.

The major bankrollers of this -spontaneous- movement were the numerous Rockefeller foundations, the Rockefeller-controlled Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller controlled Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller interlocked Mellon (Gulf Oil) foundations. Among the most vigorous public advocates were Roberto Anderson of Atlantic Richfield (and the CFR) and Henry Ford II of the Ford Motor Company (and the CFR).

The number one piggy bank for the -ecology movement has been the Ford Foundation, almost all of whose trustees are members of the Rockefellers' CFR. It has poured millions of dollars into hustling population planning and environmental controls of every sort.

The Ford Foundation gave \$2 million to the Energy Policy Project to aid it in the creation of a federal energy policy. For that sum of money, it expected results, and it got them. Ford also gave \$309,000 to the Center for Law in the Public Interest and \$162,000 to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (the English counterpart of our CFR) to study the role of oil companies in the energy market!

The most effective organization in using law suits to force Zero Economic Growth on the country-by blocking construction of refineries, airports, shopping centers, housing and every other form of development-is the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club was for many years a respected group honestly promoting conservation and preservation of forests and wildlife, until it was taken over by political radicals. Now, using the Environmental Protection Act, it has used the courts to throw hundreds of thousands of workers out of jobs.

The Sierra Club is the very symbol of the ecology movement's fight against the "big corporations". Supplying the funds for its allegedly humanitarian crusade is you guessed if ! -the Ford Foundation. Ford made grants to the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund of \$98,000 in 1971 and \$143,000 in 1972, and the Rockefellers have also donated to the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund.

Next to the Ford Foundation, the leading founders of the ecology movement are the various Rockefeller foundations. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Family Fund are all contributing heavily to the environmental revolution from which Standard Oil is profiting so handsomely by driving petroleum prices into orbit.

We realize that this sounds like something out of Ripley's -Believe It or Not." But here are the facts:

In 1969, the Rockefeller Foundation donated \$250,000 to the Academy of National Sciences; \$200,000 to the American Conservation Association; \$60,000 to the National Audubon Society; and, \$25,000 to the Conservation Fund.

In 1970, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund gave \$500,000 to the Population Council. The Rockefeller Foundation gave ecology grants of \$10,000 to the New School for Social Research, and \$ 10 000 to the Population Reference Bureau.

In 1971, the Rockefeller Foundation gave \$300,000 to Citizens for a Quieter City; \$23,200 to Columbia University Center for Policy Research; \$500,000 to the Conservation Foundation; \$152,000 to the Environmental Law institute; \$50,000 in ecology funds to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and, \$1,000,000 to the Population Council,

In 1972, the Rockefeller Family Fund gave \$10,000 to the National Resources Defense Council; and two grants, one for \$17,750 and one for \$25,000, to the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. The Rockefeller Foundation donated \$25,000 to M.I.T. for environmental studies, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund donated \$ 500,000 to the American Conservation Association.

And, in 1973, the Rockefeller Foundation gave \$500,000 to the Population Council and \$25,000 to the Population Crisis Committee. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund donated \$250,000 to the Population Council, \$10,000 to the Population Council, and \$25,000 to the Population Institute.

It should be mentioned that it is illegal for foundations to finance political activities. If the law were - enforced, these foundations would lose their tax exemption. But don't hold your breath until this happens. The IRS's sauce for your goose is not sauce for the Rockefellers' gander.

Typical of the bilge pumped out by the organizations bankrolled by the Rockefellers is this Los Angeles Times report of August 27,1975:

Americans will have to eat less, switch from cars to bicycles and adopt other belt-tightening measures in the next decade because the energy shortage is here to stay, according to a paper published by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. The paper's author, Abraham M. Sirkin, a former member of the State Department's policy and planning staff, predicts the cutbacks will produce a generation of healthier Americans.

The Aspen Institute, we hope you will not be surprised to learn, is funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

The Rockefellers are not the only oil interests helping to finance the ostensibly anti-oil ecology movement. Major donors have been Gulf Oil Foundation, the Humble Companies Charitable Trust, the Mobil Foundation and the Union Oil of California Foundation. All, of course, are either Rockefeller-controlled or interlocked with the Rockefellers through the CFR. These groups in essence paid for the legislation which has killed the mileage obtained by automobiles. But, the ultimate stakes are much bigger - using the continued energy crisis as the rationale for the creation of the New World Order.

Ralph Nader, the man who once told an audience that what we need is "somekind of communism" is also bankrolled by the Rockefeller network in his attempt to destroy the free enterprise system. Among the groups financing the Caped Crusader are the ubiquitous Ford Foundation and the Field Foundation,



both CFR interlocked. Nader is not really fighting the Establishment. He works for it. According to a Business Week article reprinted in the Congressional Record of March 10, 1971, John D. Rockefeller IV is even an advisor to Nader.

Naturally, the shortages of petroleum which have been artificially created in the US has made us dependent on foreign oil. In order to calm an angry public, there has been much talk of taking off the political restrictions and achieving "energy independence". It is strictly a smokescreen. While talking independence, the Rockefeller conspirators are planning to keep us dependent on foreign oil. After all, they own or market most of that foreign oil.

In the Wall Street Journal for March 6, 1974, Henry Kissinger admitted the talk about "energy independence" was a fraud. Project Independence is merely "away station on the road to a new Project Inter-dependence and at the World Energy Conference in Detroit during September 1974, President Ford, speaking without any detectable ventriloquist's strings, declared: "I call on all of you to respond to the challenge and to propose to the world your recommendations for a global energy strategy. Whether you call it Project Interdependence, or some other name, is not the essential point." It is the -interdependence- which is essential. The created crises in energy, food, and population are straw men, set up by the Insiders so they can be knocked down -and a "New World Order- can be established. Yes, crises are the great federator.

Kissinger's plan to maneuver international policy control over oil is beginning to emerge, and, as Paul Scott notes, it "is one of the most intriguing stories of our times."

According to Paul Scott, officials at the World Bank have estimated that the flow of Western dollars to oil producers in the Middle East is "now running at the rate of \$100 billion a year -or more than all of US investments abroad. To put it in the most stark terms, the Middle East oil producers are accumulating so much wealth from the Western industrial nations that they will be able -if current prices continue- to buy them out by 1980"

With OPEC gaining control of most of the world's oil and money, Kissinger sees a confrontation situation developing between oil producers and consumers, reports Scott, out of which will arise" the internationalization of oil production, pricing and distribution.- It would be the ultimate monopoly.

Very conceivably the Arab sheiks are being set up to trigger a war in the Middle East. Remember, Kissinger is already on record as stating that we might invade the Middle East if oil is embargoed. With the super-sophisticated military equipment we are providing the sheiks the war would be a bloody one - especially if it, like the arranged wars in Vietnam and Korea before it, is fought under the UN banner. The end result, of course, would be the -internationalization of oil.-

Again, only the naive will think that the Rockefellers are having their agent Kissinger arrange the "internationalization of oil" so that the Oilbucks can be stripped of their holdings. The prospects of such a scenario should make any independent oil developer in the world worry. Competition is still a sin, and monopoly is still the name of the Rockefeller game.

While Armageddon is being set up in the Middle East, the Rockefellers are preparing to stick John Q. Taxpayer with the bill for the world's oil deficits. A story in the Chicago Tribune of October 2, 1974, is headlined "US To Back New Way to Foot World Oil Bills -Simon." Secretary of the Treasury William Simon, an international banker and CFR member, told leaders of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund that if "developing nations" were having difficulty paying the oil tab, they need look no farther than the American taxpayer. "If there is a clear need for additional international lending

mechanisms, the United States will support their establishment," he said.

Under the Kissinger-Rockefeller plan, Americans will pay the bills in more ways than one. Without a peep of complaint from the kept press, Kissinger met with members of the International Energy Agency and agreed to share our oil with them in case the Rockefellers stage another Arab oil boycott. Unkept columnist Paul Scott reveals:

Under the oil-sharing plan worked out recently in Brussels by the US and 11 other major industrial countries, for example, domestically produced oil in the US for the first time in our history would be shared and allocated in case of another Middle East oil embargo.

Precise allocations would be worked out by a quasi independent management organization set up within the Paris - based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, an economic consultative grouping of leading non-Communist industrial nations.

Most puzzling and alarming part of this Kissinger oil plan is that it in effect puts the -triggering device- in the hands of the Middle East oil producers-thus increasing the power of their oil weapon and making it more tempting for the Arabs to use.

For control over US domestic oil to pass into the hands of an international body, all the Middle East oil producers now need do is impose their oil embargo as they did during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

The control over agriculture and energy as part of the Rockefeller-Kissinger strategy for looting the country is the core of the Insiders' plan to force Zero Economic Growth on the country.

Leading the call for ZEG is a group of international establishmentarians called The Club of Rome. The Club is described by author Ovid Demaris in *Dirty Business* as "an organization of distinguished industrialists, bankers and scientists from twenty-five countries. "The Club was created at the Rockefeller family's private estate at Bellagio, Italy. The Club put out a report which warned that, unless the standard of living of the developed nations was severely restricted, "A rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity- was inevitable.

Here we have fifty key businessmen and international bankers gathering under the auspices of the Rockefeller family and coming to the conclusion that production in America should be reduced! Again, understand that it is your standard of living they are proposing to decimate, not their own.

Naturally, the controlled press did everything possible to legitimize the scare stories concocted by the Roman clubbers. For example, here is how Time magazine portrayed their predictions in a feature story on January 24, 1972:

The furnaces of Pittsburgh are cold; the assembly lines of Detroit are still. In Los Angeles, a few gaunt survivors of a plague desperately till freeway center strips, backyards and outlying fields, hoping to raise a subsistence crop. London's offices are dark, its docks deserted. In the farm lands of the Ukraine, abandoned tractors litter the fields; there is no fuel for them. The waters of the Rhine, Nile and Yellow rivers reek with pollutants.

The message from these fright peddlers appeared in a 197 page paperback which was published in eighteen editions and made available in twenty-three languages, including Serbo-Croatian, Finnish, and Thai. The *Insiders* who run the show know that the only way to achieve surrender by consent is to frighten Americans into supinely accepting their plans.



Before continuing, however, we feel duty bound to assure you that, despite the huzzahs from the chorus of the CFR -controlled media, the Rockefeller -sponsored study," titled The Limits To Growth,was (and is) considered absurd by informed demographers. Wilfred Beckerman, the respected professor of political economy at the University of London, went so far as to call the book " abrazen piece of impudence." (Which is the harshest language you will ever hear a proper Englishman use.)

Our only hope for survival, the ecological fright peddlers assure us, is ZPG combined with ZEG. America has already reached Zero Population Growth, but putting enough brakes on our economy to achieve Zero Economic Growth has been a hayburner of a different hue. Only direct government intervention can assure ZEG as advocated by the Club of Rome.

Clickety-clack, clickety-clack, the message is being dutifully parroted by the Establishment media as its propaganda machines grind out the doctrine of survival through a lowered standard of living. Features like "Running Out of Everything- (Newsweek) and "Time For A New Frugality- (Time) have been appearing with regularity in the slick weeklies. Much of the propaganda has been geared towards making Americans feel guilt for their prosperity and shame for their alleged greed and profligacy.

So what is the solution? There is only one way to Stop the profit system and that is by direct government intervention (which can take a wide variety of forms taxation, regulation, allocation, rationing, etc.). The two words most often used to describe such governmental actions are of course, socialism and fascism.

But, proponents of socialism within the Establishment are careful never, ever, to use the word. While outspoken radicals are less hypocritical, Liberal politicians, bureaucrats, and media managers are aware that mainstream Americans know what socialism means, and they want no part of it. So the Establishment salesmen for socialism, who for thirty years have been implementing P while the radicals talk about it, always use code words and euphemisms. Instead of calling socialism or fascism by their right names, the Establishment prefers terms like planning.

The question is: Who is going to plan your life, you or the Frankenstein monster created by the Rockefellers, called Big Brother?

If the Rockefeller - CFR clique has an official spokesman, it is James Reston, leading columnist of the New York Times whose syndicated column appears in hundreds of papers across the nation. Read Reston and you can keep up with the latest Rockefeller-Establishment line. In 1973, Reston wrote:

The craziest notion that has hit this country in a long while -and we've had quite a few nutty notions lately -is that shortages of gas, beef and a lot of other things are bad for the American people,

What America really needs is more shortages. It is not our shortages but our surpluses that are hurting us. Too much gas, too much booze, and -fire me tomorrow! - too much newsprint are our problem. . . .

Yes, you read that correctly. James Reston of the New York Times says that what we need are more shortages. Like playing for a losing football team, shortages build character. The more we are deprived, the better off we will be! Of course, the worthies who insist you must take a hacksaw to your own standard of living are themselves living very well. And they expect to continue to do so, thank you.

The whole ploy is such obvious hogwash that not even P. T. Barnum would have dared try to peddle it. Of course, times were different when he said there's a sucker born every minute. He didn't know they could be created even quicker-if the denizens of government, education, and the media were all in on the plot.

## **We are not running out of energy.**

But if the American people swallow the phony Rockefeller - inspired and financed propaganda, the doomsday prediction of depression and famine will be a self-fulfilling prophecy. If we can be panicked into surrendering our freedom in the name of survival, the socialist-fascist dictatorship of the Rockefellers' New World Order will be a reality.

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# The Rockefeller File

## *by Gary Allen*

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## Chapter Twelve

### The Eternal Power Behind the Throne

*“Single acts of tyranny may be ascribed to the accidental opinion of a day, but a series of oppressions, begun at a distinguished period, unalterable through every change of ministers, too plainly prove a deliberate, systematical plan of reducing us to slavery.”*

-Thomas Jefferson

When John D. Rockefeller was coming close to monopolizing the oil industry, one of his favorite and most effective ploys was to capture a competitor from the inside. He would place his men inside a competitor's office, or bribe employees of other firms to do his bidding. John D.'s descendants now play the same game with our government. It makes no difference which party is in power; whether a Democrat or Republican Administration, the Rockefeller people hold the key positions, especially in the fields of foreign policy and finance. The House of Rockefeller is the eternal power behind the throne.

Rockefeller influence in the White House began in 1894 with the election of William McKinley. But it was not until the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that it became a deciding factor in determining policy. In many ways, the New Deal was a Rockefeller deal.\*

\* Although it is generally believed that the New Deal was designed to help business and the stock market quickly recover from the depression, its effect was to prolong the depression for several years. We now know that this result was deliberately contrived; among other reasons, the Rockefellers wanted a depressed stock market so they could buy up shares cheaply. (It is worth noting that the "New Deal" dealt most kindly with the Rockefeller interests.

For detailed information see Chapter III of the author's book,

None Dare Call It Conspiracy, and Antony Sutton's Wall Street and F.D.R.)

The main Rockefeller agent was Harry Hopkins, who had been financed by the Rockefeller - foundation for more than a decade when he ran the Organized Social Service. Hopkins was to become Franklin D. Roosevelt's alter ego, even to the point of living in the White House. He was the second most powerful man in America during the war years.

As Walter Winchell reported at the time, Hopkins acknowledged his debt to the Rockefellers when he was appointed Secretary of Commerce, by offering the post of Assistant Secretary to Nelson. William Rusher tells us in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner of September 7, 1975: Nelson Rockefeller was recruited for the New Deal by FDR's confidante, Harry Hopkins, back in the 1930 's.... He apparently wasn't even a Republican by 1940, let alone a conservative. In that year, at any rate, as World War II approached America, FDR did him the handsome favor of giving him a soft civilian berth in the White House where he remained straight through to V-J Day.

The fact that Nelson's name was number ten on the local draft board list, when he fortuitously -landed- his job with the New Deal, may explain why the young Rockefeller was so willing to abandon a plush family position to join the Washington bureaucracy.

The New York Times of May 20, 1960, reveals that after his appointment -Rockefeller became a Roosevelt intimate, spending secret holidays with the President at Shangri-la (now Camp David). . . ." Twenty years later, Nelson reminisced to Newsweek that " this country hasn't had a sense of purpose and direction since Roosevelt." In that 1962 interview, the future Vice President dismissed conservative Republicans, saying they were " like cattle that aren't going anywhere."

In the Dwight D. Eisenhower (CFR) administration, Nelson helped to create and served as Assistant Secretary in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which now takes an even larger portion of the Federal Budget than does defense. But the job of running a government is so immense that the Rockefellers must delegate most of -the work to friends, associates, hirelings and agents.

Eisenhower's first Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles (CFR), was a Rockefeller cousin. Dulles' successor was Christian Herter (CFR), who had the good sense to marry into the Standard Oil fortune. Herbert Brownell (CFR) was a Rockefeller employee when Eisenhower tapped him to be Attorney General. Brownell subsequently selected hundreds of federal judges, district attorneys, US Marshals, and White House staffers.

Seventeen other key figures at the top of the Eisenhower Administration were supplied by the Rockefellers' CFR.

Soon after his election as President, John F. Kennedy (CFR) followed Rocky's advice and named Dean Rusk of the CFR to be his Secretary of State. Rusk, whom Kennedy had never met, took a leave of absence as head of the Rockefeller Foundation to accept the post.

Kennedy's appointment for Under Secretary of State was Chester Bowles, a fellow CFR member who has been a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and a director of the Rockefeller Foundation. Democrat Kennedy then named Standard Oil executive Alexander Trowbridge (CFR) as Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and President Johnson later promoted him to Secretary of Commerce.

President Kennedy also named Roswell Gilpatrick (CFR), a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, as Deputy Secretary of Defense. Virtually every top position in the administration of JFK and LBJ was held by a member of the CFR.



Richard Nixon appointed Nelson Rockefeller's attorney John Mitchell as Attorney General, and Mitchell ran the President's campaign for re-election and became his chief advisor on domestic policy. Nixon's first Vice President was the ill-fated Spiro Agnew, who had been national chairman of the Rockefeller for President Committee in 1968 and an outspoken opponent of Nixon until Rocky approved his White House role.

Chief advisor to both Nixon and Ford on foreign policy, of course, is the ubiquitous Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, who left a staff position with the CFR to join the Nixon Administration. For ten years Kissinger had been Nelson Rockefeller's personal foreign policy advisor. Altogether Richard Nixon staffed his Administration with over 115 CFR members. (The complete list is contained in the author's *Richard Nixon: The Man Behind The Mask*.) The vast majority of these remain in the Ford-Rockefeller (or is it vice-versa?) regime.

Years ago, Nelson Rockefeller reportedly demanded, and received, the privilege of naming his men to top administrative posts on all important Republican committees-including the vital National, Senatorial, Congressional, and Policy committees. The effect on the Republican Party is all too (perfectly) clear. It has been reliably estimated that over the years the Rockefellers have placed at least five thousand persons in important positions at the highest levels of the federal government. The Rockefeller influence and authority now runs the top Civil Service bureaucracy, thereby transcending the administrations of mere Republicans and Democrats.\*

Having a big stake in an internationalist foreign policy, the Rockefellers always make sure that the Secretary of State and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are "their boys". Marshall, Acheson, Dulles, Herter, Rusk and Kissinger have all labored to turn the backward Soviet Union into a creditable power to force the Great Merger, while at the same time fighting wars to make the world safe for Standard Oil. The CIA has served as the State Department's and Standard Oil's enforcement arm, destroying genuine anti-communist movements around the world.\* (Chile seems to be the one exception. Apparently the Rockefellers did not care to lose their holdings in that nation.)

The CIA was created and staffed by Rockefeller relative Allen Dulles.

\* Indeed, Ford's most important early appointment was Edward Levi as Attorney General. Levi was the first Attorney General in modern history who had never met the President who appointed him. It is well known in Washington political circles that Levi, from the Rockefeller -endowed University of Chicago, and not a Republican, was Nelson's choice. The new Attorney General has a reputation of being about as conservative as Mao's Red Guard.

American foreign policy has meant billions of dollars for the Rockefellers. It has been paid for in many cases by the blood of our soldiers and in every case by the sweat of our taxpayers. In his *Reminiscences* John D. Rockefeller informs us: "One of our greatest helpers has been the State Department in Washington. Our ambassadors and ministers and consuls have aided to push our way into new markets to the utmost corners of the world.-

Washington reporter Jack Anderson put it this way in 1967: ". . . the State Department has often taken its policies right out of the executive suites of the oil companies. When Big Oil can't get what it wants in foreign countries, the State Department tries to get it for them. In many countries, the American Embassies function virtually as branch offices for the Oil combine ... The State Department can be found almost always on the side of the 'seven sisters', as the oil giants are known inside the industry. . . .- The more things change, the more they remain the same.

Just as the Rockefellers make sure their capos are running" our-perennially disastrous foreign policy, you can bet your last devalued dollar that the Rockefeller Mafia controls the national and international money game.

\* The Rockefellers occasionally lose a property to nationalization- at least temporarily - through madcap coups, but such instances are remarkably rare.

Here is where Rockefeller influence in the World Bank comes in handy. In the Political Economics of International Oil, Michael Tanzer admits that, although the

World Bank favors active government participation in virtually every other area, oil is a major exception: ". . . the general policies of the Bank strongly tend to favor minimizing the public sector's role. . . . The World Bank too has refused to lend money for any government oil operations in underdeveloped countries. In addition,

the Bank has also played an active, albeit subsurface, role in trying to dissuade underdeveloped countries from using their own capital for oil exploration. . . ."

The Rockefellers have made the Treasury Department virtually a branch of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Eisenhower's Secretary of the Treasury was Robert Anderson (CFR). Kennedy -switched- to Douglas Dillon (CFR and a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund). Henry Fowler (CFR) was the House of Rockefeller's rep heading the Treasury during the LBJ era. And in the year of our Ford, William Simon (CFR) runs the temple for the CFR money changers.

While Secretary of the Treasury is a significant position, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is infinitely more important. The Federal Reserve is a mystery wrapped in an enigma for most Americans. Yet it is critical to the Rockefeller manipulations of the economy.

The Rockefellers were instrumental in creating the Federal Reserve System. It was designed at a secret meeting in 1910 at Jekyll Island off the coast of Georgia. Rockefeller agent Frank Vanderlip admitted many years later in his memoirs:

"Despite my views about the value to society of greater publicity for the affairs of corporations, there was an occasion, near the close of 1910, when I was as secretive indeed as furtive -as any conspirator ... I do not feel it is any exaggeration to speak of our secret expedition to Jekyll Island as the occasion of the actual conception of what eventually became the Federal Reserve System."

Out of the Jekyll Island meeting came the Monetary Commission Report and from it, the Aldrich Bill. Warburg had urged that the proposed legislation be designated simply, the - Federal Reserve System, 11 but Aldrich insisted his name appear as the bill's chief sponsor. This proved to be a serious mistake; the legislation was so obviously a project of the international bankers that it could not be pushed through Congress.

A new strategy had to be devised. The Republican Party was too closely identified with Wall Street. The conspirators recognized that the only way to establish a central bank was to disguise the proposal, and have it promoted by Democrats as a means to strip Wall Street of its power!

The opportunity to do this came in 1912 when the Jekyll Island conspirators induced Teddy Roosevelt to run on a third party ticket to split the Republican vote. The result was that the underdog Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, won. Wilson paid off like a slot machine that has just rung up three bars.\*



\* A more comprehensive account of the creation and operation of the Federal Reserve is told in the author's book, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*.

In order to support the fiction that the Federal Reserve Act was a "people's bill," the *Insider* financiers put up a smoke-screen of opposition to it. It was strictly a case of Br'er Rabbit begging not to be thrown into the briar patch. Both Aldrich and Vanderlip denounced what was actually their own bill. Nearly twenty-five years later, Frank Vanderlip admitted: "No walthough the Aldrich Federal Reserve Plan was defeated when it bore the name Aldrich nevertheless its essential points were all contained in the plan that finally was adopted."

Taking advantage of Congress' desire to adjourn for Christmas, the Federal Reserve Act was passed on December 22, 1913, by a vote of 298 to 60 in the House and in the Senate by a majority of 43 to 25.

After the vote, Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh Sr. father of the famous aviator, told Congress:

" This act establishes the most gigantic trust on earth ...When the President signs this act the invisible government by the money power, proven to exist by the Money Trust investigation, will be legalized. . . .

This is the Aldrich Bill in disguise.

The new law will create inflation whenever the trusts want inflation. .

The Federal Reserve Act was, and still is, hailed as a victory of "democracy" over the "money trust." Nothing could be further from the truth. The whole central bank concept was engineered by the very group it was supposed to strip of power.

How powerful is our central bank" ?

The Federal Reserve controls our money supply and interest rates, and thereby manipulates the entire economy creating inflation or deflation, recession or boom, and sending the stock market up or down at will. The Federal Reserve is so powerful that Congressman Wright Patman, Chairman of the House Banking Committee, maintains:

**"In the United States today we have in effect two governments ... We have the duly constituted Government ... Then we have an independent, uncontrolled and uncoordinated government in the Federal Reserve System, operating the money powers which are reserved to Congress by the Constitution."**

Neither Presidents, Congressmen nor Secretaries of the Treasury direct the Federal Reserve. In the matters of money, the Federal Reserve directs them!

How successful has the Federal Reserve System been? It depends on your point of view. Since Woodrow Wilson took his oath of office, the national debt has skyrocketed from \$1 billion to over \$500 billion. Interest paid to the international bankers holding that debt is staggering; at \$27 billion annually, it is now the third largest item in the Federal Budget. And it is climbing steeply, as inflation pushes up the interest rate on government bonds, while the government runs grotesque deficits every year.

Under the brilliant expertise of these Rockefeller-CFR money managers, the dollar has lost three-fourths of its purchasing power since 1940. And the pace is accelerating. Soon your paper dollar, now totally

divorced from gold and silver by Rockefellers' agents, will not be worth a plugged nickel. It's all right for the Rockefellers, they don't have to live on a fixed income or a pension.

America is being set up today for another 1929 style debacle. To think that the Crash of 1929 was an accident or the result of stupidity defies all logic. The international bankers who promoted the inflationary policies and pushed the propaganda which pumped up the stock market represented too many generations of accumulated expertise to have blundered into the Great Depression. As Congressman Louis McFadden, Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, commented:

**It [the Depression] was not accidental. It was a carefully contrived occurrence ... The international bankers sought to bring about a condition of despair here so that they might emerge as rulers of us all.**

It was the game of boom and bust, using economic crisis to consolidate political power at the top where it can be most easily controlled.

The major cause of the economic collapse was the deliberately created credit inflation by the Federal Reserve. In six years it had inflated the money supply by sixty-two %, inducing market speculations and unwise investments by middle Americans who were being set up for a shearing. When the shearing came, the sheep took a realistic look at their economy and panicked. Optimism was replaced by economic despair; despair produced a willingness to accept a major expansion of government controls over the economy.

Now, the Rockefellers are sharpening their shears to give the sheep of the world another trimming. But this time may be the last time. In 1929, America was a long way from total government. The next depression will be used as the excuse for complete socialist-fascist controls at home and the creation of a World Superstate internationally.

Just as the Rockefellers use the Export-Import Bank as a tool to loot the capital and credit-starved American economy and its over-taxed citizenry, so they also use the UN's World Bank as yet another siphon in the U.S. Taxpayer's wallet.

A key lieutenant in fleecing American workers has been Eugene Black (CFR), a director of the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank. For fifteen years Black was (successively) executive director, president, and then chairman of the executive directors of the World Bank. It is an amazing - coincidence- how officers of the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank keep turning up as officials of the World Bank.

The current head of the World Bank is the notorious Robert Strange McNamara, who did more than any American since Benedict Arnold to betray America's defenses. If you have not guessed that McNamara is a member of the CFR, you haven't been reading carefully enough. Not surprisingly, Mr. McNamara is eager to multiply the World Bank's loans to finance socialism. As he puts it: "The rich nations could easily contribute more than they have done to the poor nations. "He continues:

**We in the US can do far more to cure our own national problems. And just as we can do more to correct those conditions, so we can do more to contribute to the economic development of the developing nations. It's simply a question of getting a proper order of priorities.**

And in line with CFR policy, McNamara is already pushing the World Bank to begin pumping out your money to the Communist bloc. As Chairman McNamara puts it: "We're quite willing to receive



approaches by any Eastern European or other Communist bloc members not now members of the bank.-

Through their Council on Foreign Relations, the Family Rockefeller has controlled the executive branch of government, especially the Departments of State and Treasury. Public opinion is manufactured by the CFR's ventriloquists in the mass media. But, Congress still plays a key role in governing the United States. The House of Rockefeller has formed two organizations specifically to influence Congress. They are Common Cause and the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

The National Committee for an Effective Congress was formed by Eleanor Roosevelt in 1948 to elect - progressive- (read fascist-socialist) Senators. The organization makes no pretense at being a grass-roots group. The average donation by the limousine liberals to the NCEC in 1972 was \$13,000.

Members of the NCEC believe the selection of Congressmen is too important to be left to the local voters.

Since 1948 they have helped change the composition of Congress by passing the hat around Wall Street to ensure that "their kind- of Congressman was elected in Montana, Iowa, Tennessee and West Virginia." Their kind includes such ultra-liberals as Senators Hubert Humphrey, Birch Bayh, Alan Cranston, Frank Church, Clifford Case, Adlai Stevenson, Thomas Eagleton, and George McCovern -all of whom have been supported by the Wall Street internationalists of the NCEC; and all of whom can be counted on to vote for more and more fascist-socialist government.

In the past, the National Committee for an Effective Congress has concentrated on bankrolling compliant Senators. But in 1974, the megabuck liberals began financing" their kind - of candidates for the House of Representatives. During the election that year, the NCEC worked to eliminate opponents of the Rockefeller's " New World Order." The result was a mighty leap to the left in the House, as dozens of veteran Conservatives went down to defeat.

For the 1974 campaign, the NCEC hired professional campaign managers for 49 Democrat candidates around the country. Thirty-five of them won and promptly became the much heralded -Freshman Democratic Caucus.-

Having eliminated most of the old-line Republicans, in 1976, according to the Washington Post's David Broder, the NCEC will concentrate on electing Liberal Republicans who can work with Nelson Rockefeller. Candidates who convince the multi-millionaire internationalists of the National Committee for an Effective Congress that they are willing to represent them, rather than their constituents, can receive unlimited thousands of dollars. It will come in the form of "services" - free publicity from the mass media, free "research," free polling to determine the "image" which the candidate needs to project, free attacks on opponents, free mailings and literature on appropriate"issues." Above all, the candidate can expect free workers who will not only manage his campaign, but will proceed to manage him when he gets to Congress.

The Rockefeller front entrusted with the task of creating popular support for the Insiders' takeover is an organization called Common Cause. Common Cause masquerades as "the people's lobby," but nothing could be further from the truth.

Common Cause was launched in the early 1970's with all of the hoopla of a million-dollar advertising campaign planned by P. T. Barnum. Full-page newspaper ads and slick direct-mail pieces announced that something called Common Cause would be neither Republican nor Democrat, but a -people's lobby, representing all Americans against the "rich and powerful." It should be sued for false advertising.

Chairman of Common Cause is an establishmentarian with impressive credentials, John Gardner. As Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the mid -1960's, Gardner pushed federal money and programs at everything that moved. In the area of federalized health care alone, HEW programs initiated under Gardner included Medicare, Medic aid, federal staffing of community mental health centers, federal planning of public health services, and scores of other socialist fascist programs costing billions. But Gardner now heads an Establishment -financed -people's lobby- to destroy the - special interests- dominating politics.

Of course no huckster worth his salt is anxious for the public to become aware of the sting. So John Gardner has removed a few of his more revealing credits from the biography he prepares for Who's Who In America. Among those positions which he has expunged from the record are his seat on the board of trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. After all, it might be embarrassing while calling publicly for emasculating the power of the big banks and their fat trusts if people found out you are currently serving at the pleasure of the controllers of Chase Manhattan Bank. Some suspicious souls might doubt your sincerity. The giant oil producers are another "target-of Gardner's Common Cause. Naturally he no longer lists his position on the board of directors of Shell Oil, which is the world's second-largest oil company.

Buried deep in the records of the Senate Clerk is a lobbyist's report filed by Gardner showing receipts for the last quarter of 1970. The largest donor was John D. Rockefeller III, who anted up twenty-five thousand dollars; David Rockefeller gave ten thousand dollars; Martha Rockefeller provided another ten thousand; Chase Manhattan Bank gave five thousand dollars; kindly Amory Houghton Jr. of the Rockefeller Foundation provided ten thousand; Nelson Rockefeller gave a guarded five hundred dollars; J. Richardson Dilworth, the family's financial advisor, gave five hundred; A. Meyer, senior partner in Lazard Freres and Company, the Rothschild's US Bank, provided ten thousand dollars; A. E. Friedman, a partner in the Rockefeller-allied Kuhn, Loeb and Company, gave a thousand; and, the list of the Establishment's super-rich goes on and on and on.

Notice that this was the "up-front" money-the big cash that made Common Cause possible. It was the Rockefellers and their allies who supplied the seed money, the money used to buy the advertisements in all those magazines and newspapers and to pay for the mailing to 2.5 million Americans soliciting those fifteen-dollar memberships in Common Cause. Without the Rockefellers there would have been no kickoff, no quarter of a million members whose dues allow the organization's spokesmen to claim that the Rockefellers supplied only a small %age of money raised. But how many people out in Kumquat Corners would fall for the Gardner snake on routine if they knew that he was fronting for Daddy Rockabucks? About as many as attend submarine race at Boise.

Common Cause claims a membership of 350,000 and operates on an annual budget of \$6.3 million. Ironically, in the yearly report required by law of lobbyists it now find itself in the position of declaring the highest expenditure of any lobby on Capitol Hill. The Rockefeller anti-lobby is now the biggest of the bunch.

The massive coverage given Common Cause by the Establishment journals is indicated by the fact that during 1974 the New York Times News Service, alone, carried over one hundred articles about Common Cause. That is a major article about Common Cause every 3.5 days. When you consider the hundreds of key newspapers across the country that subscribe to the New York Times News Service, and remember that the other major news services have also carried a similarly large number of stories puffing Common Cause, you readily see why the impact of its every move is enormous.

The other major triumph of the Rockefellers' Common Cause is the -campaign reform- act of 1974. In its recruiting brochure, Common Cause proclaims that 11 members of Common Cause have led the



citizens' effort to change the way our nation finances political campaigns.-

There are many dangerous implications to the law. Howard Phillips reports in Human Events for November 2, 1974, that under this legislation "a candidate whose views are at variance from the dominant political establishment is limited in how much he may spend or cause to be expended in his own behalf." Meanwhile, Phillips says, the problems of candidates challenging the Liberal Establishment "can be seriously increased through "non-political expenditures made by issue-oriented" Liberal organizations [like NCEC or Common Cause] which put forth large sums to advance their viewpoints, although escaping any spending limitations under the act (because, technically, the money is not spent 'against' the candidate with which they disagree).

This is what Common Cause calls -opening up the system." It is a dodge to allow the Rockefellers and their friends who control Common Cause to raise and spend vast sums to defeat their opponents while limiting the ability of those opponents to raise funds.

Now that the Rockefellers have the kind of Congress they want, they mean to keep it that way. They know that a Liberal Establishment which controls the mass media can give its favorite candidate vast amounts of free publicity which, in the past, anti-Establishment candidates could only match with money. They believe that they have now closed that potential source of opposition. Common Cause advertises that it is a "new force on the American political scene." What it is ... is a Rockefeller political front. And it is dangerously powerful. As Congressman F. Edward Hebert declared in an NBC interview on February 5, 1975:

**The American people better wake up to what this outfit is doing because they can destroy the country. The new Congressmen are not running Congress, Common Cause is running Congress.**

Who elected them?

That is a good question, Congressman Hebert. And the answer is: The same Insiders who -elected- Nelson Rockefeller Vice President of the United States.

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# Chapter Thirteen

## Was Nixon Watergated ?

*``After all, when you think of what I had, what else  
[other than the Presidency ] was there to aspire to? "*

-Nelson Rockefeller

Nelson Rockefeller has admitted that his goal in life since he was a child has been to be President of the United States. "After all" he admitted, "when you think of what I had, what else was there to aspire to?" He has a point there.

Newsweek of September 2, 1974 tells us: "Ever since his boyhood meeting with Teddy Roosevelt, it

seems, 'Nelson Rockefeller had been propelling himself toward the Oval Office. Nothing less would suit his ambition. . . "

But the road to the White House for Nelson has been, if you will pardon the expression, rocky. He has had to settle for an un-elected and politically engineered Vice Presidency, a position at which he had previously turned up his nose several times.

Nelson's first attempt at the Presidency came in 1960, shortly after his election as governor of New York. Richard Nixon had been Vice President for eight years, however, and had spent much of the time making speeches for the GOP. In 1960, he collected his political IOUs from the majority of party activists and Rockefeller had no chance of getting the nomination. Where Rocky found he could not win the actual nomination. He moved to dictate policy from behind the scenes. A meeting was thus arranged between Rockefeller and Nixon on the Saturday before the Republican Convention opened in Chicago.

The Republican Platform Committee had been meeting for an entire week, laboriously pounding out a platform reflecting the views of party members from all fifty states







The Watergate Caper, the coup d'etat that knocked President Nixon out of the White House, was carefully engineered by the two agents for the House of Rockefeller

shown above. It is now known that Henry Kissinger (left) was responsible for creating the Plumbers squad in the first place, while the instant

General," Alexander Haig (right), made sure that the most incriminating evidence on the tapes was given in advance to the men investigating his boss!

Together, the two men forced a bitter and dejected Nixon to resign, thus paving the way (finally!) to get a Rockefeller into the White House without risking an election Rocky would surely lose.

But, at the meeting between Nixon and Nelson at Rockefeller's Fifth Avenue apartment in New York City, Nixon accepted everything Rockefeller dictated. The Platform Committee's sweat-stained document was ashcanned and, presto Chicago, Rockefeller's Liberal platform was substituted. Goldwater dejectedly called Nixon's surrender to Rockefeller" the Munich of the Republican Party.-

Republicans everywhere understood the significance of the new Rockefeller-Nixon alliance. Nixon had traded his independence for approval by the House of Rockefeller.

The truth is that Nixon had the nomination in the bag; there was no need for him to crawl to Rockefeller to win it. Nixon knew this, but he also knew who held the ultimate power behind both political parties.

Certainly there was never any love lost between Richard and Rocky. They have detested each other for years. Newsweek of September 2, 1974, tells us: "The Nixon Presidency was a painful period for the proud governor. Privately, friends say, Rockefeller despised the self-made man from Yorba Linda. . . .

Rocky, the man born to economic royalty, must have deeply resented having to operate through this Sammy Click-type character who looked like a used car salesman, but had clawed his way to the White

House. But the two men needed each other. Nelson's influence in the COP is immense at the top, but is almost non-existent among voters at the grass roots.

After forcing Nixon's humiliating surrender, Rockefeller virtually sat out the 1960 campaign and allowed New York to go for Kennedy. Nixon surprised most observers by quietly accepting the defeat that had been arranged for him, refusing even to protest the vote fraud in Texas and Illinois which deprived him of the election.\*

\* This story is described at length in Richard Nixon: The Man Behind The Mask by this author.

Richard Nixon returned to California to practice law but remained at the beck and call of his jealous and hostile boss in New York. One indication of their real relationship was the Joe Shell affair. Shell was a long-time California State Assemblyman who planned to oppose Democrat incumbent Pat Brown for the governorship in 1962. Early in the year, he received a call from Rockefeller, asking whom he would support at the 1964 convention if he were elected. The conservative Assemblyman told Rockefeller that under no circumstances could he support the ultra-liberal New Yorker. One week later, Shell's office received a call from Rockefeller's New York office with the news that Richard Nixon would oppose Shell in the COP gubernatorial primary-even though Nixon had previously assured Shell that he had absolutely no interest in being Governor of California.

The important point here is that Nixon was not interested in the job until he received orders from his boss in New York. Nixon had everything to lose and virtually nothing to gain by running against an incumbent Democrat governor in a state with an overwhelming Democrat registration plurality.

Following an incredibly inept campaign, in which his chief target was Nelson's old bugaboo, the -radical right," not Bungling Brown's record, Nixon lost the race. His political career appeared to have come to an end.

As he put it: -You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore."

Apparently, the Nixon candidacy was as much a test of obedience as it was a move to head off a potential Rockefeller opponent. In any case, having thrown himself onto a bed of nails at the behest of Rockefeller, Nixon was thrown a lifeline and brought to New York. He moved into an elegant \$125,000 apartment in the same building as Nelson Rockefeller-the very one in which the infamous 11 Compact of Fifth Avenue- was signed. Nixon was made a partner in a law firm which did a lot of trust and bond business with the friendly folk at Chase Manhattan Bank.

During the next five years Nixon practiced very little law, yet his net worth jumped from practically nothing to over half-a-million dollars. Most of his time was spent touring the nation and the world rebuilding his political reputation. When the Rockefellers needed him in 1968, he had been resurrected from the political trash heap and turned into a legitimate candidate.

Meanwhile, Nelson had been giving the Presidency the old college try himself. He might have made it in 1964 had not his divorce and remarriage alienated a large segment of middle America. Rockefeller learned the hard way that a lot of women don't forgive a man who abandons a wife of long standing to marry a much younger and prettier one. When the new bride abandons her own children to marry the man in question, it compounds the outrage.

In 1968, Nelson made a half-hearted attempt to wrest the nomination from Nixon. But the handwriting was on the wailing wall. "The old avidity is gone," groaned Nelson. Once again, he had to settle for



owning the team instead of starting as quarterback.

Nixon's appointments to policy-making positions confirmed that the House of Rockefeller did indeed own the team: they went almost entirely to Rockefeller men. In his inner circle, however, Nixon tried to surround himself with men like H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, who were personally loyal to him, not to Rockefeller. The two most notable exceptions were Kissinger and General Alexander Haig. Both men were known Rockefeller agents, and it is these two men who may have masterminded Nixon's early retirement.

If Nixon was an obedient Rockefeller man-if not necessarily a loyal one-why then did the Rockefeller controlled media orchestrate the campaign to dispose him? Several possible explanations have been advanced. One is that Nixon grew too accustomed to the prerogatives of power, and believed that he had become an equal partner in the deal. There are some hints that Nixon himself may have initiated some of the in-fighting between the two factions. The forced resignation of Spiro Agnew, brought about by a combination of pressure from the Executive Branch and prosecution by Executive departments, may have been part of this.

Another suggestion is that Rockefeller gave the nudge that toppled Agnew from the White House, counting on Nixon to appoint him to the Vice Presidency. When Nixon refused, and appointed Ford instead, the media dropped on him like a piano from the top of a ten-story building.

We may never know the full story of what started the internecine warfare. But we do know what was the decisive encounter in the battle: Watergate. And as we unravel the twisting threads of this strange saga, we find that each tug that ultimately toppled Nixon from the throne can be traced to Rockefeller.

The burglary at the Democratic Headquarters in the Watergate Hotel was not exactly carried out with the precision of a James Bond movie. It was more like the Three Stooges at their most slapstick. It was so clumsy, in fact, that the whole operation smells of a set-up. First: one of the burglars alerted a guard, by replacing the tape over the door locks after the guard had discovered and removed the first one. Even though their efforts had been discovered, the boss of the operation, Cordon Liddy, sent the burglars back to the Watergate. There they proceeded to flash lights, rip the place apart, and in general act as if they had all night to perform their mission. The man posted as lookout saw the police enter the building, but either failed to alert the men inside-or his warning was ignored.

It was as though the burglars were meant to be caught. And when they were, one of them conveniently was carrying the White House telephone number of E. Howard Hunt in his pocket.

Watergate began with the creation of the "Plumbers." The Plumbers were created by Kissinger to stop leaks on his staff. Both Nixon staffers John Dean and Charles Colson reported that Kissinger got Nixon so upset over leaks that the President decided, at Kissinger's suggestion to set up a Special White House Investigating Unit, which later became known as the Plumbers. According to Dean it was Rockefeller who had Kissinger sucker Nixon into forming the Plumbers. Little did Nixon know that he being mouse trapped.

Nationally syndicated columnist Paul Scott reports:

Records of the Senate Watergate Committee investigation indicates that Dean's testimony concerning Rockefeller was never followed up by the committee's staff. The reason: Committee members were against calling Rockefeller.

Kissinger put a member of his staff, David Young, in charge of the unit. You have never heard of David Young? join the multitudes. He was a Wall Street lawyer who had worked for Rockefeller before being promoted to Kissinger's staff.. After Watergate, Young was spirited off to a cushy assignment in London as a very advanced student, and the mediocracy has dutifully ignored his key role in Watergate.

The Watergate burglary, which was bungled more badly than a Keystone Cops chase, ended with a proven link to the White House. But no one ever claimed that Nixon gave the nod for the break-in; it was his role in the coverup that led to his downfall.

Watergate did start in the White House, however. But not by Nixon or any of his men. It was launched by the premier Rockefeller man, Henry Kissinger.

It was the activities of the Plumbers which brought the downfall of Richard Nixon. And Kissinger, Rockefeller and the CIA were obviously deeply involved. Former White House aide Charles Colson has said that Nixon suspected the CIA was in the plot "upto their eyeballs." Colson says Nixon wanted to fire the director of the CIA and personally investigate what was believed to be a CIA conspiracy against him. He was persuaded not to do so by General Alexander Haig, the Rockefeller man who replaced Bob Haldeman. Colson portrays Nixon as a virtual captive of Kissinger and Haig in the Oval Office during his last months in the Presidency.

But Richard Nixon would have survived the Watergate scandal had it not been for those damned tapes. At the beginning of the Watergate hearings, no one even knew they existed. The fact that all Nixon conversations had been recorded was revealed almost casually by Alexander Butterfield, White House liaison with the Secret Service. It is hard to believe that this bombshell, which was to remove a President, could be dropped with such an air of innocence. Could it have been planned?

We now know that Butterfield had been a CIA informant. He has been accused of working with (if not for) the CIA when he was in charge of all the tapings in the White House. Had Blabbermouth Butterfield, who was called to testify about other matters-not the tapes-- stonewall edit, Nixon would not have been forced to resign. Even if asked a direct question about any recordings, Butterfield could have maintained that such matters related to national security and must remain confidential.

Nixon has said that the taping system was installed in the Oval Room at the suggestion of LBJ to preserve his conversations for posterity. Soon the whole White House and even Camp David were bugged. The White House monitoring system kept better track of people than do most prisons. The President could not walk from one room to another without that fact being recorded and a buzzer ringing and a light flashing on a console operated by Butterfield. Voices automatically started the tape recorders spinning. Keep in mind that it was not Mr. Nixon who turned the recorders off and on. It is as though the President were under constant surveillance by others, who wanted to know about his every word and movement.

Why didn't Nixon have the tape machines shut off the day after the! Watergate arrests? Or, failing that, why didn't he destroy the tapes after Butterfield revealed their existence? Several rationalizations have been put forth, none of which ring true. One is that Nixon was mesmerized by the arrogance of power and did not believe the Supreme Court could or would subpoena the tapes. Since there was no precedent, why take the risk? Nixon must have known his very survival as President of the United States was at stake.

Another explanation is that Nixon is compulsively greedy for money and wanted to keep the tapes for use in writing his memoirs, or to donate to the national archives and take a multimillion dollar tax



deduction. Much as Nixon may like money, he would hardly jeopardize the Presidency -and risk a jail term- to keep the tapes.

And he is now in the process of writing his memoirs for a million dollar fee without, benefit of those tapes.

Remember, releasing the tapes would not exonerate Nixon, they would prove him guilty of every cover-up charge made against him. Why would this cunning politician, this ruthless abuser of power, this man from whom no one would buy a used car, not simply destroy the tapes himself?

Nixon could have gone on national television in the great tradition of the Checkers speech, and said something like this:

My fellow Americans. As your President, it is my sacred duty to protect your rights and our national security. And, let me make this perfectly clear - I shall not shrink from that duty, no matter how unpleasant the consequences.

The tapes contained privileged and highly secret information, the publication of which would embarrass many honorable public servants and jeopardize our delicate relations with foreign powers. It is therefore necessary to do what is best for the country and not what is best for myself.

Public release of the tapes would exonerate me, but jeopardize the fate of the nation. I have met this obligation, knowing full well that I shall be terribly criticized by a cynical and hostile press, by destroying the tapes. I know that you, the American people -the finest people in the world-will back me up in this crisis. Thank you and good night.

To be sure, if Nixon had - stonewalled - it this way, the screaming would have been loud and profane. Senator Kennedy, the hero of Chappaquiddick, would have made a speech about abusing power to cover up crimes. But, there would have been no proof. And there is no way in the world that the President of the United States could have been removed from office without such evidence. Controversy would rage and Nixon would finish his second term under a cloud of doubt. But, there is no doubt he would finish the term! Better ugly suspicions than the damning truth. Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski has admitted that "if Mr. Nixon had destroyed the tapes at the time their existence was disclosed in July, 1973, he would still be President.-

Can anybody believe, as Dr. Susan Huck has asked, that Nixon sat there like a good scout, watching the lynch mob fasten a hangman's knot out of those wretched tapes, and refuse to destroy the noose? That isn't the Nixon depicted on the tapes-much less in public life.

Why then did not Nixon, that ultimate political opportunist, burn the tapes? We believe the only logical answer is that either Nixon did not control the tapes, or he knew there was more than one set. In a word, he did not destroy them because he could not.

Have you ever wondered how everybody seemed to know what was on the tapes, and where, before they were "turned over - to committee staffs, special prosecutors, or judge Sirica? The mediocracy didn't wonder. So far as we can discover, the only person who has asked this question is Dr. Susan Huck, in the February 1975 issue of American Opinion magazine.

Consider the fantastic detail involved in the requests. On August 14th, for example, judge Sirica demanded the "entire segment of tape on the reel identified as 'White House telephone start 5/25/72

(2:00 P.M.) (skipping 8 lines) 6/23/72 (2:50 P.M.) (832) complete." I don't know what all the identifying numbers mean-but you have to agree that only somebody very familiar with the tapes would know.

These boys knew precisely what to look for! Here is another sample request:

January 8, 1973 from 4:05 to 5:34 P.M. (E.O.B.)

- a) at approximately 10 minutes and 15 seconds into the conversation, a segment lasting 6 minutes and 31 seconds:
- b) at approximately 67 minutes into the conversation, a segment lasting 11 minutes;
- c) at approximately 82 minutes and 15 seconds into the conversation, a segment lasting 5 minutes and 31 seconds.

As Dr. Huck observed:"It does sound as though some body-obviously not the President - has been curled up with those tapes for many a long hour, doesn't it? Somebody knows exactly where the juicy parts are, down to the second.-

Remember, all White House conversations-in person and on the phone-had been"bugged-for at least a year. There were literally miles of tapes in storage somewhere. But it is obvious the investigators already had the evidence they sought when the various subpoenas were issued!

Who then controlled the tapes, or had access to a duplicate set? There is (understandably) very little information available on this crucial question. It is worth noting, however, that while L13J's recording system had been installed by the Army Signal Corps, the Nixon monitors were established by the Secret Service. So it is of more than passing significance that Newsweek on September 23, 1974, reported:

While former White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman awaits trial for his part in Watergate, the Secret Service chief he ousted from the White House last year has landed a plum job. Robert H. Taylor, 49, who tangled with Haldeman over Nixon security procedures, is now head of the private security forces for all the far-flung Rockefeller family enterprises.

Hmmm. Once Nixon is deposed, the head of the Secret Service-the man in charge of the agency which was in charge of the tapes-gets"a plum job- with the Rockefeller Empire. And what of the Rockefeller's number one man in the White House?

We know that Henry Kissinger was deeply involved in wire tapping his own staff and several journalists. But the one member of the White House staff who apparently never had his remarks taped in the Oval Office was Herr Kissinger -who also, as it happens, was chief of all US intelligence gathering operations. And who also, we now know, was responsible for establishing the Plumbers in the first place!

But through all of this, Kissinger's loyalty was not with his President, it was with the Rockefellers! Kissinger had been through three losing campaigns with Nelson Rockefeller and openly spoke of despising Nixon. Biographer David Hanna quotes Kissinger as stating, after Nixon's nomination in 1968: "That man is unfit to be President. I would never work for that man. He is a disaster."Yet Kissinger was the first appointment made by Nixon.

Nixon did not know Kissinger well; in fact, he had only met the man once before in his life-at a cocktail



party. And Kissinger was on record as standing 180 degrees to the left of Nixon's campaign utterances. Clearly, Kissinger was put in the Nixon Administration by Rockefeller (who sent his protégé off to Washington with a tidy little gift of \$50,000). In his Vice Presidential hearings, Nelson Rockefeller even acknowledged that Kissinger took the job because Rocky asked him to do so.\*

While it was Henry Kissinger who set Nixon's head on the chopping block, it was another Rockefeller agent, General Alexander Haig, who applied the axe. Haig was appointed -at Kissinger's suggestion-as an interim replacement for the hastily deposed Bob Haldeman.

Like Dwight Eisenhower and George Marshall, two generals whose careers had a bad case of the blahs until anointed by the House of Rockefeller, Haig's career took off like a Saturn rocket when he joined the Rockefeller team through the Council on Foreign Relations. In 1969, he was a colonel. Four years later he had miraculously become a four star general, having skipped the three star rank entirely. What happened to trigger this remarkable rise? In 1969, Haig became an assistant to Kissinger; subsequently, he was catapulted over 240 general officers when Nixon raised him to four-star rank. Such a promotion should mark Haig as one of the great military leaders in our history. But, his promotions did not come as

\* So critical was the Kissinger appointment that Nixon waived the customary FBI security clearance for his nominee as Secretary of State. The reasons Kissinger could never pass accurate security procedures will be discussed in our follow-up book, *The Kissinger File* a result of military achievements -there were none. They were political. Haig was now a general in the Rockefeller Army, an army which tells other armies when to march.

Syndicated columnist Jerald TerHorst, who did a short stint as Ford's press secretary, tells us:

For most of the final Nixon year, as Haig himself would agree, he [Haig] was the acting president of the United States. With a troubled President drawing more and more within his shell, everyone in the government, with the possible exception of [Haig's sponsor] Kissinger, was working for Al Haig.

William Safire, a Nixon speech writer, says in the November 11, 1973 New York Times magazine: "Haig is far more powerful than Haldeman ever was; but he exercises it more gently ... Haig learned this technique from the past master, Henry Kissinger. . . .- In his new book, *Before The Fall*, Safire calls Haig -Kissinger's alter ego." Significantly, the Washington Post's Barry Sussman refers to Haig as " Butterfield's former colleague."

You see, it was Alexander Haig who had control of the vault where the Watergate tapes were kept. Two months after Haig became the keeper of the keys, his former colleague Butterfield tipped off the Watergate Committee about their existence. Since it is perfectly clear that the subpoenas for the tapes were written by persons already possessing a detailed familiarity with their contents, it is painfully obvious that Haig had already provided them with copies of the pertinent excerpts.

It was now time for the axe to fall. In the June 8, 1975 issue of Parade magazine, Lloyd Shearer tells us: "From May 1973 to August 1974, Haig was Nixon's chief of staff. It was he who adroitly engineered, orchestrated and choreographed Nixon's resignation from the Presidency.

According to Shearer, Nixon was determined not to resign. "Yet Haig knew that he must." The reason for Haig's insistence, according to Parade, was that if the President insisted on a trial and lost, he would lose his pension and other government benefits. You will pardon us for believing that Haig had much more compelling reasons for giving Nixon the final push.

How did he do it? Haig -orchestrated the resignation march," says Shearer, by taking the evidence against Nixon to Republican Congressmen, Presidential speech writers and others close to Nixon. "Haig saw to it that Senator Barry Goldwater, the conservative bulwark of the Republican Party, was provided with the damning tape transcripts of June 23,- Shearer reported. Get that? The President's chief assistant finds out the boss won't budge, so he takes copies of the most damning tapes to the few supporters Nixon had left! Why didn't Nixon fire Haig and burn the tapes? Again, the most obvious, most logical answer is that he did not because he could not.

Shearer continues:

And at the next and final Cabinet meeting, with at least half the members expecting him to resign, Nixon rambled on about inflation, declared his intention to stay on, ordered them to pass the word.

Haig and Kissinger exchanged glances. ! When the Cabinet meeting was over, Kissinger stayed behind. Gently he suggested that the President resign.

Later that same afternoon,"Haig played his final card."Republican Senate leaders Hugh Scott and Barry Goldwater, joined by House Minority Leader John Rhodes, visited Nixon and told him his support in the Senate had evaporated. "That night," reports Shearer, "after again talking to Kissinger and Haig, Richard Nixon decided to resign."

And that is how the Three Musketeers for the House of Rockefeller engineered the coup d'etat that removed Nixon from the White House, and put Nelson in. There must have been quite a celebration that night in Pocantico Hills.

Please do not misunderstand us. We are not claiming that Richard Nixon was an innocent lamb done in by the big bad wolf. It was more like Al Capone rubbing out Bugs Moran and then sending flowers to the funeral. The point is that the entire scenerio-from the creation of the Plumbers, through the incredibly bungled Watergate break-in, to the revelation of the existence of the tapes, to the preservation of the tapes and their use to force Nixon to resign -was written and directed by Rockefeller front men.

It is not without meaning that only those connected with the Rockefeller empire survived Watergate, while nearly everybody else was in disgrace-some pounding big rocks into little rocks.

Alexander Haig, the - instant General - as Dr. Huck called him, was quick to get his reward. Haig is now Supreme Allied Commander Europe, the general in charge of the NATO military command. In order to replace Haldeman, Haig had to retire from the Army. Can you imagine chucking four stars for a ride on the Titanic? Not bloody likely. There can be little doubt that Haig had been promised instant reinstatement and a very posh life jacket when the good ship Nixonia \ slipped beneath the waves. He got both.

Henry Kissinger is another big Watergate winner. Despite the fact that he not only bugged his own staff, but newspaper reporters as well, nary a word of criticism appeared in the press. Then came the disclosure that Kissinger was responsible for creating the Plumbers. Ho hum. During the Watergate scandals, Kissinger rose to the high office of Secretary of State while retaining his position as National Security Advisor. He had unprecedented power over foreign policy and intelligence. The source of his power was his sponsor, Nelson Rockefeller.

Kissinger proved, once again, that no man can serve two masters. just as Haig had said that he "was never a Nixon man," Kissinger had boasted of Nixon, "I would never work for that man." He didn't. He



worked for the Rockefellers.

Another beneficiary of the Watergate fiasco was that -staunch mid-western conservative," Gerald Ford. As usual, the image created by the media moguls and the truth are light years apart. Despite what some wags have said, Ford showed, while serving on the Warren Commission investigating the assassination of John F. Kennedy, that he had not played football without a helmet once too often: he proved he could keep his mouth shut about a major cover-up. At the time he was made Vice President, Ford had attended Bilderberger meetings and had been appointed by Rockefeller to the National Commission on Critical Choices.\*

\* The Bilderbergers are sort of an international CFR. They meet once a year at some posh secluded hideaway to make a mockery of democracy. The meetings, composed of the world's elite men of politics, business, banking and labor, receive virtually no serious attention from the mediocracy. See Chapter 5 of *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*.

The catalyst who arranged Ford's appointment was former Wisconsin Congressman Mel Laird. Laird had been Secretary of Defense under Nixon and later a Presidential advisor. A member of Rockefeller's CFR, Laird knows where the power lies. If you will pardon the pun, he keeps his standards well oiled.

Acting as what Paul Scott calls "Mr. Inside - for Rockefeller, Laird succeeded in talking Nixon out of nominating former Treasury Secretary John Connally to succeed Agnew. He convinced the President that Connally could never be confirmed by Congress and suggested the compromise nomination of Gerald Ford as Vice President.

But of course, the ultimate winner of the Watergate roulette was Nelson Rockefeller. He is now only the proverbial heartbeat away from his lifelong ambition - to be President of these United States. (And just recently, two women have pointed pistols at jovial Jerry and his limousine was in an automobile accident. Understandably, Jerry doesn't look quite so merry anymore.)

When Bobo Sears Rockefeller was obtaining a divorce from the late Winthrop Rockefeller, s he exploded two bombshells at the trial. The first was that Winthrop had one of the largest and most valuable collections of pornography in the world. (The punch line is that the pictures were not of girls.)

Revelation number two from the bizarre divorce proceedings was the disclosure that the Brothers Rockefeller would get together from time to time - to brainstorm on ways they could make Nelson the President, without the benefit of an election. (They realized he could never get into the Oval Office via the ballot box.)

So Rockefeller became an appointed Vice President. And, he was named by a man who was not elected, who was appointed by a man who resigned because he was about to be impeached. We doubt if the Brothers Rockefeller could dream up anything quite this wild even after the fifth martini. Or could they?

Ford went through the motions of asking Republican Congressional leaders for their recommendations for the Vice Presidency. The choice had all the suspense of an election in Russia. Anybody who was surprised at the selection of Rockefeller must have arrived in town on top of a wagon full of turnips.,

Are we suggesting there was a deal made for Nixon to appoint Ford, get pardoned by the new President, and then have Ford select Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President? That is exactly what we are saying. Anyone who doubts such a deal was made probably thinks professional wrestling matches are for real. It may just be coincidental, but on December 7, 1973, the headline on the upper- right-hand part of page

one of the New York Times was:

FORD SWORN AS VICE PRESIDENT AFTER HOUSE APPROVES.

The upper-left-hand headline of the very same issue read:

GOVERNOR TO QUIT AND SEEK PRESIDENCY, HIS AIDES SAY.

While the nation focused on the Watergate hearings circus, the real show was going on inside a different tent. Columnist Paul Scott wrote at the time: "The drama packed Senate Watergate hearings are only the colorful sideshow to one of the boldest and slickest transfers in US history." And he continued with this revelation:

With everyone's attention focused on the cast of "small time" actors parading before the TV cameras recording the special Senate inquiry, only a few privileged insiders are alert to the really big show taking place at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

As part of the plan to create a new world order [world government], the main show involves the carefully planned transfer of power from President Nixon to New York's Governor Rockefeller, now strategically positioning himself to become the President's heir apparent for 1976.

Whether Rockefeller with his family's vast economic wealth, social and political power will be able to pull off this carefully managed "powergrab" - is one of the most chilling and exciting political stories unfolding in our times.-

Half of the Rockefeller coup d'etat has already been achieved. The question of the decade is: Where does Rocky go now? In 1968, after his third flop on the primary circuit, Rocky announced: "... the old avidity is gone. Has the 'old avidity' returned? Is a four-pound robin fat?

Does King Kong like bananas?

Obviously the Rockefellers did not go to all of the trouble in setting the Watergate wheels in motion without having something big in mind. Being a political prognosticator is an occupation only slightly less dangerous than riding tandem with Evel Knievel. Gathering facts is one thing, projecting them with accuracy into the future is quite another. Circumstances change, and we don't think there is a single plan which has been carved in stone. The Rockefellers never put all of their financial or political eggs in one basket "Doubtless, the family is considering a whole fleet of alternatives.

Rocky now says that he will not run with Ford in '76. He did not say he wouldn't run without him. Our Washington sources tell us that it was Nelson's idea to announce that he would not be on a Ford ticket, and that Jerry unmerrily begged him not to make the announcement. The reason Nelson is getting off the S.S. Jerry Ford, is that it is a sinking ship. Rocky's private poll! reportedly show that Ford could well lose early '76 primaries and thereby throw the nomination wide open.

At that point the Rockefeller bandwagon would begin rolling with the greatest media promotion campaign in history, the theme being that only Rocky can save us. Indeed, according to Washington's best informed columnist, Paul Scott, Rockefeller began setting up an independent campaign organization two weeks before announcing he would not run with Ford. But wait, the plot thickens.

Many will refuse to believe the next prediction will happen, but we would bet our last farthing on it. If



Nelson gets the top spot, the number two man on the ticket will be Ronald Reagan. It will be successfully sold to the Republican faithful across the nation as "the ticket to save the party." Would Reagan prostitute himself to accept the number two man on a Rocky ticket? Unfortunately, the answer is yes. Reagan will do whatever his -Kitchen Cabinet- of -money men tell him to do. When he first got the Republican nomination for the Governorship of California in 1966, he quickly cut himself loose from tough conservatives and put Rockefeller men in as his key advisors.

Whether Rocky is at the top or in the number two position on the ticket may depend on whether his private surveys indicate he could be elected President. Recent public polls show that he is not exactly as popular with the American people as ice cream at a picnic. Even though the Rockefeller family is reportedly ready to spend \$100 million dollars to put Nelson in the White House, it still might not work. The American people seem intuitively suspicious of him.

How widely this book is read could influence Rocky's decision.

In addition to financing a lavish direct and indirect campaign for a Rockefeller-Reagan ticket, the House of Rockefeller can be counted upon to pump money in a thousand different and devious ways into splitting the Democrat vote. The odds-on favorite to get the Democrat nod is Hubert Humphrey. The US has moved so far toward fascism - socialism that Hubert Humphrey, a founder of the radical Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), is now considered to be a middle of -the road - candidate. Like Nixon in 1968, Humphrey is a man whose time has come. Nobody is too wild about him, but he is acceptable to most.

A far left ticket headed by Eugene McCarthy or Senator Frank Church of Idaho would siphon off enough traditional Democrats so that the Republicans could win with forty % of the vote. Divide and conquer is the name of the electoral game.

Wallace can be counted upon to run as a patriotic third party candidate and take some workingman-type votes away from Humphrey. Wallace is not a Rockefeller man and the family would hope that he does not start such a wildfire rebellion against the Establishment that he actually gets elected.

Meanwhile Nelson can continue as the de facto President, letting Ford walk around with a target on his back. Since Ford has made Rocky head of the Domestic Council (which controls national policy), and since Kissinger runs foreign policy, the House of Rockefeller already controls the government in everything but name. Having Nelson as Veep is a gun perpetually cocked at Ford's temple. If Jerry for some reason does not want to go along, a Secret Service man may look the other way while an assassin does a number on the President.

Let us assume that public revulsion at Rocky is so great that he is dumped from the Republican ticket. And let us assume also that Humphrey or another Democrat wins the Presidency. Does that mean that the royal Rockefellers would be stripped of their power? No, not unless the whole CFR socialist -fascist-world government strategy is repudiated. If Rocky is ousted, it will be a huge blow to his inflated ego and might set the Rockefeller Great Merger timetable back somewhat. The House of Rockefeller would simply be back to operating through the CFR. But their plan for world conquest will roll on unabated.

You see, we have the Rockepubs and the Rockedems, but there is not a dime's worth of difference. Both parties belong to the House of Rockefeller.

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# Epilogue

Now you have read the most important contents in The Rockefeller File. The assembled evidence is almost overwhelming, isn't it? And yet we have left out reams of important material.

This book was originally targeted for 144 pages. But we wound up with over 260 pages -even after omitting a great deal of explosive material. In order to keep the cost from climbing through the ceiling, we settled for the size you are reading. If we have not convinced you of the dangerous power of the House of Rockefeller in 200 pages, you probably would not believe another 200 pages anyway.

We deeply regret not using the voluminous files of research, all on very important subjects, which were gathered for this book. Several volumes could be written on Rockefeller efforts to involve America in World War I, World War II, Korea and Vietnam -and the profits they made from those conflicts. The alliance between Nazi Germany and the Rockefellers is truly shocking. (Hitler's Luftwaffe ran on Standard petrol, and the Rockefellers were partners in I. G. Farben Industries, whose thousands of war products included the poison gas used in Nazi death camps.) The no-win war in Vietnam was almost totally engineered, from its foolish beginning to its disastrous conclusion, by CFR minions.

Nothing has been said about Nelson's tenure as Governor of New York. We did not relate how he quadrupled state spending; We did not cover his campaign promises not to raise taxes-which were always followed by increases after he was elected. Neither have we touched upon Rocky's edifice complex, such as the \$1.5 billion Albany Mall or his creation of "moral obligation bonds" to finance projects the voters had rejected.

Lack of space prevents us from discussing the Rockefeller power-play behind the myriad regional government plans, which would abolish city, county and state lines thus destroying traditional local government and putting the citizens at the mercy of unelected (and unremovable) federal bureaucrats. The Family is also the prime mover behind the push for "land use" controls which would allow the government to dictate to you what you can or cannot do with your own property.

But all of these stories will have to wait for another book. We can summarize all of those bulging files of research material by saying that the Rockefellers want federal control of everything. Since they intend to control the federal government, either directly or from behind the scenes, this means that they will control everything. And when they control everything, they will control everybody.

We have shown that the House of Rockefeller is worth billions of dollars -and has considerable leverage over hundreds of billions more, through influence over the mega-banks, financial institutions, manufacturing and petroleum production.

The Family has used foundations to preserve and multiply their wealth, and to mold public opinion through education, the media and religion. Through their Council on Foreign Relations they have extended their influence in government, the Federal Reserve, communications and education. An unquenched, ruthless, psychopathic lust for monopolistic power has motivated three generations of Rockefellers. Because America is a large, diverse and decentralized nation, it has taken them a hundred years to complete the scaffold which would strangle freedom. Now they are ready to put the rope around our necks and trip the lever.

The question is: Can we cut the rope before the Rockefellers drop the trap door? The most honest and



realistic answer is: Perhaps.

Let's not kid ourselves; resisting the power arrayed against us won't be easy. Many persons who have read this far won't even try-they will decide that it is hopeless and simply return to their business interests or their bridge games. Others might decide that their best course is to support the House of Rockefeller! Switching sides and joining with your oppressors is as old as war. But if you haven't already been tapped, you are probably too late. The House of Rockefeller doesn't need you. (Sorry, Charlie!)

Unfortunately, some newly awakened patriots will go off on wild, impractical schemes. They may want to haul the Rockefellers before the courts in an attempt to put them in jail for their crimes and strip them of their power. But, let's face it, this is not going to happen. And such ill conceived crusades end up hurting the cause of freedom far more than they help. There is, however, an Achilles heel in the Rockefeller plan for world dictatorship. It is that a Rockefeller triumph depends on their continued control of the US government. If their influence in the federal government were removed, all of their Hitlerian dreams for world conquest would collapse. (Not that Nelson and David would spend the rest of their lives in rags, but at least you wouldn't either.)

Rockefeller control over the Executive branch of our government is deeply entrenched. The voters, for example, cannot fire the State Department bureaucracy. But there is a solution.

If a buzz saw suddenly went berserk and was ripping your house to pieces, what would you do? You would pull the plug, of course. The same thing must be done to the Rockefeller conspirators. The way to pull the plug on them is to gain control of the House of Representatives. All government spending bills must originate in the House. And Congress could refuse to pass any law pushing us further into World Government. We need 225 Congressmen who have the guts to say NO to the Rockefellers.

The Rockefellers can control key bureaucrats; they can buy and intimidate too many Senators. But a member of the House with enough character and enough support can remain independent of the Rockefeller Family.

The problem is that too many citizens listen to what a candidate says during the campaign, and then promptly forget about the issues-and what he does about them after the election. A Congressman may go to Washington with good intentions, but succumb to the Rockefellers' siren song after he gets there. The pressures are tremendous. He is told that in order to get along, he must go along. If he goes along, his district gets fat government grants and contracts. If he doesn't go along, a Rockefeller-supported demagogue may defeat him in the next election.

What we must have is a "Truth In Advertising" standard for politicians. If you buy a product to do a specific job you expect it to do that job. Why should you expect less from elected politicians? We believe it is time to end the "vote and hope" system of elections, where *you hope* the new Congressman votes in the interest of his country after he gets to Washington. The usual result is that the constituency gets sold down the river. (A prime example is the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller for the Vice Presidency when Congressional mail ran 24 to 1 against approval.)

We think any candidate worth supporting should sign an elementary contract before you agree to contribute to his campaign or otherwise support him.

'76 PRESS has prepared such a contract, a copy of which appears on the next page.

Any political candidate who will hem, haw, double-talk or waffle in an effort to weasel out of signing such a "Truth In Politics- contract will surely not stand up to the blandishments of the Rockefellers once he is elected. Forget him. Be especially leery of the smiling, glad-handing, all- things - to-all- people moderate type of candidate. Such a "middle of the roader" will often compromise on the key issues and still manage to get re-elected time and time again. He is the most dangerous of all politicians.

The diabolical designs of the Rockefellers - their push for fascism- socialism at home and an international World Government must become the key issue of the next

## **CANDIDATE'S CONTRACT**

### **Campaign Pledge\_**

In the belief that "Truth In Advertising- should apply to politicians as well as to commercial products and services, I whole heartedly agree that the citizenry is entitled to expect a candidate to keep his campaign promises once he is elected.

Therefore, as a candidate for election to the office of .....

I do hereby pledge, if elected, to adhere faithfully to the following positions on all votes and debates on these matters:

1. **I agree** to oppose any treaties, legislation, or other measures which would strengthen any regional or world bodies at the expense of American sovereignty.
2. **I agree** to oppose any proposals which would grant foreign aid, tax payer- financed loans or loan guarantees, or other assistance to any Communist nation, whether such aid is given through national or international agencies.
3. **I agree** that the United States must retain military superiority over any potential aggressor; I will oppose any disarmament proposals that would support a World Government military force or that would not provide for thorough and reliable inspections of other nations.
4. **I agree** to oppose any deficit spending by the federal government, since such deficits increase the national debt and the inflation of our currency.
5. **I agree** that the expansion of government over every facet of our lives must be stopped, and that the marriage of Big Government and Big Business must be ended. I pledge to work to reduce the size and number of federal bureaucracies and agencies, not expand them.

Should I violate any of the promises made in this Campaign Pledge, I agree that the v



# ROCKEFELLER

## *"Internationalist"*

THE MAN WHO MISRULES THE WORLD



Emblem of Rockefeller - Soviet Axis

*"These letters make it clear that Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations controlled the spy ring that instigated the attack on Pearl Harbor, and that they knew in advance, to the very day, when it would occur and involve us in the war."*

*(p. 281)*

EMANUEL M. JOSEPHSON was born in Baltimore, Md., September 23, 1895. Educated at Johns Hopkins University and Columbia University. B.S. 1916, M.D. 1917. In 1921-22 he was Assistant to the Medical Director of the American Red Cross in Europe. Since then he has engaged in medical research, in the practice of medicine, and in writing on medicine, politics and economics. He has been fearless in his exposure of sham and corruption in those fields.

Among his publications are:

The Gold Standard Myth  
Your Life Is Their Toy  
Rackets—Social Service & Medical  
Merchants In Medicine  
Glaucoma & Its Medical  
Treatment With Cortin  
Near-Sightedness Is Preventable  
The Thymus, Myasthenia  
Gravis & Manganese



# ROCKEFELLER

"INTERNATIONALIST"

THE MAN WHO MISRULES THE WORLD

By Emanuel M. Josephson

Author of

Your Life Is Their Toy

Rackets — Social Service & Medical

Merchants In Medicine

Nearsightedness Is Preventable

Glaucoma and Its Medical Treatment With Cortin

The Thymus, Myasthenia Gravis and Manganese

Breathe Deeply and Avoid Colds

The Strange Death of Franklin D. Roosevelt

With a note on "Education" By Fred H. Johnson

Proceeds from the sale of this book are devoted to  
the struggle for the preservation  
of human freedom.

It is dedicated to

#### THE CONSTITUTION

a blueprint of human organization drawn up by the wisest  
group of men who ever assembled for that purpose.

It is eternally true in its concept of freedom as the  
fundamental basis of government.

This is published in the hope of restoring the Constitution  
as our basic law, and preserving the freedom that it was  
designed to give us, against the onslaught of conspirators from  
without and within, so that America may become again

"... the land of the free . . ."



"The Carnegie-Rockefeller influence is bad. In two generations they can change the minds of the people to make them conform to the cult of Rockefeller, or the cult of Carnegie, rather than the fundamental principles of American democracy."

Sen. Chamberlain (Ore.) March 26, 1917

"In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands. The present educational conventions fade from our minds, and unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk . . . The task we set before ourselves is a very beautiful one, to train these people as we find them to a perfectly ideal life just where they are. So we will organize our children into a little community and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way, in the home, in the shop and on the farm."

The objectives of Rockefeller "philanthropies" stated by him and Gates in Occasional Letter No. 1 of the G.E.B.

"ANYTHING ROCKEFELLER WANTS IS OK."

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, "Bipartisan", San Francisco Conference For UN Organization, May 1, 1945, quoted by Drew Pearson.

"Even after we were in the war, Standard Oil of New Jersey was putting forth every effort of which it was capable to protect the control of the German government over vital war material.

"As Patrick Henry said: 'If that is treason (and it certainly is treason) then make the most of it'.

"YES IT IS TREASON.

"You can not translate it in any other way."

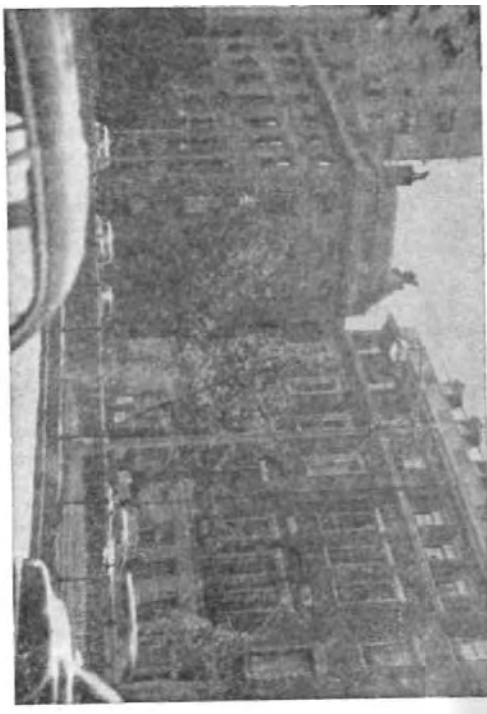
Harry Shippe Truman, March 27, 1942

"They should look at their hands. THERE IS BLOOD ON THEM—the dried blood of the last war and the fresh blood of the present one."

Chicago Tribune editorial, December 9, 1950

"... by thy words thou shalt be condemned."

Matthew, 12:37



A

B

C

# PHYSICAL SYMBOL OF ROCKEFELLER-SOVIET AXIS

At West Corner of Park Avenue and 68th Street there stand three buildings side by side that are the emblem of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. "A" is the home of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire. "B", on the opposite corner is the home of the Soviet Russian Delegation to the UN. "C" houses Rockefeller's Institute of Public Administration, controlling city and state governments.



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Sokolsky.

The Tragedy Of George Marshall, by Walter Tro-han. The  
American Mercury.

We Fight For Oil, by Ludwell Denny. Alfred A. Knopf Inc.

To my many patriotic friends who have helped me  
unstintingly in my efforts I offer my sincere gratitude.



W A R N I N G ! Soviet Russia is controlled by a ruthless gang of criminals, moral and ethical lepers who pose as "philanthropists" and champions of "the masses". They are bent on conquering, looting and raping the world; and will not stop until, either they have accomplished it, or themselves have been destroyed. Any dealings with them as a government merely gives them the advantage of the delays and aids implied in international amenities, that they scorn but use to full advantage.

There never has been a more effective way of checking the spread of contagion than isolation. A policy of strict isolationism would weaken the Soviets by withholding from them the material they require for their mad, criminal plans.

Their accomplices in our midst have undertaken to discredit isolationism and make it a term of opprobrium and reproach, to further their conspiracy. They foster "internationalism" which Stalin has dictated shall mean that:

"An internationalist is one who is prepared unreservedly, unhesitatingly and unconditionally to defend the USSR". (New Leader, March 11, 1950) All of the conspirators' "internationalist" schemes, the Marshall Plan, the NATO, the MSA, the Point 4 program, etc. are designed to supply the Communists with the equipment and material without which they can not wage war on us. The material is sent to our treacherous "allies" in the East and the West, and is transhipped by them, to their criminal scum, Communist partners indirectly, when not sent directly. To increase their loot, the Red racketeers are now resorting to blackmail, in the ransoming of our prisoners, the "snatch racket". We must act immediately to oust and bar from public office any person identified with the vicious conspirators.

Most absurd of the futilities with which the conspirators are deluding us is the idea that the Communist criminal scum, or our own, will ever change their stripes—that there ever can be any peace with them so long as we make war so profitable for them. The Korean "truce" farce demonstrates that well. Unless we abandon "internationalism", and frustrate the conspirators, it will inevitably lead us to bankruptcy and destruction by the enemies within and without our gates.

## CHAPTER I

### U.S. BETRAYED "WHODUNIT?"

"Anything Rockefeller Wants Is O.K."

Sen. Vandenberg, "Bipartisan", San Francisco UN  
Conference, May 10, 1945.

For the fourth time within half a century, the people of the United States have found themselves drawn into and forced to fight a war that was not their concern and in which it was not their desire or will to participate. On each occasion the nation was tricked into war by the same clique. The more observant and intelligent sections of the public have sensed that there is a power behind and above the government that controls it and dictates its actions without regard to the will of the people. That power has thus far been immune to exposure.

So insolently confident has this power become that in the last two wars precipitated by them, World War II and the Korean War, they have not even made a pretense of complying with the form prescribed by the Constitution, declaration of war by Congress. In violation of the Constitution, the United States has been thrown into the wars by "royal" edict issued by the power behind the Government, though ostensibly at the instance of the Presidents who have been their puppets, after incidents obviously incited by them through their pawns in our own and foreign governments.

There can be no question, at this late date, that our Government in Washington, for several decades past, has been, and now is, very largely composed of subversives, Communists and their fellow travellers and traitors. Only a few of them have as yet openly confessed their betrayal of our land to Communist Russia and to other foreign agencies. A large number have been exposed as involved in the treason. A very small fraction of the number involved have been caught in the act of treason or perjury in connection with treason, and convicted. The trials and convictions of Alger Hiss, Judy Coplon and William Remington, and the confession of Lee Pressman, among others, have given the nation, at the expense of millions of dollars, legal proof of



what has been obvious for decades to the intelligent citizenry—that the nation has been betrayed persistently by treason of a wide array of public servants who range from the top policy-makers, such as the "father" of the United Nations, former Assistant Secretary of State, Alger Hiss, to the lowliest clerks.

Charges have been made repeatedly by the Committee on Un-American Activities, by members of Congress and by the informed press and public, with offers of proof. They have all been brushed aside in the past and labelled as unfounded by the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and by official agencies appointed by them supposedly to investigate, but actually to whitewash them, under circumstances that clearly bespoke involvement of the highest officials of the land in the treason.

The impassioned bias of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and their entourages, in favor of the traitors has raised the question: "Are they themselves not involved in this treason and conspiracy to destroy our land, its Constitution and its government?"

This suspicion was materially strengthened when there rose to the defense of Alger Hiss, Supreme Court Justices Felix Frankfurter and Stanley Reed; also U.S. Senators, including that mysterious power who has operated for years, sometimes behind the scene, without official status and sometimes on the scene, John Foster Dulles. It reached fever heat when Secretary of State, Dean Acheson publicly professed his friendship and loyalty to freshly convicted Alger Hiss, his associate in the State Department and the brother of his law partner, in the words "I will not turn my back on Hiss.". It became even more apparent from the hundreds of thousands of dollars expended upon the defense of Hiss, in his two trials, that tremendous power and unlimited wealth support the conspirators. The refuge he was reported to have been given in the home of Benjamin J. Bittenwieser, partner of Kuhn Loeb & Co. and then assistant to John J. McCloy, American High Commissioner of Occupied Germany, confirmed this impression.

The Tydings Committee treatment of the charges made by Senator Joseph McCarthy clearly reveal how widespread is the government circle involved

in the conspiracy and how overwhelmingly powerful they are. Especially was this true of the charges made against Owen Lattimore and the hearings accorded him. Never was there revealed in the hearings an important phase of Lattimore's activities, his close association with Alger Hiss. Nor was he questioned regarding the control and financing of AMERASIA of which he had been editor. This might have given some clue to the identity of the powers who protected the Communist spies, traitors and thieves of highly confidential State Department and other government records that jeopardized the secrecy of our codes and menaced the lives of our soldiers; and who forced their release by the court under criminal circumstances, after the Justice Department refused to press charges against them.

The shielding of Owen Lattimore is all the more reprehensible and startling because it is the type of propaganda in which he engaged that effected the turning over of China to the Communists for use by them in the Lenin plan for slaughter of our troops and vanquishing and destroying our country. Engagement of our troops, planted in Asia by the conspirators within our own government, in a diversionary action, insured the Communists of a free hand in taking over the lands allotted to them by the conspiracy. The blood of thousands of our troops is on their hands.

Vituperative, smear-skilled Owen Lattimore has been built up as wronged, abused and falsely charged. His propagandist drivel was insured immediate publication under the title of "TRIAL BY ORDEAL". It appeared so soon after his Senate hearing that it could have been managed only if pre-arranged by an ultra-powerful clique who were sure of "fixing the rap" and to whom money was no object. Even under those conditions the publication constituted a miracle from the viewpoint of both speed and access to publication, even in a book trade that publishes only pro-Communist propaganda. Sister Eleanor Lattimore was given an opportunity to swell the volume of this insolent propaganda in the October and November, 1950, issues of the crimson Harper's Magazine. Any author can tell how complete a control of avenues of publication by the clique such a press implies.

A few months later, the Korean "police action", as it was termed by Truman, precipitated us for the



second time in a decade into a war by Presidential ukase, in a violation of the Constitution that legally requires impeachment of the President. This "emergency" was engineered in time to influence the oncoming election. It has also served as a perfect device for cover-up of the wholesale treason that had begun to come to light.

The engineered "emergency" resulted in freezing in their control of the nation for the duration—and possibly for a period long enough to enable them to carry out fully their conspiracy for the betrayal of our country—the very subversive and traitorous elements that had been exposed. This is the real emergency that confronts the nation.

During the Korean War, our State Department and other Government agencies have served the Communists more effectively than could any openly registered Communist agents or spies. The order that was issued by the Navy to the 7th Fleet, to patrol Formosa Strait and bar any attack by the Nationalists on the Communists on the mainland, has served to protect the flank of the Chinese Communists and left them free to employ their forces in butchering our troops in Korea. It also enabled them to proceed to take over Tibet, Indo-China and other points.

Truman, Acheson and the State Department initially pretended that the purpose of the order was to allay the suspicions of the Chinese Communists that we planned an attack on them, in order to insure that they would not intervene in Korea. This pretense was palpably false and fraudulent. For it was known from the very start of the Korean War that the Soviets and the Chinese Communists were collaborating fully with the Korean Communists and were supplying them with both munitions and men. But the conspirators preferred to ignore this and deliberately misrepresented the situation to the nation.

They carried their treachery to the point of insuring initial defeat of our forces and slaughter of our troops. The conspirators engineered to make their war a United Nations affair, despite the reluctance or actual opposition of its members. Together with our national sovereignty, the conspirators arranged to turn over to the United Nations control of our troops. On the UN military staff there sits a representative of our enemy, a Soviet

general. Through his hands pass the confidential reports of the field commander, which he as a matter of course, transmits to Moscow to be relayed to the enemy. He participates in dictating the instructions to our field commander. This gives the enemy the power to dictate the terms and conditions under which we must fight them. It robs the field commander of one of the most essential elements in successful warfare, the element of surprise.

Aligned with the enemy are our false UN "allies", who dictate absurd restrictions that bar our forces from attacking the Manchurian bases from which the Korean Communist armies are armed, supplied and reinforced. In the meantime the Communists are being supplied with oil and munitions by our own nationals and by our UN "allies" at the expense of our Treasury and taxpayers, through such devices as the Marshall Plan supplies and arms shipped to Western Europe under the terms of the Atlantic Pact, and the Point 4 program. Our own troops in Korea were denied reinforcement and supplies on the ground that their services are needed in Europe.

To cap the climax, offers of 500,000 South Korean troops were rejected just as were the offers of Chinese Nationalist troops. The conspirators, for reasons of their own, insist that American blood must be shed in Korea and the flower of our youth maimed, mutilated and killed in a Communist booby trap. Benedict Arnold was a patriot as compared with these brazen, ruthless traitors who completely control our country, betray it and are seeking to encompass its downfall.

As a climax, when General MacArthur overcame all the barriers that they placed in the way of success, and threatened to attack the Communists on their own ground, in Manchuria, the conspirators arranged to have him relieved of his command.

Apologists for the conspirators are doing their best to make the nation believe that these constant acts of national betrayal are mere "BLUNDERS". But it must be obvious even to the most imbecilic that no one could conceivably be so stupid as to commit such repeated acts of betrayal, as mere "blunders." For it is quite obvious that in the case of real blunders, the element of chance would insure that an occasional blunder would be made in our own favor. The fact that these acts have consist-



ently militated against us, eliminates completely the "blunder" alibi, even if we did not have at hand conclusive proof to the contrary.

The absurd campaign of mass hysteria over the atom bomb that has been engineered by the conspirators in this country with low cunning and on a vast scale, attests to their treacherous design and their assured contempt of the nation. Though the conspirators have done their best to traitorously turn over to Russia full knowledge and blueprints of the bomb and even supply them with processed uranium, no announcement openly claiming possession of A-bombs had ever been made by the Russian government. The first two announcements stirring up the A bomb mass hysteria were made by President Truman as an excuse for demanding and seizing wartime dictatorial powers, attaining more intensive looting of the nation by staggered taxation, and keeping the nation "artificially alarmed," the avowed policy of the conspirators.

On each occasion when the Administration subsequently sought increased appropriations, the threat of A-bombs was brought forth, or Truman announced that Russia had exploded another A-bomb. It was not until a year later, after a host of scientists had vanished behind the Iron Curtain, that Stalin announced that Russia had exploded an A-bomb. There is much in the situation that suggests that the conspirators themselves had supplied some A-bombs to be exploded in Russia, for the deliberate purpose of intensifying the hysteria they create and feed. But Russia continued to demand elimination of the use of the bomb, which indicates it had no bombs for warfare.

Truman's announcement of Russia's possession of atom bombs was false and was known to be false by the announcer. The Communists made it quite clear that Russia had no bomb other than what had been stolen from us by traitors and their agents. They openly acknowledge this in the Stockholm "Peace Petitions" which they circulated for the express purpose of elimination of the bomb from use in warfare. Normal intelligence dictates the conclusion that the Soviets would not seek the elimination of the bomb if they possessed a supply of them. They have not asked for the elimination of planes, rockets, disease warfare or of any of the devastating weapons which we know they possess; nor have

they hesitated to use them where they served their own purposes. And intelligent or informed persons could have no delusions regarding humanitarianism amongst the Communist leaders.

Nevertheless the conspirators in our midst seek to gain our submission to the Communists by creating craven terror of our own bombs in our midst. One begins to wonder if they actually conceive of using our bombs against us, or holding them until the Communist conspirators take over and use them against us. In many respects the situation resembles that of children trembling before a bugaboo that they have created with their own hands. Infinitely sad and damaging is the spectacle of craven cowardice and hysterical terror which they seek to have us present to the world. They are aiding and abetting our enemies by undermining our morale at home and our prestige abroad.

So gross and persistent has been the exaggeration of the effects of atom bombs, in daily newspaper headlines and on the air by officials and others that even the appearance in our midst of a missionary, Father Hubert F. Schiffer, who sat in his mission less than a quarter of a mile from the exploding atom bomb at Hiroshima, and suffered no injury, has failed to bring the public to their senses. To be sure the conspirators have been very careful to minimize or suppress the truth illustrated by his experience; the newspapers have failed to make any mention of them or buried small paragraphs on them in their back pages as contrasted with the daily, screaming terror headlines and official pronouncements. (N.Y. Times, March 30, 1950.)

This situation also is fraught with elements of sabotage by the conspirators of our military preparedness and defense. For so much time, money and material are being diverted into protection from the exaggerated terrors of the atom bomb, that industry and rearming of the nation are being slowed down by them; and needless costs and added taxes are being incurred. In short the bombs which should be used to weaken and scare our enemies are being used by traitors and fools to effect our ignominious submission to the Soviets and even to Communist China. We are going down in a blaze of cowardice and treachery.

Only one public figure, former New Deal Ambassador to England, Joseph P. Kennedy, has openly



intimated that the situation in which we find ourselves may not be a product of mere blunders. He characterized our policies as "suicidal". Ex-President Herbert Hoover has protested the insanity of a foreign policy that seeks to purchase allies and aims to instill in them courage and the will to be free, by monetary infusions.

Meanwhile as our troops were being sent to the slaughter, to die by the thousands in Korea with inadequate reinforcements and supplies, as our people are being whipped up into a frenzy by the phoney atom bomb scare, as our purses and Treasury are being depleted by the Marshall Plan, by the Atlantic Pact arming of Europe to permit those treacherous "allies" to ship their own arms to our enemies, the conspirators whip up a new plan to hasten national bankruptcy and provide support for the enemy—the Point 4 program. At this point there comes to the fore the questions: "Who are these notorious and callous traitors?" "Who enables them to penetrate into the topmost ranks of our Government?" The authors and directors of our destiny and the masters of our national fate, stepped out on the scene into the open to claim credit and acclaim for putting us on the international merry-go-round. In the December 30, 1950, and subsequent issues of the Saturday Evening Post there appeared a series of articles, the first of which was entitled The Rockefellers: The Story Of Five Young Millionaires. In these articles the Rockefellers, with characteristic "modesty", take the bow as Messrs. "Internationalism". The author states that they allege that their "philanthropies" transcend all bounds of national interests or patriotism. Like the rest of the "internationalist" breed, it appears that they scorn patriotism as reprehensible and undesirable because it interferes with their schemes. The sole ultimate criterion of desirability is stated in the articles to be profit to themselves. On that basis, the "internationalist", activities have been highly desirable to them, because, undeniably, they have been highly profitable for them, however disastrous they are for us, the "peasantry", individually, and for our country. For it is we who have had to foot the bills for the expansion of the "internationalist" interests of the Rockefeller Empire, with our fortunes, our liberties and in many cases, our lives.

## CHAPTER II

### THE RISE OF THE ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE

#### A Lamp More Magic Than Aladdin's

The rise of the Rockefeller Empire, the greatest the world has ever known, has been the most fateful development of the twentieth century. Coupled with the spread of Marxism, with which it has been closely identified, it has assumed the rule of human destiny.

The story of the origin of the Standard Oil Company, and of the Rockefeller fortune with which it is synonymous, has been repeatedly told in such works as Ida Tarbell's *The Standard Oil Company*; in the exhaustive biography, John D. Rockefeller (JDR), written by Professor Allan Nevins, of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and Columbia University, with the authorization of John D. Jr. and the cooperation of the family, as a definitive memorial; and in numerous official government investigations, lawsuits and other records. A brief resume will suffice.

John D. Rockefeller was the son of "Doc" Williams Avery Rockefeller. "Doc" was a cunning, crafty, unscrupulous, ruthless and irresponsible vendor of patent medicines and a quack physician. He advertised himself as "The Celebrated Cancer Specialist—All Cases Cured Unless Too Far Gone", according to John K. Winkler in his *John D.—A Portrait In Oil* (p.12). It is reported that his cancer remedy was crude petroleum oil, sold at twenty five dollars a pint, (JDR, V. 1, p. 93) when the traffic would bear it. Nevins also reports rumors of horse thievery (JDR, V. 1, p. 50) bigamy and an indictment for rape (JDR, V. 1, p. 52). As a consequence, the Rockefellers were forced to migrate, an incident that has been repeated in the family history; and they hit upon hard times. John D's early life was one of insecurity and spells of poverty. As biographer Nevins states it: (JDR, v. 1, p. 90)

"... the inevitable tendency of this family atmosphere of hazard and dubiety was to foster in him ... a profound desire for certainty and dependability . . ."

Though for the major part the father derived a handsome income from his devious devices, and at times provided well for the family, the lapses in-



tensified in John D. an instinctive penuriousness and love of money. This was further intensified by the training which the father gave his sons, mayhap unintentionally and instinctively to make amends for failing to provide adequately at all times for the family, a training that would help materially in keeping the wolf from the door. Nevins quotes his boasts about it to his crony, Uncle Joe Webster, as follows: (JDR, v. 1, p. 93)

" 'I cheat my boys every time I get a chance', the 'doctor' said. 'I want to make 'em sharp, I trade with the boys and skin 'em, and I just beat 'em every time I can. I want to make 'em sharp.' "

Ruthlessness and rapacity were masked by a pose of benevolence and philanthropy. This attitude and training have become a family tradition.

John D. acknowledged that even as a multi-billionaire he suffered from an insane fear of poverty. He related in a talk to the Standard Oil Club on May 7, 1904, quoted by Nevins, (JDR, v. 1, p. 103) that

"As a multimillionaire, he would occasionally awake fancying that he was still a clerk under Hewitt (his first employer) and had discovered a shortage." Fear of poverty was imposed by him on those about him, especially on his family, to such extent that it became the mainspring of the character of Rockefeller enterprises. This fear could be allayed only by such complete domination of the community and of the world that no one could ever arise to offer competition or to threaten impoverish him. This mental condition gave rise to a super-Napoleonic complex, a driving urge to rule the U.S. and the world.

The initial urge manifested itself in the field of oil. Rockefeller had built up with ruthless skill the powerful Standard Oil monopoly. By 1915, it produced almost a third of the oil of the United States. Complete monopoly of all phases of the oil business loomed as a conceivable goal. This dominant role had been gained by gangsterism that would make an Al Capone blush. In the process there had been used unsavory methods ranging from theft to arson and slaughter. The tactics adopted by the Rockefeller interests differed primarily in their excesses, from those adopted by the respected Morgans, Vanderbilts, Goulds and others

of the time. But the Rockefeller Standard Oil tactics were even more ruthless than the others and were crowded with inordinate success. His methods are illustrated by the reports of Ida Tarbell in *The History Of The Standard Oil Co.* and by Anton Mohr in *The Oil War*. The latter reports: (p. 209) "Standard Oil's intrigues—the Americans even hired bands of Mexican brigands, who destroyed Pearson's (Mexican) oil-pipes and set his wells on fire . . ."

Nevins subtitled his official biography of Rockefeller, *The Heroic Age Of American Enterprise*. If systematic use of arson, murder, burglary, theft, extortion, swindling, blackmail, wholesale corruption of public officials and gangsterism on a grandiose scale are "heroic", this was indeed an heroic age. And one of the most "heroic" of the contemporary figures was John D. Rockefeller. All his untiring energy and sleepless enterprise were devoted to the "holy" purpose of acquiring unlimited wealth and power, and the "security" he sought for himself.

In the process of development of the Standard Oil Co. by merger with powerful allies and by ruthlessly crushing rivals and weaker independents, a score of great fortunes were made. A curious collaboration has prevailed among most of those families whose fortunes were made in the Standard Oil Co., and retained. They have accepted the domination of the Rockefellers. This is denied by them and by biographer Nevins. But there is much evidence to bear it out. Many enterprises are controlled by these fortunes, and in turn by the Rockefellers, and innumerable matrimonial financial alliances have been formed.

Oliver H. Payne acquired as in-laws, William C. Whitney and Gertrude Vanderbilt. They have come to dominate American Tobacco Co., Great Northern Paper Co., Belmont Park Race Track, Pan American and New York Airways (with Juan Trippe), Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting Co., Whitney Realty Co., Technicolor Inc., Selznick International, the Communist newspaper PM, now defunct, and many others.

Oliver B. Jennings acquired as in-laws, William Rockefeller and Mary Brewster. They dominate Bethlehem Steel Corp., McKesson & Robbins, U.S. Industrial Chemical Co., National Fuel Gas Corp.,



National Distillers Co., Amalgamated Textiles, and others.

Stephen V. Harkness' family are important factors in New York Central and Southern Pacific railroads, and in Time Inc. The Pratts are factors in the Chase National Bank and Corn Products Refining Co. John D. Archbold and his family had important holdings in National City Bank, Equitable Trust Co., General Electric Co. and Pennsylvania Central Airlines. Henry Flagler controlled Florida East Coast R.R. and other extensive holdings in Florida. Edward T. Bedford was an important holder of stock in Title Guarantee & Trust Co., American Tobacco Co., Bedford Petroleum Co., Corn Products Refining Co. and Penick & Ford Ltd., Inc.

William Rockefeller numbered among his inlaws the Dodges, Stillmans, Carnegies and the Wat-jens. He was a dominant factor in National City Bank, Anaconda Copper Co., American Brass Co., Air Reduction Co., U.S. Industrial Alcohol Co., U.S. Rubber Co. and many others. Their holdings in the Standard Oil Co. are small as compared with those of John D.

The holdings and wealth of John D. Rockefeller and his descendants mushroomed so rapidly that it is difficult to keep track of them. Indeed the task has been made almost impossible because of the family practise of holding stock in the names of nominees and trustees, almost exclusively in many instances. They appear in person in very few corporations which they control. Their nominees and agents are multitudinous. The more important of them are generally placed by the Rockefellers on the boards of trustees of their various "philanthropies" and in the membership of their agencies, especially the Council on Foreign Relations. As a rule, this is done at the time of acquisition of the property for which the individual acts as nominee.

Thus, about 1937 it was rumored that the Rockefellers had acquired control of the New York Times for the sum of seventeen and a half million dollars. At about the same time one of the nominal owners of the Times and its publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, became a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. The name of Rockefeller has never been publicly identified with the Times. But the publication has been obviously the official journal of the Rocke-

feller Empire, in much the same sense that the London Times has been the official journal of the British Empire. Reliable information regarding Rockefeller ownership or control of the Times, however, has never been made public.

It has been an apparent objective of the Rockefeller interests to gain monopolistic control of every necessity of life and of every source of energy, oil, gas, coal, water-and wind-power, electricity, atomic energy and every other source that exists or comes into being. They have not yet succeeded in making the greatest of all sources of power, the sun, render them tribute. But when a means for doing so will be devised, they will control it, and make the world pay for its solar energy. They seek to control all necessities from the time they are produced until they are consumed, and to cartelize the process. They control every important governmental agency in the land, and abroad, and have converted them into their private agencies that are empowered to levy upon and confiscate the wealth of every private citizen, and of the nation, through taxation and control of the expenditure of the funds thus levied. The citizenry of the U.S. virtually have been disfranchised in the process. For all effective purposes, the Rockefellers remain free of taxation under the laws written and enforced by their agents.

As a consequence, the wealth of the Rockefellers is incalculable. Favored by the law, their fortune grows while others are wiped out. It is doubtful if there exists enough money in the world to make their wealth liquid. For it represents the wealth of all of us, plus control of the natural resources of the larger part of the world, or possibly of all of it. In effect, the wealth of all of us is levied on and, in many instances, confiscated, for the advantage of the Rockefeller Empire. Our tax and other laws are effecting for the Rockefeller interests a monopoly of all the wealth of the nation. This serves to explain why the Rockefellers personally are so consistently and insistently demanding increased taxation to pay for ever larger expenditures for the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program, and any device for squandering the taxpayers' moneys. The tax moneys from these programs flow into their own coffers. Their "philanthropies" are defrayed with "other people's money", the taxpayers'. These matters will be related later in full detail.



The visible wealth of the Rockefellers, that which they hold in their own names, is, nevertheless, the world's largest fortune. Their holdings of the various Standard Oil Companies, that constituted the nucleus of their wealth, has been variously estimated. The semi-official figures released by them in their publication *Life*, on April 17, 1950, expressed as percentages of the outstanding voting stock, is as follows: Standard Oil of New Jersey, 14.52% of sixty million shares with market value of more than four billion dollars; Standard Oil of Indiana, 13.58%; Standard Oil of California, 12.58%; Socony-Vacuum, 17.25%; Standard Oil of Ohio, 10%; Ohio Oil Co., 13.02%. (Their market prices have doubled in the past year and their earnings and dividends have risen commensurately.) These figures are a bit lower than reported to the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1933, when in addition the following holdings were listed: Prairie Pipe Line, 14.72%; Atlantic Refining Co., 7.12%; South Pennsylvania Oil Co., 32.92%; and 69,020 shares of Shell Union Corp. of the Royal Dutch group. These holdings constitute but a small fraction of the holdings in those companies held by the Rockefellers in the names of the Foundation and other nominees, and holding companies, interlocking stock ownership and other devices. Their holdings in the so-called "independent" oil companies, such as Texas Co., Pure Oil Co., and a host of others, are equally important.

Each of these companies controls a host of subsidiaries that operate throughout the world. Many of them are quite as important and impressive as their mother companies. Among the 149 subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey that circle the world are Creole Petroleum Corp., Imperial Oil Co., Humble Oil & Refining Co., and the Arabian American Oil Co. (known as Aramco). The concession of Aramco holdings to the Rockefeller interests cost the U.S. and the world two World Wars, the lives of tens of thousands of GI's, and endless misery for mankind. The expense of its development has been defrayed largely by U.S. taxpayers. It produces more than 850,000 barrels of oil, a day for Rockefeller interests exclusively, that they have supplied to Russia, the Chinese and Korean Communists, and yields them a tax-exempt gross income of almost two million dollars a day,

largely, and possibly entirely, paid them by the U.S. Treasury. The international ramifications of the Rockefeller Empire are illustrated by the principal affiliates listed in pages 20-21 of the 1950 Annual Report of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, as follows: STANDARD OIL CO. OF NEW JERSEY

Consolidated Companies & Percentage Owned UNITED STATES Esso Standard Oil Company (100%)  
 Refining, transportation and marketing on Eastern seaboard Humble Oil & Refining Company (72%)  
 Producing, transportation, refining and marketing in Texas The Carter Oil Company (100%)  
 Producing, refining and marketing in central United States and Rocky Mountain area Interstate Oil Pipe Line Company (100%)  
 Pipeline transportation, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Mississippi Interstate Natural Gas Company, Incorporated (54%)  
 Production of natural gas in Louisiana Esso Shipping Company (100%)  
 Marine transportation Esso Export Corporation (100%)  
 Marketing Mediterranean Standard Oil Co. (100%)  
 Purchase and sale of Middle East crude and products Gilbert & Barker Manufacturing Company (100%)  
 Manufacturing and sale of oil burners and service station equipment Enjay Company, Inc. (100%)  
 Marketing of chemical products Standard Oil Development Company (100%)  
 Research and development CANADA  
 Imperial Oil, Limited (70%) LATIN AMERICA  
 Producing, transportation, refining and marketing Creole Petroleum Corporation (94%)  
 Producing, transportation, refining and marketing in Venezuela Lago Oil & Transport Company, Limited (100%)  
 Refining in Aruba, Indonesia International Petroleum Company, Limited (88%)  
 Producing, transportation, refining and marketing in Peru, Colombia and Venezuela Panama Transport Company (100%)  
 Marine transportation Standard Oil Company of Brazil (100%)  
 Marketing in Brazil Esso, Productora de Petr6leo S. A. (100%)  
 Producing in Argentina Esso, Refinadora de Petr6leo S. A. (100%)  
 Refining in Argentina Esso, Sociedad Anonima Petrolera Argentina (100%)  
 Marketing in Argentina Esso Standard Oil Company (Chile) S.A.C. (100%)  
 Marketing in Chile Esso Standard Oil Company (Uruguay), S.A. (100%)  
 Marketing in Uruguay Esso Standard Oil Company (Cuba) (100%)  
 Refining and marketing in Cuba Esso Standard Oil Company (Puerto Rico) (100%) Esso Standard Oil (Antilles) S.A. (100%)  
 Marketing in Guianas and Lesser Antilles Esso Standard Oil (Caribbean) S.A. (100%)  
 Marketing in Bermuda, the Bahamas and Greater Antilles Esso Standard Oil (Central America) S.A. (100%)  
 Marketing in Central America Standard Oil (Canal Zone) Company (100%)  
 Marketing in Canal Zone  
 NON-CONSOLIDATED COMPANIES UNITED STATES  
 Manufacture and sale of antiknock compound Plantation Pipe Line Company (49%)  
 Pipeline transportation from Louisiana to North Carolina



## CANADA

Interprovincial Pipe Line Company (35%)

Pipeline transportation from Alberta to Wisconsin EUROPE AND NORTH AFRICA Anglo-American Oil Company, Limited (100%)

Refining, transportation, and marketing in the

United Kingdom and Erie Standard Francaise des Petroles S.A. (55%)

Refining and marketing in France Esso A. G. (100%)

Marketing in Western Germany Ebano Asphalt-Werke A. G. (100%)

Refining in Western Germany Gewerkschaft Brigitta (50%)

Producing in Western Germany Societa Petrolifera Italiana p. A. (59%)

Producing and refining in Italy Stanic-Industria Petroliera S. p. A. (50%)

Refining in Italy Esso Standard Italiana, S. p. A. (90%)

Marketing in Italy Esso Standard (Belgium) (88%)

Marketing in Belgium Standard Amerikaansche Petroleum Cie. N. V. (66%)

Marketing in the Netherlands N. V. Nederlandse Aardolie Mij, (50%)

Producing in the Netherlands Det Danske Petroleum A/S (82%)

Marketing in Denmark Svenska Petroleum A/B Standard (100%)

Marketing in Sweden A/S Ostlandske Petroleumcompagni (56)

Refining and marketing in Norway O/Y Nobel-Standard A/B (67%)

Marketing in Finland Esso Standard (Switzerland) (100%)

Marketing in Switzerland Esso Standard Algerie S. A. (100%)

Marketing in Algeria Esso Standard Tunisie S. A. (76%)

Marketing in Tunisia Esso Standard (Near East), Inc. (100%)

Marketing in eastern Mediterranean MIDDLE AND FAR EAST Standard-Vacuum Oil Company (50%)

Producing, refining, transportation and marketing in

Far East, Australasia and Africa Iraq Petroleum Company, Limited (12%)

Producing, refining and pipeline transportation in Iraq Arabian American Oil Company (30%)

Producing and refining in Saudi Arabia Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company (30%)

Pipeline transportation from Saudi Arabia to Mediterranean

terminal in Lebanon

The Standard Oil holdings of the Rockefellers is a small fraction of their wealth. One of the most astute students of the Rockefeller interests is Henry H. Klein, former Commissioner of Accounts of New York City. His estimate of the Rockefeller wealth in the depression year 1938, published in his pamphlet *Rockefeller Or God*, is as follows:

"In my book, *Dynastic America and Those Who Own It*, published in 1921, I estimated the wealth of the Rockefeller family at \$2,400,000,000. I estimated at that time, that the Rockefellers owned about \$1,000,000,000 in oil alone; \$400,-000,000 in railroad stocks, bonds and notes; \$400,000,000 in industrial corporations, mines and banks; \$300,000,000 in national, state, city and

foreign bonds; \$200,000,000 in public utilities securities; and \$100,000,000 in real estate and mortgages.

"I now revise this estimate to date. The Rockefeller family now owns about five billion dollars (\$5,000,000,000), and enjoys an income of about \$250,000,000 a year, or about \$5,000,000 week. In my opinion, their holdings are approximately as follows: Standard Oil and other oil

securities.....	\$2,000,000,000	
National, state, city and foreign		
bonds .....	1,000,000,000	
Real estate and mortgages.....	600,000,000	
Railroad stocks, bonds and notes	400,000,000	Industrial
corporations, mines and		
banks .....	400,000,000	
Public utilities securities .....	300,000,000	
Miscellaneous investments		
(unclassified) .....	300,000,000	

"The Rockefellers are the richest family on earth, all made in the lifetime of one person, the late John D. Rockefeller. When the latter died a year ago his will disposed of \$25,000,000 to a grandchild. It made no mention of any other property. It is obvious, therefore, that all the other wealth that he had accumulated had been distributed before his death, on which no inheritance tax was paid. In fact, in my book, *Dynastic America and Those Who Own It*, published in 1921, I tell of the transfer of more than one billion dollars in oil holdings alone, to his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the year before. I also tell of the transfer of vast oil holdings to his daughter, Alta Rockefeller Prentice; to Mrs. Edith R. McCormack, another daughter; to the Rockefeller Foundation, General Education Board, and Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund. These transfers from John D. Sr., included hundreds of thousands of shares of Standard Oil securities, and a vast amount of other securities which doubled and tripled in value before he died.

"In *Dynastic America and Those Who Own It*, I estimated Mr. Rockefeller's income from his total Standard Oil holdings alone, prior to 1921, at about \$400,000,000 cash, and about \$250,000,000 in dividend stocks. Since 1921, these amounts have been at least doubled.



"Aside from their ownership of about one-quarter of the securities of the leading Standard Oil corporations, the Rockefellers own securities, consisting of stocks, bonds and notes, in most of the large, so-called independent oil corporations in the United States. They are also heavily interested in the Royal Dutch and other foreign oil monopolies in many countries. Their interests cover virtually every spot on earth, including Russia, where they own a half interest in the Nobel Oil Works.

"It is known that the Rockefeller family owns a vast amount of government securities. John D. Sr. was credited with having bought most of the second Liberty Loan, and a large amount of Victory bonds during the World War (tax exempt), and it is known that he and his brother, William, bought other securities of the U.S. Government, and of many cities and states. The Rockefeller family is credited with owning the largest amount of bonds of the City of New York, their holdings in these securities being estimated at more than \$100,000,000. When William Rockefeller died in 1922, he left many millions of dollars of the bonds of the City and State of New York. His wealth at the time (about \$150,000,-000), was less than one-tenth his brother's holdings. Because of their ownership of government securities, aside from other wealth, the Rockefellers are the most influential factors in government.

"The Rockefellers' holdings in real estate are tremendous, their holdings in New York City alone, being estimated at over \$500,000,000, or about 3% of the total assessed value of all real estate in Greater New York. They have similar large holdings in other cities, and their personal estates are estimated to have cost at least \$50,-000,000. Besides these personal holdings, the various Standard Oil corporations which they control, own real estate whose actual and potential value is several billion dollars.

"The Rockefellers have long been credited with controlling the leading railroads in the U.S. through their ownership of the largest share of railroad securities. They are known to be heavily interested in the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Central R. R. of

New Jersey, Erie, Western Maryland, Wabash, Michigan Central, Missouri Pacific, West Pacific, Texas and Pacific, Northern Pacific and Great Northern, Baltimore and Ohio, Wheeling and Lake Erie, Seaboard Air Line, Reading, National Railways of Mexico, Missouri, Kansas and Texas; Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe; Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; Denver and Rio Grande; Chicago and Alton; Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; Illinois Central; New York, New Haven and Hartford; Kansas City Southern and other railroads.

"The Rockefellers have been credited with being the leading, if not controlling factors in most of the large industrial corporations and mines. They were heavily interested in the U.S. Steel Corp., Bethlehem Steel, General Electric, International Harvester, Westinghouse Manufacturing Co., Armour & Co., American Linseed Co., National Lead, Corn Products Refining Co., Sheffield Farms and Borden's, American Tel. & Tel., Radio Corp. of America; Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., American Shipbuilding Co., Virginia Carolina Chemical Co., Republic Iron & Steel Co., Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., Provident Loan Society, Consolidated Coal Corp., and in other mining and industrial companies in various parts of the U.S., and in other countries.

"Rockefeller holdings in banks and other financial institutions are indicated by the fact that they control the Chase National Bank, the largest in the U.S., with deposits of two billion dollars, in which they invested \$45,000,000 cash, and that before they acquired this holding, they sold their interest in the Bankers Trust Company for \$28,-000,000. They owned the Equitable Trust Company almost outright before they combined it with the Chase National Bank. Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Board of the Chase National, is a brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who married Aldrich's sister, a daughter of the late Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, who was one of Rockefeller's chief agents in the U.S. Senate. The Rockefellers are interested in other large financial institutions in the U.S. and in foreign countries, including life and fire insurance companies, and they are heavily interested in the National City Bank in New York City, the second

largest bank in the country; Central Hanover Bank & Trust Company, New York Trust Company, J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corporation, and banks and trust companies in many cities.

"The Rockefellers have long been interested in public utilities corporations. They early acquired control of the Consolidated Gas Company in New York City which is now the Consolidated Edison Co., in which their holdings are worth at least \$50,000,000. Most of the Rockefeller stock holdings in this corporation are in the names of "dummies". They control the Manhattan Elevated R. R. Co. in New York City, in which they invested about \$25,000,000, and they hold millions of dollars of the bonds and notes of the Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. and Interborough Rapid Transit Company, which operate subways in Greater New York. They own millions of dollars of stocks, bonds and notes, in other utilities monopolies, including the United Gas Improvement Co., Public Service of New Jersey, People's Gas of Chicago, Mountain Fuel Supply Co., Colorado Interstate Gas Co., Mutual Fuel Gas Co., Chicago Railways Co., Philadelphia Co., etc.

"The Rockefellers are interested in many corporations aside from those enumerated or referred to, whose securities are not traded in on the Stock Exchange, but which do a large business in their lines. They are interested financially in almost every large corporation in the country.

"The Rockefeller family controls the wealth of the world. No family owns more than half their wealth. The Rothschilds of Europe, the Du Ponts in the United States, and the Mitsuis in Japan, are their closest rivals. The wealth of these families is estimated at about \$2,500,000,000, each. The Rockefellers' wealth is about five billion dollars. Their income is estimated at \$250,000,-000 a year, or about \$5,000,000 a week. At that rate, the Rockefellers will continue to outstrip every other family. They control about \$250,-000,000 a year in newspaper, magazine, and radio advertising, and their influence in this direction is supreme. It is realized by those in the publishing business, that no newspaper or magazine could live without the advertising patronage of the corporations which they control. For that reason, the Rockefellers are able to shape editorial



policies in newspapers, magazines, and on the radio. The Rockefellers are interested in three daily newspapers in France, and they undoubtedly own or control newspapers and magazines in other countries. They control broadcasting and moving picture corporations in this country, directly through their ownership of 500,000 shares of R.K.O. and through their interest in the Radio Corporation of America (in which they owned 300,000 shares), Westinghouse, and General Electric, all of which own the patent rights on all sound equipment in all the moving picture houses. Their banking houses finance large moving-picture corporations." These estimates of Rockefeller wealth, made in 1938 in the midst of a depression on the basis of the depressed market price of stock holdings and at a time when crude oil sold as low as 10c a barrel as compared with the present price of more than \$2.00 a barrel, have been made absurd underestimates by ensuing developments. Two World Wars and inflation have multiplied the visible Rockefeller wealth fantastically. To-day, their oil holdings purchased for them by U.S. taxpayers' money and the lives of tens of thousands of doughboys and GIs lost in two World Wars, are alone worth more than five billion dollars. Their share of the capitalized income from approximately 160 wells in the hundreds of square miles of their Saudi Arabian concessions, producing almost 850,000 barrels of oil a day yielding an income of about \$2,-000,000 a day, are alone worth over \$2,500,000,000 aside from the value of the proved reserves in the one field which runs many times that figure. And though it was being produced, refined and marketed virtually entirely at the expense of the American taxpayer, largely for direct or indirect delivery to the Soviets, it is tax-exempt for all practical purposes. From the value of this one holding it can be discerned that the wealth of the Rockefellers is incalculable and can not be expressed in terms of money. It must be expressed in terms of control of the limitless resources of the world.

These holdings of the Rockefellers are but a small fraction of their domain. They control the Borden (Milk) Co., as well as National Dairy Products Co., comprising together what their protege, Henry Wallace, has labelled the "Milk Trust". "Philan-

throphically" it has raised the minimal price of milk from six cents to more than twenty cents a quart while degrading its quality. They control the Drug Trust, including American Home Products Co. and its subsidiaries, Winthrop Chemical Co., Sterling Products, the I. G. Farbenindustrie and its American and world-wide subsidiaries, American Cyanamid Co. and its Lederle Laboratories, and numerous other major drug and chemical concerns. They control most of the important newspapers, magazines and book-publishing houses in the country, including the Curtis Publications, the Hearst Publications, Time, the New York Times, the Associated Press (through control of its members) and many others, both here and abroad; and they and their associates have liberally subsidized the staffs of such radical and Communist publications as the Daily Worker, Masses, PM and Amerasia. Through their control of member banks, they dominate the Federal Reserve System, and through it, the U.S. Treasury.

Personal charm is now rated highly by the Rockefellers, as an asset in attaining their goal. It helps to delude and serves well in lieu of more substantial coin, John D. Jr. has recounted with pride his experiences in this direction with the victims of the massacre of the families of the striking workers of his Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. When public indignation against them for this brutal affair ran high, on the advice of their public and labor relations adviser, Mackenzie King, he visited the homes of the intimidated victims amidst a burst of publicity. He relates, proudly, that not even their victims could resist his personal charm. In their publicity releases, they stress the fact that they are liberal with charm only, for it costs them nothing. Charm and hospitality masking an iron fist, have won them many victories in dealing with the unsuspecting, and much profit.

## CHAPTER III

### MEET THE ROCKEFELLERS

The Rockefeller Myth has been so cunningly elaborated and embellished by their host of publicists and propagandists, that it takes research to get at the true evaluation and understanding of the character of the members of this omnipotent clan, whose whims and schemes have meant so much to the world in the past, and are certain to be even more fateful in the future. Crafty schemer, John D. Sr., bred in his son and grandsons the dominant traits of his own character, including those bred in himself by unscrupulous "Doc" William Rockefeller. He accomplished it by a mode of upbringing that has become traditional in the family.

This training is aptly illustrated by an anecdote related to the author by a mutual friend about Winthrop Rockefeller: In the early 1940's, when women wore the hobble skirts dictated by fashion, this friend was walking along Fifth Avenue in New York City with her boy friend. Winthrop, who is six feet and two inches tall, was taking inordinately long strides. She found it impossible to keep up with him no matter how fast she hobbled. In desperation, she turned and pleaded with him to slow down. In all seriousness, he replied, "My grandfather and father have taught us to take long strides, because it saves shoe leather". And he strode on at the same pace.

Concerning Nelson there is told a story that is said to illustrate his innate craftiness. The proprietor of a candy store that the children patronized showed his Christmas spirit by offering the children a handful of candy. When Nelson was told he could have his handful of candy, he wagged his head and refused. On the following day, the tale relates, Nelson returned with his father. Once again the proprietor offered Nelson a handful of candy, and again he refused. But this time he talked up and said:

"Let father take it. He has bigger hands."

The active principals of the Rockefeller Empire are "Emperor" John Davison Jr., and the five "Princes": John Davison 3rd, Nelson Aldrich, Lau-rance Spelman, Winthrop and David. Each of them has played a definite and significant role in Rocke-



feller Imperial affairs; and all of them work together in harmony and close union. There is one curious and striking characteristic in the activities of all of them. They all assiduously and ostentatiously dissociate their names from the enterprises that they most completely control, the Standard Oil companies. The last of them to hold a Standard Oil directorship, Winthrop, director of Socony Vacuum Oil Co., resigned on July 1, 1951. It is common knowledge, however, that they control these companies and dominate all their major activities through nominees and agents, in much the same manner as did John D. Sr. after his pretended "retirement". John D. Winkler, in his *John D. A—Portrait In Oil*, relates that at the age of 90 years he kept

"... in very very close touch with events in Wall Street that are likely to affect his holdings. Through his son he has retained stock interest in some fifteen companies of the old Standard group and is always a considerable subscriber ... to new stock issues. He has several personal representatives at 26 Broadway and always commends them warmly when profits are netted from transactions entered into upon their advice. He has never retired and never will retire in a definitive sense. "He follows world events in which he is interested with great care. But the newspapers really tell him very little. He himself could publish the most interesting newspaper in the world! And each day he'd have a flock of beats.

"For while the papers are speculating upon the health of a great diplomat or the possible overthrow of a foreign government, he has already been informed of latest developments through direct wires leading from Pocantico Hills to Standard Oil offices and, indirectly, to the remote places of the earth. There are over a hundred telephones at Pocantico, forty of them local, suburban and long distance lines.

"... He has never lost interest in finance. During the period we are describing he was very keenly interested in various deals of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Through representatives he advised the transaction by which the New Jersey Standard cut its capital cost by retiring \$200,000,000 of preferred stock and floating a new

issue of \$120,000,000 in debenture bonds. His information about this and other matters that interest him is invariably accurate." (pp. 229-35) This is the Rockefeller tradition; and they are not a clan that deviate from familial tradition, as their biographer, Joe Alex Morris, stated in his blurb on them in the Saturday Evening Post.

On the other hand, they make an equally insistent and ostentatious display of officership in their so-called "philanthropies", in the autobiographies which they submit to Who's Who and in other reference books. It smacks excessively of "... thou dost protest too strongly."

John Davison Rockefeller Jr. was born in Cleveland, on January 24, 1874, the first son of four children. He received his early education in four schools, one of which, the Browning School, was established by his father for the specific purpose of providing him with a school in which he could rub shoulders with other children of his own age. He learned to fiddle and take his place in the family orchestra; and he earned his pocket money by pulling weeds from the lawn of the Forest Hill family estate at a cent for each fifteen weeds and by chopping wood at fifteen cents an hour. At the age of nineteen, he entered Brown University, a Baptist institution that was in keeping with the spirit of his religious training, with several of his friends. At college, John D. Jr. showed no great brilliance, but managed to get by. A member of the Alpha Delta Phi, he was junior class president; and he managed the football team in his senior year with such frugality (he made the players carry their own luggage on train trips) that it showed a profit. He received his A.B. degree in 1897; and his M.A. in 1914.

In October, 1897, John D. Jr. joined the staff of the Standard Oil Co. There he learned accounting and business methods, under the tutelage of Rev. Frederick T. Gates, then his father's investment manager who also handled "philanthropies" as investments. For more than a year he was vice president and director of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. On his own, he was "taken" in a swindle

by David Lamar, to the tune of almost a million dollars. In this respect he merely matched the experience of his father, who had been "taken" repeatedly by other swindlers, in such deals as the West Superior Iron & Steel Co., the Everett Land Co., the San Miguel Consolidated Mines, the Puget Sound Pulp & Paper Co., the Everett & Monte Cristo Railroad and others into which he had been led by faith in friends and co-religionists, when too busy to give such matters his personal attention.

With Gates, John D. Jr. managed the family investments in Brooklyn Union Gas Co., Consolidated Gas Co., National City Bank, American Linseed Co., Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines Co. which controlled Mesabi, the New York Central, Santa Fe, and Lackawanna railroads, the Gould group, including the Missouri Pacific and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroads, and the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co.; on the boards of the last three John D. Jr. and Gates served as directors. Of the last, Gates made his nephew president.

It was in connection with the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. strike in 1914, that John D. Jr. learned at first hand the disadvantage of being publicly identified with the Rockefeller enterprises. These experiences are undoubtedly the basis of the family practise of hiding their control of industrial enterprises and parading their "philanthropic" fronts at every opportunity; and no doubt their publicity men and public-relations counsellors have confirmed them in this practise. For both John D. Sr. and Jr. were grilled in connection with the investigation by Congress of the massacre of strikers at Ludlow, Colorado, by agents of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. And it took all the efforts of the newly engaged Ivy Lee and W. L. Mackenzie King to "regild the lily", the Rockefeller repute. John D. Jr. even was compelled to resort to the device of lending his name to a volume entitled The Colorado Industrial Plan. Whether it was ghosted or was a product of his own pen is not a matter of record; but Mackenzie King's ideas stand out in the text. This was the beginning of Rockefeller's fostering of labor unionism as a device for regimentation of the "peasants" and monopoly of industry through monopoly of labor; and of subsidy of "social sciences", which placed the Rockefeller interests in the position of panderer to the prostituted intellects, the professors, who



serve as handmaidens to the labor union leaders and lead their activities into channels desired by their sponsor. This is an essential feature of Rockefeller-ism. John D. III is continuing this tradition as director of Industrial Relations Counsellors Inc. which is subsidized by the Foundation.

John D. Jr. resigned virtually all his frank business directorates at about this time, with the exceptions of his directorates in the Merchants Fire Insurance Co. and the Washington Assurance Co. Currently he lists himself in the biographies which he furnishes Who's Who, as President of the Board of Rockefeller Institute For Medical Research, which position he has recently turned over to his son David, and as Chairman of General Education Board and of Rockefeller Foundation. However noble these sound, they make it quite clear that he thereby assumes full personal responsibility for the nefarious activities of these organizations which are here disclosed. In the Directory of Directors, he is also listed as director of the New York Life Insurance Co.

John D. Jr. emerged as the "power behind the throne" in Standard Oil Co. in connection with the prosecution of the Teapot Dome case, when he testified in favor of Col. Stewart, president of the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana; and subsequently, when he ousted Stewart for withholding and diverting funds rightly due to the stockholders of the Company, that had been exposed incidentally. He did so with a righteous show of indignation that was hardly impressive in view of the huge pension with which Col. Stewart was rewarded.

John D. Jr. married Abby Greene Aldrich, daughter of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, Republican leader of the Senate, in 1901. Nevins, in his biography (JDR, v. 2, p. 459) reports:

"Thereafter, John D. Rockefeller Jr., saw a great deal of the circle of elder statesmen close to Aldrich, notably Senators Platt, of Connecticut, Spooner, of Wisconsin, and Allison, of Iowa ..."

The couple had one daughter, Abby, who married David M. Milton and subsequently divorced him to marry her psychoanalyst, Dr. Irving H. Pardee (who did not long survive the nuptials) ; and five sons. In one basic manner, John D. Jr. deviated from the pattern laid down by his father,—a distaste for fundamentalist religion which had done so much to

aid in his father's advancement. It is open to question whether greater influence in this direction was exercised by his mentors at Brown University or by Reverend Frederick Taylor Gates, his father's "man of business" who, though detesting much of religion, had made it serve him nobly as a stepping-stone to personal advancement. At the time of the creation of the Rockefeller Foundation, fundamentalist ministers had noted John D. Jr.'s advocacy of a "new" and "liberal" theology that decried sectarianism as pragmatically unsound and veered toward Marxism and "higher criticism". John Roach Stratton accused him of seeking to standardize education and religion through the rationalization of the German school.

In an address before the Protestant Council of New York City on January 31, 1945, John D. Jr. revealed, however, that his aims in respect to religion were much more far reaching. In this address, which has been published for distribution by the Council under the title of *The Christian Church, What Of Its Future?*, he suggests its transformation into the "Church of the Living God", and eliminating or subordinating "ordinance, ritual, creed, all non-essential". In the fostering of Marxism in the churches through such agencies as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, by the Rockefeller Foundation, there emerges the idea that the real intent and purpose is the destruction of religion as the modern world knows it and its replacement by ancient concepts of religion in which the "Living God" is the ruler of the State,—in the Roman sense of "Rex, Imperator et Deus" and in the sense that Stalin is the god of the religion of Communism. Can it be that this is one of the objectives of the Rockefeller Empire?

John D. Jr.'s Sunday School classes, nevertheless brought rich returns in publicity, favorable sentiment and seduction of public opinion. The mask of religiosity, combined with the sham of pseudo-philanthropy, was invaluable in blinding the public to the true nature of the activities of the Rockefeller interests, which are here related. He held close and purposeful control, both direct and indirect, over the activities of the "philanthropies" and over the frankly commercial and political activities of the Empire. His was a missionary zeal to force others to accept the brand of salvation that

he had to offer and to mold them and affairs generally according to his designs and purposes, that derived in part from his training, in part from the unbounded zeal that is characteristic of his clan, and in part from the influence of Reverend Frederick Taylor Gates, at whose side he worked. Nothing conceivably could have gained the support of their "philanthropies" without his instigation, approval and consent, no matter how much there was maintained the appearance of independence of his agents. The allegation that John D. Jr. has no responsibility for all the activities of the Rockefeller Empire is as absurd as the spider's disavowal of responsibility for the fate of the fly that he ate, and its allegation that it merely wove the web, which the fly entered of its own free will.

His remarriage, to Mrs. Martha Baird Allen, widow of a Brown University classmate, on August 15, 1951, should put at rest any rumors of his lack of competence, energy or alertness. There can be little doubt that John D. Rockefeller Jr. has been for many years the most powerful man in the world and the purposeful dictator of its fate, in so far as it can be humanly or inhumanly dictated.

It is for this reason that such views as those expressed by Elizabeth Dilling in her *Red Network and The Roosevelt Record And Its Background* (p. 166) that John D. Rockefeller Jr. is a "sap" who was lured into support of the Communist League for Industrial Democracy agency, the National Advisory Council on Radio Education, and other Red agencies, are so completely unwarranted and absurd. This will be made more apparent in the account of the high purposefulness the support of Communist activities had in the program of the Standard Oil companies and of the Rockefeller Empire. It will become obvious that these activities, however malevolent and subversive, manifest a high order of cunning, ruthless diplomatic skill and exceptional grasp and brilliance, and an ability to penetrate shallow thinking and shibboleths that are so dear to the masses and the demagogues who sway them, to discern deeper and ultimate meanings.

This is undoubtedly the real significance of the Rockefeller support and subsidy of labor organization. John D. Jr., supported by his father and Reverend Frederick Taylor Gates, fought the Colorado Fuel and Iron union strike vigorously and



bitterly. Following the shooting of a score of miners and their women and children by the company's armed guards and the militia, and a number of government investigations, John D. Jr. about-faced. He awoke to the value of regimentation of the "peasants" under amenable leaders, the value of "homogenizing" mankind, about which he now appears as enthusiastic as homogenizing milk. Indeed the "homogenizing" of the heterogeneous mass of mankind in Asia, with their endless varieties of religions, customs, superstitions and languages may be one of the purposes of the Rockefeller Empire in turning over Asia to the Communists; and on a lesser scale the F.E.P.C. in the U.S. has as its objective the "homogenizing" of black and white "peasants".

Two books on union regimentation of workers have been published under John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s name, one of them, The Colorado Plan, devoted to the company-union plan proposed for the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. The Rockefeller interests have not overlooked and have made good use of the monopoly of labor that is afforded to unions, to effect monopolies of industry that would be recognized as illegal if they had been effected by a monopoly of machinery.

Labor unions have proved to be a powerful weapon for the Rockefeller Empire in extending its world conquest; and subsidized unioners are always in the forefront of the emissaries that they send out into newly conquered territories. With Marxism as a shibboleth, they are rapidly accomplishing a world-wide subjugation of the "peasantry". This has earned for wily John D. Jr. a reputation for "liberalism". It is more appropriately labelled "Rockefellerism".

Since the balance of this book is devoted to a detailed consideration of the activities of the Rockefeller Empire as directed by John D. Jr., this brief introduction will suffice.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd, the eldest son, was born in 1906. He received his preparatory education at Browning School, which as has been noted, was established by his grandfather for the specific purpose of the education of his father. Subsequently he attended the Loomis School. He received a B.S. degree from Princeton U. in 1929. There he was exposed to the subversive influence with which the

Rockefeller "educational philanthropies" plague our school system. This exposure was intensified by his serving during his student days as assistant in the information section of the Rockefeller-sponsored and subsidized League of Nations at Geneva, under the tutelage of his father's agent, Raymond Blaine Fos-dick, secretary of the League. It was further intensified by his serving as junior secretary at the 1929 conference in Kyoto, Japan, of his family's wholly subversive agency, the Institute of Pacific Relations.

On his return from a trip around the world, John D. 3rd immediately assumed the "philanthropic", "social uplift" pose that had become a family tradition. It was broken by only a few commercial directorates in firms wholly owned or controlled by his family, including directorships in the Dunbar National Bank of Harlem (that was active in connection with the numbers racket and other practices among the Negroes), Rockefeller Center Inc., Underel Holding Corp. (real-estate holding companies) and Rockefeller Bros. Inc. He makes no public mention of his posts as director of the New York Life Insurance Co. and Chairman of the Paper Industry Board. In his latest biographic note he lists the following "philanthropies":

- Colonial Williamsburg, Chairman of the Board
- Rockefeller Brothers Fund, President
- General Education Board, Trustee
- Rockefeller Foundation, Trustee
- American Museum of Natural History, Trustee
- Princeton University, Trustee
- Tarrytown Hospital, Director
- China Medical Board, Trustee
- Industrial Relations Counsellors Inc., Trustee
- International Education Board, Trustee
- American Youth Hostels, President and Director
- International House, Trustee
- Spelman Fund, Trustee
- Riverside Church, Trustee
- United China Relief Inc., Director
- British War Relief Society, Member of the Board

It is significant that International House and American Youth Hostels have been under fire for the aiding or sponsoring of questionable or subversive groups. The Institute of International Education like the other Rockefeller "educational philanthropies", has been identified with actual Communist espionage activities in the person of its Director,

the late Laurence Duggan, former State Department officer associated with Alger Hiss and charged with being a member of a Communist cell in the Department.

Like so many of the personnel of the Rockefeller-sponsored and subsidized left-wing, New Deal and other subversive organizations identified with the Rockefeller Empire, Duggan met with a sudden violent death under extremely strange and suspicious circumstances. With a hat on his head, wearing a raincoat and one rubber (the other rubber and an umbrella rested beside a chair in which he had been seated), Duggan "fell" from the sixteenth story window of his office a few days after he had been interrogated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Despite the fact that he left no suicide note, that folk who plan to commit suicide by jumping from a window do not dress for the occasion, that people who begin to dress usually complete the act before going on to other acts, and that there was evidence of a scuffle in his office, no question was ever raised by the authorities and his death was instantly and definitively declared to be "suicide", without an investigation by the police, as if by pre-arrangement.

In his biography John D. 3rd announced that he is still a member of the family's Institute of Pacific Relations American Council, which has been pronounced to be subversive and has been exposed by Congressional investigation as being actively engaged in Communist espionage activities on behalf of the Soviets. He is also a member of the family-subsidized, and equally subversive Foreign Policy Association; and needless to say, he is a member of the Foreign Office of their Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations.

In 1932, John D. Rockefeller 3rd married Blan-chette Ferry Hooker, daughter of the head of the Hooker Electrochemical Co., one of the world's largest producers of caustic soda and chlorine. Their family includes three daughters and one son. They occupy a duplex apartment at 1 Beekman Place, New York City. His office is listed at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Rockefeller Center, New York City.

Following a two-month trip to Africa in 1948, John D. 3rd returned on November 14, so filled with enthusiasm about the commercial and industrial



potentialities of that continent that it took all the efforts of his public-relations counsellor to divert his New York Times interview to the supposed interest of his journey "in connection with his work as Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation", the health and welfare of the natives. Since then subversive agitation among the natives has risen to a new high level, fostered by such organizations as the Rockefeller-subsidized Urban League, under the stimulation of such Rockefeller pawns as Ralph J. Bunche. On January 18, 1951, John D. Rockefeller 3rd was present at a dinner given in Bunche's honor by the trustees of the Phelps Stokes Fund to signalize his receiving the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize. He lauded Bunche following a speech made by the latter in which he predicted: "... it will not be many years before the same kind of upheaval now appearing in Asia (Rockefeller-Soviet Axis inspired) will be witnessed in Africa."

The Times interview with John D. 3rd reverently played up in its headline **ROCKEFELLER LUGS HIS BAGGAGE HERE** (because of a longshoremen's strike). It laid little stress on his statement that he planned to go to Washington and see President Truman about providing for the development of the unlimited resources of Africa. Six weeks later, Truman announced the Point 4 program for development of the resources of the backward areas of the world, a description which aptly fits Africa, but also can be applied to many sections of the United States. The President had "heard his master's voice" and promptly required Congress to provide funds, at the American taxpayers' expense, for the development of Africa for the Rockefeller Empire. The Rockefeller Point 4 boondoggle bids fair to cost the public many times what their Marshall Plan scheme cost, as will be related. Further aspects of the program will be discussed in another chapter.

The Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations, was briefed on the subject of the Africa Program by John D. Rockefeller 3rd,—so important was the matter to the interests of the Empire,—in a group meeting presided over by Whitney H. Shepardson (Annual Report, 1948-9, p. 6). The Point 4 program was subsequently presented by Isaiah Bowman, with Francis Adams Truslow presiding. Discreetly, the

Point 4 program was represented by its authors as President Truman's Point Four Program, not as that of the Rockefellers.

On October 17, 1951, the New York Daily News carried a dispatch of the UP from Tokyo that curiously was not carried in their official organ, the Times. It announced that John D. Rockefeller 3d had arrived in Tokyo by plane, with his wife and his private secretary. His presence in Japan shortly after kinsman John Foster Dulles had rushed through his peace treaty, after arranging the dismissal of General MacArthur, has a major significance that is not yet apparent. The plant of Rockefeller's agents in Japan, the Mitsuis, is running full blast turning out merchandise for the export trade, to Red China. The Russians accelerated the reinforcement of garrisons on their Pacific islands adjacent to Japan. After MacArthur's dismissal, Japanese Communists became more active and aggressive, under the influence of Communist agents of Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations, who had been planted on MacArthur's and Ridgeway's staffs. Within a month after John D. 3d arrived in Japan, on November 12th, Communist students at Kyoto University greeted Emperor Hirohito with the Communist anthem, Internationale, and heckled him, the first such incident in Japanese history. Is the way prepared for turning over Japan to the Soviets, as per the Axis plans?

Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller was born at Bar Harbor, Maine, in 1908. He and the rest of his brothers received their preliminary education at the Lincoln School of Teachers College. The school was guided by the Marxist "liberalism" of John Dewey and his "progressive education" that spell out the libertinism and totalitarianism of the "youth" movement so dear to the heart of the Communist. The school was heavily supported by the General Education Board and was one of the strongholds of the Rockefeller brand of totalitarian indoctrination of the younger generation, a so-called "model school" from which the schools of the rest of the nation were infected. But thanks to home influences, particularly John D. Jr., the boys penetrated the moronic concepts of Marxism to a discernment of the device for attainment of power, the power pattern, that is the true essence of Marxism; and they have become adept at its use.

A short time after receiving his A.B. from Dartmouth, where he acquired a Phi Beta Kappa key and "made" the soccer team, Nelson married the daughter of a Philadelphia "mainliner", Bar Harbor neighbor, Mary Clark Todhunter. They have three sons and two daughters, including a set of twins, and occupy a triplex apartment on Fifth Avenue, New York City, but list Pocantico Hills as their home. His office is at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

After a honeymoon trip around the world, Nelson became interlocking director of the family's Chase National Bank and its Rockefeller Center, acting director in charge of renting for the Center. The mercilessly cut-throat tactics adopted in that process, which are described in another chapter, severely depressed real estate on a national scale, very materially prolonged the depression and cost numerous "peasants" their homes and fortunes. But it subsequently enabled the Rockefellers to buy some of the most valuable properties in the country and in the world at bankruptcy figures.

In accord with the family policy of avoiding any open association with the Standard Oil companies Nelson served for a time on the directorate of the Creole Petroleum Corporation, a Standard subsidiary, which does not disclose in its name its identity with the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. In this connection, Nelson proved that he possesses the astuteness, the aggressiveness and the grasp of his Rockefeller grandfather, plus the political sense of his Aldrich grandfather. He set about winning over the peoples of the lands in which his company operates, as a matter of shrewd dollar diplomacy. He flattered Latin-American vanity by patronizing its art. He employed Diego Rivera to do a Rockefeller Center fresco, but rejected the work because it went the full length in following the Communist Party line by including a portrait of Lenin in its composition with a caricature of the Rockefeller patron. But he wooed and won over Rivera, in spite of this incident, by paying him his full contract price, \$21,500, before covering up the rejected work. Nelson also placed Rivera's work in the family's Museum of Modern Art, of which he is president, and to which he contributed, "anonymously", \$25,000 for the specific purpose of purchasing Latin American art.



In 1935, he traveled to Creole Petroleum's home territory, Venezuela, to inspect the museum of fine arts there. Two years later with Joseph C. Roven-sky, Vice President of the Chase National Bank, under whom he had worked, he toured Venezuela and nine other South American countries on Standard Oil business, and returned with a plan for New Deal sponsorship of private U.S. investments there. In the meantime he had organized a profitable development company there in association with Edward H. Robbins, a relative of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Then in 1940, at the time of the draft, when he was 32 years old, he arranged through Harry L. Hopkins, Rockefeller almoner and New Deal plant, to have Roosevelt approve a hemispheric program drawn up by Laurance Rockefeller and two of the top agents of the Empire, Ruml and Roven-sky, for the purpose of financing its expansion in South America at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer.

The Rockefellers, though they have controlled the country for more than half a century and dictated all important nominations and appointments, were extremely cautious about emerging openly into the government. Public reaction was feared. For many years their name had been anathema to the American public, and they feared to undo the deodorization that had been effected by their phony "philanthropies". Their public relations counsellors repeatedly sent up trial balloons to test public reaction, in the form of lines in the columns of Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson and other of their columnists. In these releases the positions were reported usually as being offered to Nelson by Harry L. Hopkins, including the post of Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Finally, with their approval, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, himself a mere Rockefeller puppet, appointed Nelson Rockefeller to the post of Co-ordinator of Hemispheric Defense, that later became Administration of Inter-American Affairs.

As Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Nelson Rockefeller spent \$6,000,000,000 of the taxpayers' money on what the members of Congress called "boondoggling propaganda". He distributed in South America such motion picture sensations as "Willie & The Mouse" and "Does Nature Prefer Blondes?" He sent movie stars and clowns as "good will ambassadors" to divert the Latin-Amer-

ican "peasants", or insult their intelligence. He spent \$600,000 to combat Nazism in the Latin American press with advertisements published in pro-Nazi newspapers that were strengthened financially thereby.

Elizabeth Bentley, in her autobiography published by Devin Adair under the title *Out Of Bondage*, reveals how ready Nelson Rockefeller was to take notorious Communists into his agency and play into their hands. She relates that Bob Miller, who was editor of *The Hemisphere*, a pro-Communist Latin-American publication, supplied the Communist spy ring with which she was connected, (p.138) When, in 1941, *The Hemisphere* reached the end of its financial rope, the Communist apparatus advised Miller to take a job in the government in Washington. She reports that Miller naively doubted that he could get by the State Department because of his notorious record as a Communist. He did not know the extent to which the apparatus of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis had taken over the State Department. He was urged, however to apply for the position by the chiefs of the Communist spy ring, because he could be an invaluable source of espionage information. Nelson Rockefeller not only employed this notorious Communist with a long Red record, but actually made him head of the political research division from which position he could influence the policy of the Inter-American Affairs bureau, and purchased from him for the bureau the carefully expurgated files of *The Hemisphere* for a large sum. (p.155)

The personnel of his Office was so completely Communist in its complexion that popular report had it that applicants for positions were required to hold Communist Party cards. Its propaganda was correspondingly Red. It did much to foster Communism and totalitarianism in Latin America and to breed antagonism to the U.S. of greater intensity than had ever existed, especially in Argentina and Venezuela. Its activities have served to endanger the sources upon which this country deliberately has been made dependent for strategic war materials, as evidenced by Communist uprisings in Colombia and Bolivia.

Making the U.S. dependent for its source of supply of raw materials essential for war upon foreign lands, especially Latin America, became a

deliberate policy of Rockefeller's administration and of the New Deal. This dependence on foreign sources for essential material, in turn, has been used by them to force upon the nation their policy of "internationalism."

Chase National Bank is an important factor in the Patino Enterprises that turn out a grade of tin ore far inferior to that which could be produced inexpensively in the U.S. A special refinery for this impure, low grade ore, that refines it to a sub-standard purity, was built by the Government at the expense of many millions to the taxpayers, for operation by the Rockefeller interests with their Bolivian ore. A Rockefeller attorney, Warfield, heads the company that operates the refinery in Texas City.

The production of high grade domestic tin has been hampered and discouraged, and the nation left dependent for its tin upon the British-Dutch-Rockefeller cartel which grudgingly supplies at exorbitant prices less than the country needs.

As Walter Trohan stated the case in an article in the April 22, 1949, issue of the Chicago Tribune, under the headline "South American Work Not 100% Altruism":

"... Nelson Rockefeller . . . outdid his grandfather, John D. Rockefeller, by giving away billions of American tax dollars, where the oil king gave away his own dimes." But there was a deep purpose and a method in this boondoggling. During Nelson Rockefeller's administration as Co-ordinator of Hemispheric Defense, La Prensa of New York reported that Bolivia was notified that it would not receive money appropriated by Congress for its defenses until and unless it turned over to the Standard Oil interests certain oil fields. A timely decision of the Mexican Supreme Court restored to the Rockefeller Standard Oil companies two oil concessions that had been expropriated previously.

At about the same time the Standard Oil interests were indicted in Venezuela on the order of President Medina for the theft of \$200,000,000 in oil by means of false registry of tanker capacity. A settlement, rumored to be \$9,000,000 was made, and the indictment was quashed. Medina was then ousted and fled to New York to become a neighbor of the Rockefellers on Park Avenue. An interesting commentary



is that the task of measuring the oil removed, on behalf of the Venezuelan government was a hereditary privilege of a Venezuelan family, handed down from father to son. They thereby became very affluent, while the government was looted.

Nelson Rockefeller flitted about South America attending presidential inaugurations and revolutions indiscriminately, superseding the accredited U.S. Ambassadors, assuming the role of Uncle Sam in his high silk topper, embracing a president here and a concession there, magnificently cloaking the Rockefeller Empire with the waning majesty of our United States and expanding it with the squandered funds of tax money of the looted American "peasants". He also collected decorations: the Order of Merit of Chile from President Rio, and the National Order of the Southern Cross of Brazil from its dictator, President Getulio Vargas.

In 1944, the Administration for the Co-ordination of Inter-American Affairs was merged into the State Department, and Co-ordinator Rockefeller entered by the back door the Department that has been so consistently controlled by his family's Standard Oil interests. There he became more intimately associated with the subversive, Communist, or pro-Communist and, in some cases, traitorous officers of the State Department who represented the Rockefeller Empire's Foreign Office, the Council On Foreign Relations, in the Department, including Alger Hiss, Joseph E. Johnson, Dean Acheson, William Benton (now Senator), John Carter Vincent, and Haldore Hanson among others.

As Assistant Secretary of State, Nelson Rockefeller directly participated in setting up the Rockefeller-Soviet United Nations, in the company of kinsman John Foster Dulles and their protege and agent, Alger Hiss, both of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. As has been related, he there showed his indiscriminate totalitarian bent, a family trait, by ordering the American delegation to admit Argentina to committee posts. In doing so he offended his Soviet allies. A show was made of appeasing them by ousting Nelson and replacing him with former Ambassador to Argentina, Spruille Braden, also of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. Braden made a show of hewing close to the Party line.

During his administration as Co-ordinator, 46

Nelson Rockefeller had worked hard to get the American republics to promote, organize and finance industry and business. But after they had been financed by the governments he worked just as hard to force the governments out of the industries that its taxpayers had financed, to turn them over to "private interests". These, needless to say, were to be controlled by his associates. This scheme, which was the bone of contention at the Chapultepec Conference, that he helped engineer and attended with Secretary of State Edward Stettinius and Assistant Secretary Will C. Clayton, both of the Council on Foreign Relations, reveals the pattern that is intended to emerge from their "New" and "Fair" Deals at home.

Nelson Rockefeller established a pattern of use of public office for personal gain that is being ever more widely followed by public officials. When adopted by less powerful individuals it is apt to be regarded as venality. But the country is rapidly accepting a royal concept regarding Rockefellers and their agents,—"the King can do no wrong".

On leaving the State Department, Nelson Rockefeller undertook (in the words of Walter Trohan, in the Chicago Tribune of April 22, 1949) "to reap a harvest of dollars, tax free in America", from the lavish sowing of U.S. Treasury funds in Latin America. He and his brother organized the International Basic Economy Corporation, known as IBEC, for the specific purpose of exploiting the Latin American situation. It was organized with a capitalization of \$8,405,000, most of it supplied by Nelson, and a staff of employees who had been groomed for their functions in the Government service and at the expense of the taxpayers.

IBEC is playing its role in the expansion of the Rockefeller Empire and its profits in South America. It has undertaken to give Latin America a "New Deal" that will be as profitable to the Rockefeller interests as that in the U.S. In Venezuela it has set up in partnership with Rockefeller-controlled oil companies, that have invested \$10,000,000 in its non-voting preferred stock, a \$12,380,000 Venezuela Basic Economy Corporation. It established, in cooperation with the Venezuelan government, a group of retail enterprises which, as in the case of R. H. Macy, Nelson Rockefeller favors and has found profitable. These include a food and grocery chain

that was designed to give them a throttle-hold on the food supply of the country. It naturally aroused the antagonism of the established merchants, has made Rockefeller and Americans unpopular in Venezuela, and stirred powerful efforts to oust the Rockefellers and their "benevolence". Similar activities have been entered into by IBEC in Brazil, with the collaboration of dictator President Vargas, and in Ecuador, where President Plaza acts as agent of the Rockefellers.

The IBEC is being operated as an extension of the Rockefeller Foundation's pioneering activities and its profits are being surrounded with the usual Rockefeller aroma of "philanthropy". Likewise it is the spearhead of the usual Rockefeller-Soviet Axis penetration. It is following the usual pattern of their decoy activities, shifting the burden of maintenance to the taxpayers and the profits into their own purses. They established the American International Association for Economic and Social Development which, following the Communist vogue, is abbreviated to AIA. In its agricultural development it is a cooperative, New Deal Farm Security Administration program with socialized medicine, health clinics, farm credits and other devices. Arthur H. Vandenberg Jr., son of Rockefeller's former "bipartisan" leader in the Senate, is employed by the Rockefellers in their Brazilian subsidiary.

The inter-American program has been so advantageous to the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis that the Rockefellers have undertaken to extend their sham philanthropies to other sections of the world that affect their interests, at the expense of the American taxpayer. The use of their Marshall Plan, Point 4 program and Atlantic Pact for this purpose will be described presently.

On September 24, 1951, Nelson Rockefeller, as officer of the family's Museum of Modern Art, opened the People's Art Institute, a la Stalin, as a new division. The addresses at the ceremony, and the television broadcast in connection with it, clearly revealed that its purpose was that common to all Communist and totalitarian propaganda,—to bring about a degeneration of intellect, taste and judgment and to reduce public intelligence to the lowest level of depravity with the objectives of more readily gaining the submission and subjection of the "peasantry" and of holding them in subjugation.



One of the devices used, the exacting of admiration of the fumings of diseased minds as "art", is a process comparable to Petruchio's requiring Katherine to call "black", "white", in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. The participants, most of them pawns and agents of the Rockefeller Empire, presented the new Institute as one of Nelson's "noble philanthropies", in spite of the fact that the money for its erection and equipment was supplied by others.

The pattern of his activities indicates that it is the objective of the Rockefellers to place Nelson Rockefeller in the White House by some means, whether direct, indirect or cataclysmic. Direct election as President is now possible with the sham "philanthropic", "benevolent" and "public-spirited" build up he has had; but it is improbable. More probable would be his nomination as Vice-Presidential candidate on one of their "bipartisan" or "omni-partisan" tickets at the side of a Presidential candidate whom they know to be tottering at the edge of the grave, or who could be disposed of by some other of the methods of purging that have become so commonplace during their New and Fair Deals. But most likely method of all, would be his appointment as Secretary of State in an Administration headed by two dying or expendable men, following whose exitus the Secretary of State might be eligible to succeed as President. Stranger things than that have transpired in Washington in the past several decades.

The confidence of the Rockefeller Empire planners in their success in duping the American public is evinced by the shows they are staging of participation of the Rockefeller wives in public position, as semi-royal consorts. Thus on September 17, 1951, according to a special dispatch to their New York Times, Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller attended a conference at the Pentagon as one of forty-four members of the Defense Administration Committee on Women in the Services, which was presided over by Imperial agents, former Secretary of Defense General George Marshall, his successor, Robert Lovett, and Assistant Secretary Anna M. Rosenberg. In the early edition of the newspaper, Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller is reported to have posed a rhetoric question on civil defense, which elicited from their puppet Secretary of the Air Force

Thomas K. Finletter the familiar, anticipated, and most probably pre-arranged, answer that not enough money was being squandered on this favorite psychologic device and method of money-wasting of the conspirators.

Laurance Spelman Rockefeller, who is nicknamed "Bill", was born in New York in 1910. He received his preliminary education at the "progressive" Lincoln School and then graduated from Princeton, where his special interest was philosophy. In 1934, two years after his graduation, he married Mary French, whose family were old friends. They have one son and three daughters.

In August 1933, Laurance widened the "liberal" contacts to which his "education" had exposed him by representing his family interests at the Banff Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as secretary. He was there in company of such characters and Rockefeller proteges as the self-proclaimed "top American Communist", who is now imprisoned for his less savory Communist activities, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Benjamin H. Kizer, Harriet Moore, Kate Mitchell and Owen Lattimore, birds of a feather, all of them editors of the notorious espionage agency Amerasia, and all subsidized by Rockefeller "philanthropies".

Laurance Rockefeller holds the family seat on the New York Stock Exchange. His business interests include directorates in the Merchants Fire Assurance Corp., International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd., Filatures & Tissages Africains, Eastern Air Lines, International Basic Economy Corp., Chase National Bank, Rockefeller Center Inc. and Rockefeller Brothers Inc.

Winthrop Rockefeller, now thirty-eight years old, received his preliminary education at the Lincoln School, and in 1931 graduated from the Loomis School. He attended Yale University, but did not graduate, lacking interest. In the words of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr., quoted by Joe Alex Morris in the Saturday Evening Post press release of theirs in the January 6, 1951 issue, his brothers used to "make Winthrop the goat all the time . . . You know very well," she is quoted as writing, "that the only way to help him is being kind to him. Abuse only makes him angry and much worse, while for love and kind treatment, he will do anything". Apparently he was regarded as a weakling and

something of a black sheep; but has grown to be the strongest and biggest of them and has acquired a reputation as a Don Juan.

In February 1949, Winthrop married the divorced wife of Richard Sears Jr. of the Boston social set. Born Jievyte Paulekiute, the daughter of a Lithuanian emigrant coal miner of Nobleton, Pa., she was taken with her sister, by their mother after her divorce from their father, to Chicago. There the mother obtained employment in a mattress factory. And Jievyte attended high school under the name of Eva Paul, won a Miss Lithuania contest, attended Northwestern University for a year and a half, and then became a model and "bit part" actress. She married Sears in 1941, adopted the name of Barbara, mingled in Boston society, and in October 1948, divorced him. In the following February she married Winthrop, after a quarrel and a flight to Palm Beach. Their son Winthrop Jr., was born seven months later, fully matured.

Shortly after the birth of the child, rumors of estrangement were followed by a separation. "Bobo", as Barbara Paulekiute Sears Rockefeller is nicknamed, has refused to grant a divorce to Winthrop, whose name has been coupled romantically in the newspaper columns with an endless array of women. Rumor reports that one of the barriers to a divorce is the refusal by Winthrop to make adequate financial provision for his son; and that "Bobo" has said: "I want to make him suffer the way he has made me suffer." She is living with her mother and stepfather on a farm near Lowell, Indiana, with her son.

The "Cinderella marriage", in which there appears to have been some element of hurriedness and emergency, was made the best of by the Rockefeller publicity men. It was made the basis of a story for "humanizing" the Rockefellers in the eyes of the American "peasants", just as a similar use was made of the remarriage of John D. Jr. several years later. Attempt was made to use this "humaniza-tion" in connection with the political ambitions of Winthrop, as will be related below.

Winthrop was the only one of the Rockefeller boys to identify himself directly with the oil industry. He worked as a hand in the oil fields. He later served as vice president of the Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., which is not too closely identified, in name and



in the public mind, with the Standard Oil Co., though it is an integral part of it. He fell in line with the family tradition of dissociating from public identification with the Standard Oil, however, by resigning his Socony Vacuum position at midyear, 1951, with sufficient attendant publicity to emphasize the act. Winthrop's active interest in oil included a participation in the drilling for oil in in the Jackson Hole Park in the Tetons that had been set up following a "philanthropic gift" of some acreage to the government by the Rockefellers, on condition that the large holdings of the local ranchers be expropriated for inclusion in the park. The records do not indicate whether the ranchers were permitted to retain rights to their oil.

Their Saturday Evening Post apologist, Joe Alex Miller, portrays Winthrop as the humanitarian of the family. He writes:

"His job is, broadly, human relations, both during office hours at Socony Vacuum and in such outside activities as the Urban League, where he has provided vigorous leadership in dealing with the social and economic problems of Negroes. Perhaps, only a psychologist could suggest whether his interest in this field stems subconsciously from the fact that his older brothers sometimes were inclined to push him around, as a child . . . until he outgrew them all." The reason the author assigns for the interest of Winthrop in the activities of the Urban League is an erroneous one. It has become a tradition in the Rockefeller Empire that each of the princes inherit and take over one of the traditional "philanthropies" of the family as a device for maintaining the benevolent pose before certain elements. As a Baptist, one of the prominent activities of John D. the First was displaying a missionary interest in the welfare of his Negro co-religionists. Just as John D. 3rd took on the Rockefeller Foundation, Nelson A. the Museum for Modern Art and the fostering of Communist ideals in the arts, sciences and politics, Lau-rance the Memorial Center for Cancer, so Winthrop took on the Urban League as his special "philanthropic" pose. His father had originally developed the General Education Board from what was an organization for the education of negroes; and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial that was set up in honor of his grandmother, was a steady con-

tributor to both the National and the New York Urban Leagues. The League is an organization that has been active in stirring up the question of racialism and color. It has largely come under Communist influence and serves the purposes of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, especially in the U.S. and Africa, as will be related. With Rockefeller support it has been very active in the Fair Employment Practise Act agitation that has split the Democratic Party wide open. Winthrop Rockefeller is Director of the Urban League.

In the Army, which Winthrop entered as a private, to be promoted with amazing rapidity to the rank of lieutenant colonel, he had an opportunity to display his pose of pro-Negro favoritism by refusing to discipline a Negro sergeant who refused to take orders from white, Southern superior officers; this incident has been widely publicized, especially in Negro circles and in the Saturday Evening Post propaganda referred to above.

Some of the uses to which this pro-Negro pose has been put has been recounted in connection with the Point 4 program for the development of Africa for Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. Another significant use has escaped wide public notice—use in politics in the U.S. This is illustrated by a story carried by the New York Herald Tribune in its February 25, 1949, issue. This report reads as follows:

DUBINSKY, WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER AND CORSI  
MAY BE FUSION SLATE

Line-Up of Republicans and Liberals Is Reported  
Under Discussion by Anti-O'Dwyer Forces  
By Murray Snyder

Anti-O'Dwyer forces were reported last night to be discussing a possible fusion ticket for the city election consisting of:

For Mayor—David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, vice-chairman of the Liberal party and a leading New Dealer.

For Comptroller—Winthrop Rockefeller, fourth son of John D. Rockefeller Jr., leader in the Public Education Association and Urban League, an executive of Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, and a Republican.

For Council President—Edward Corsi, State Industrial Commissioner, a Republican.

Two leaders in the independent Republican group which is digging into the city administration's record in the effort to induce a formal investigation by the Legislature admitted hearing this ticket discussed, but denied sponsorship of it.

Clendening Ryan, organizer of the National Clean Government Fund, who has announced that a \$500,000 campaign fund would be made available for a fusion campaign, insisted he was backing no candidates. But he said the Dubinsky-Rockefeller-Corsi line-up "looks like a pretty good combination."

Desmond Fitzgerald, chairman of the Committee of Five Million, said: "We're not picking candidates; we're interested in producing proof of maladministration and corruption in the city."

The tentative fusion slate even includes a candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, a race the group believes will rival the Mayoralty, due to the fact that Tammany Leader Hugo E. Rogers is the incumbent and candidate for re-election. The fusionists have suggested Secretary of State Thomas J. Curran, Manhattan Republican leader, for the nomination.

Mr. Ryan, an original fusioneer in the 1933 campaign and a secretary and Commissioner of Commerce under the late Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, expressed surprise last night—and some annoyance—that the discussions of a Liberal-Republican ticket had leaked out.

Asserting that his group's primary interest was "restoring clean government" rather than naming candidates, Mr. Ryan said that many "good, bad and indifferent" suggestions had been made to him in the last week. Asked for his appraisal of the Dubinsky-Rockefeller-Corsi city slate, he said:

"There's no question but that they would qualify as patriotic and able officials. Until the full picture of what has been going on under the present administration is brought out, I hope these gentlemen will keep an open mind and not turn down an opportunity to serve the city."

The importance of the suggested nomination of Mr. Dubinsky was twofold: (1) Mayor William O'Dwyer, having broken with the Left-Wing American Labor party, has courted the Right-Wing Liberals, who, though uncommitted, have criticized the



Mayor and Tammany Hall increasingly of late; and (2) the Liberals, with Mr. Dubinsky as the moving spirit, gave more assistance to President Truman last fall than did Mayor O'Dwyer and Tammany Hall, thus making it difficult for the President to intercede in an O'Dwyer-Dubinsky contest.

Mr. Corsi has the high regard of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who last week voiced his full support of the projected fusion movement after a talk with Mr. Ryan and Mr. Fitzgerald. The Governor is understood to feel that Mr. Corsi could be elected Mayor. Friends of Mr. Corsi credit him with a considerable following among labor unions.

Mr. Rockefeller, who is chairman of the board of trustees of New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, has been a leader in the Public Education Association's campaign for greater state aid for schools. His services as a director of the Urban League won him national recognition as an opponent of anti-Negro discrimination. (End of quote from N.Y. Herald Tribune)

The Rockefeller propagandists and publicity agents are cautiously trying to ease the Rockefellers into elective public offices that will give them direct control of our government and will facilitate the plan to make them openly the nation's rulers. In each case it is sought to build them up as the proponents of some minority group or splinter fraction; but in every case as "liberals" or Marxists of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis pattern, as proponents of "Rockefellerism". In the case of Winthrop, the special groups toward which the propaganda was slanted were the Reds, Labor and the Negroes.

In this particular instance, the scheme struck a snag for various reasons. The campaign was called off, in so far as it concerned David Dubinsky, Socialist labor unioner (who was one of the original organizers of the Communist-dominated CIO, and a member of the Rockefeller Empire's Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations), and Winthrop Rockefeller. Marxist State Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi became the Rockefeller "tripartisan" Republican mayoralty candidate in a three-cornered campaign against two Rockefeller-dominated Democratic candidates, Judge Ferdinand Pecora and Acting Mayor Vincent Impellitteri. Corsi accused his opponents of being the candidates

of a split underworld, of the Maffia, the former, according to his statement, was the candidate of Genovese, Adonis and Costello (top men in the national Crime Syndicate), and the latter that of Thomas Luchese, alias Three-Finger Brown (No. 4 man in crime in the East). All of them played stellar roles in the Senate Committee For Investigation of Crime headed by Kefauver, that for a time diverted the attention of the nation from that acme of crimes, the Korean "police action", engaged in, in the words of kinsman Dulles, "to keep the American people artificially alarmed." There does not seem to be any reason to question the accuracy of Corsi's statements. But in view of the foregoing story and Corsi's record, they might have rejoined that Corsi was the candidate of an allied gang, the Rockefeller gang. But the Rockefeller press would not have published the story.

Though Winthrop Rockefeller would have been in friendly company with any and all of these Rockefeller dominated candidates, no doubt it was deemed wiser for him not to be openly identified with the mobster complexion of the election. A number of schemes of the Rockefeller agents had misfired. It had been planned that the opposition gangster elements would be forced to run for cover by the exposure, through the wiretaps, of their tie-in with former Mayor O'Dwyer and the wholesale bribing of police officials. This has been done since, by the District Attorney, just as it had been done for them in the 1930's by their agent, District Attorney Thomas Dewey. At that time Dewey effected the conviction and jailing of "Lucky" Luciano with evidence largely fed him by his bosses, merely to release him several years later, after Dewey had risen to the position of their puppet Governor of the State of New York, largely on the basis of the reputation he had gained through that conviction. This release left Luciano free to flood this country with narcotics, as the chief agent of the drug interests producing them. This performance was to have been repeated, with the aid of the wire-tappers employed by Clendening Ryan. Incidentally, Danton Walker revealed that the same wiretappers were employed on behalf of Alger Hiss.

Clendening Ryan announced that \$500,000 (of Rockefeller money) would be available for the fusion campaign of Winthrop Rockefeller. Ryan had

been Commissioner of Commerce, and with David Rockefeller, was secretary to the Rockefeller puppet, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. He is the son of Thomas Fortune Ryan. Ryan, Anthony Brady and John D. Rockefeller were old-time buccaneer allies in New York City politics, who joined forces to gain control of the utilities of New York City and employed Bernard Baruch as their stock-market operator in their malodorous enterprises.

The scheme was inadvertently upset by me when I caught the wiretappers employed by Rockefeller's agent, Clendening Ryan, attempting to tap the wires of city officials through a phone box in the basement of my home. The stench aroused by this exposure and threats of prosecution undoubtedly were factors in impelling the calling-off of the "Fusion" move and the Winthrop Rockefeller candidacy. But Rockefeller interests lost little. As usual, all the candidates were theirs. Vincent Impellitteri, product of Sicily, the birthplace of the Maffia, appointed their agent, Beardsley Ruml, to the post of Deputy Comptroller of the City of New York, where he could write their tax bills as effectively as if Winthrop had been elected Comptroller. Winthrop, in all probability, will be candidate for some other elective office that will further the interests of the Empire, at a future date and under more auspicious circumstances.

In the meantime Winthrop has been busy expanding the interests of the Empire in South America, more especially in Brazil, in company with Arthur Vandenberg Jr. and the dictator President Getulio Vargas.

David Rockefeller was born in New York City on June 12, 1915. He received his preliminary education at John Dewey's Rockefeller-financed and Marxist, Teachers College's Red experimental school, the Lincoln School. Of all the Rockefeller offspring, David, the youngest, was most successfully indoctrinated as a Rockefeller Red. This indoctrination was reinforced at Harvard, where he received his B.S. in 1936. The process was carried even further at the Rockefeller-subsidized Marxist breeding ground, the London School of Economics, under the tutelage of the Rockefeller protege Harold Laski. And the Marxist thought-control process was finished off at Rockefeller-dominated University of Chicago, where David took a Ph.D.



degree in "social sciences" in 1940.

For his U. of Chicago Ph.D. thesis, David Rockefeller wrote on the subject that is closest to the heart of all Rockefellers, thrift. The thesis *Unused Resources and Economic Waste*, was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1941. In the preface, he gives credit for "my greatest intellectual debt" to Professor Frank H. Knight, whose thinking and writings are sound and rational. But he also acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Professor Oskar Lange, who resigned from his professorial position at the University of Chicago to serve the Communist regime of his homeland, Poland, when the Russians took it over. The latter now is a Communist Polish representative to the United Nations, whose activities have been heavily subsidized by the Rockefellers for the writing of textbooks for use in American public schools. David represents his purpose as follows:

"... I was interested in finding the meaning and cause of economic waste." After some two hundred pages of "social science" abacadabra, mixed with commonsense observations, criticism of some fellow "social scientists" and their work, and the usual charts that are intended to convey a sense of mathematical exactitude and are therefore so dear to dispensers of social quackery, he arrives at the inconclusive conclusions: that for the individual and the family there is no real waste except what might be dictated by carelessness or stupidity (p. 220) ; that for the businessman ("entrepreneur") waste is a matter of profits, and "is measured by the ratio of actual performance to the alternative performance which could be most remunerative" (p. 222) ; and "the really crucial wastes to be considered are broad social wastes in the general economic system, which, from the standpoint of action, fall primarily in the province of governments." Social waste, he states, may be predicated on the assumption "that total welfare moves in the same direction as economic welfare and that waste is the ratio of the actual to the ideal", that might be considered on the basis of relative actual employment to "full" employment, of relative actual production to "full" production, or relative "full" employment and "ideal" distribution of income and purchasing power to that actually prevailing. It involves much evasiveness and

double-talk that can be summed up in the remark: "Waste is waste, if that is what you mean."

Though giving credit for influence and advice to his professors, David Rockefeller avoids expressing conviction in the ideas of any of them. He is critically contemptuous of the economic claptrap which the family philanthropies and their allies subsidized as propaganda for influencing and "guiding" the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Among these are Brookings Institution report, *The Distribution of Wealth and Income in Relation to Economic Progress*, and the National Resources Committee's report, *Patterns of Resource Use*. The Columbia University Commission report, entitled *Economic Reconstruction*, he dismisses as even more stupid and ludicrous than the rest.

From the thesis, it is obvious that the strongest influence on David's thought was the pragmatic commercial advice of his father. This is confirmed by the report in the *Saturday Evening Post* publicity on the influence of the father on the activities of his sons. This leads one to seek for clues in this thesis, which was obviously designed to mask thought rather than to express it, of what is in the minds of its authors. In the concluding chapter, he states:

"Social waste brings up the whole question of how far and by what means a government can or should play a positive and aggressive role designed to promote welfare." In the discussion of this topic he points out that a "tyranny may exercise many of the same controls as a popularly sanctioned government . . . ", and then hastily drops the topic as if to avoid revealing his preference for it. Then he goes on to confirm the impression thus given in the next sentence, reading "Even if the principle of popular sovereignty is taken as axiomatic . . . ", which clearly indicates that he questions this premise, again indicating his preference for some form of tyranny. He goes on to say:

"... there remain a variety of government forms under which, if their advocates are to be given credence, the 'good of all' is to be cherished above everything else."

His cynicism regarding popular sovereignty and democracy is quite obvious. His views coincide with those of his father's adviser, Hoffman Nickerson,

and his protege, Professor Philip Mosely, who scorn the "peasants".

He then proceeds to list as distinguishable, "three systems of popular government which find support at the present time" and the measures which each would adopt to combat unemployment. The choice in his listings of both forms and remedies, suggests the rationalization of "bipartisanship" which his family have so actively advocated and effected in our government. The "laissez faire", or free-enterprise, system that he suggests would discourage monopoly, adopt government operation or regulation of "natural monopolies," "distribute wealth" and income by a graduated income, estate or inheritance tax, grant temporary relief to the unemployed; but diminish government interference and act merely as an economic "policeman." His definition of freedom of enterprise comes as close to a description of a Marxist managed economy as does his definition of a democratic managed economy except in the rate of concentration of power and management in the hands of the rulers, and in price fixing. In practise the transition from the former to the latter has been accomplished by stealth and by gradual encroachment on the Constitution, by Rockefeller agents in government posts. Finally the Marxist Socialist economy is represented as not in any respect differing from the other two, except in that the government would own industry and control wages more directly and distribute wealth directly instead of through taxation. It is notable that no reference is made to the alternative of a truly free economy, such as has restored prosperity in Belgium, when the other lands about her pined under a (mis)managed economy; or to the possibility of a free surplus economy in compliance with the intent of those who wrote our Constitution.

For popular consumption Dr. David Rockefeller threw in a line that could be played up by the publicity man as an illustration of "reform" and "benevolence" of the Rockefellers. That line, which appears on page 170 and was quoted by all the reviewers, reads:

"The existence of monopoly offers prima facie evidence of a social evil." There is little in the text other than reference to some crackpot "social science" dribbles to bear out the statement. Perhaps, Dr. David had the family-



controlled monopoly of American Telephone and Telegraph Co. in mind when he wrote that passage. And who are we to disagree?

Following the completion of his erudite thesis and the receipt of his doctorate, David Rockefeller married Margaret McGrath of Mount Kisco, New York. They have two sons and three daughters and reside at 125 East 65 Street, New York City. He maintains an office, with his brothers, at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, and a summer home at Pocantico Hills, Westchester County, New York.

Immediately following his graduation, David Rockefeller became secretary to the Rockefeller-puppet "Fusion" (they prefer that term in local politics to "bipartisan", which they reserve for their agents on the national scene) Mayor of New York City, the violently Red and shiftily Fiorello H. La Guardia. In that position David applied his vast erudition, in company with Clendening Ryan, to the task of overseeing one of the most "virtuously" corrupt and most extravagant administrations that the City of New York had ever had. It proved highly profitable to the Rockefeller interests in many directions, but literally bankrupted the City. In the LaGuardia administration David's "liberalism" had ample opportunity to develop by contact with some of the most notorious Communists and fellow travellers in the land, such as Vito Marcantonio and Simon Gerson, that infested the regime.

At the outbreak of World War II, he received an appointment as Assistant Regional Director of the Office of Defense, Health and Welfare Service. Following a period of duty in the intelligence service in Africa and France, in the course of which he rose from the rank of private to captain, and became assistant military attache in Paris, he assumed the post of Vice President and Assistant Manager of the Foreign Department of the Chase National Bank. In the meantime he adopted the familiar "philanthropic" pose as trustee of various of the family "philanthropic" enterprises, including the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the University of Chicago, the International House, the Museum of Modern Art and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In the latter post he shared with his kinsman John Foster Dulles and other fellow members of the Council on Foreign Relations, the responsibility for the appointment of

the Empire's agent, Alger Hiss, a close associate and fellow member of the Council on Foreign Relations, to the post of President of the Carnegie Endowment; and for the appointment of Hiss' top assistant in the State Department, (who had resigned when a leak of top secret information was traced to the Division of International Security Affairs) as Hiss' successor as president of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace.

David Rockefeller is also president of Morning-side Heights Inc., an organization for planning the redevelopment of that section of New York City.

David Rockefeller's next foray into public life was as Commissioner of Westchester County, acting in advisory capacity in the Council's five-year planning program. Those five-year plans are redolent of the stench of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. He acknowledged the Communist tang of such "plans" in an interview which he gave Merrill Folsom for a special dispatch to the New York Times on October 18, 1948. He said:

"Too many planners have held a socialist philosophy and their planning has reflected that philosophy. The reputation of planners is that they are left wing. This accounts for the prejudice many persons have against planning.

"I am in this work because planning is essential to any institution that is dynamic in growth. Any intelligent person should look ahead and plan for an objective. And I believe in the (N.B. he omitted private) enterprise system, not planning for socialism."

No one acquainted with the extent of the Rockefeller holdings in Westchester and adjacent Putnam counties would suspect any Socialism about their activities there. Imperialism is the order of the day. Mention has been made of the devices that have been adopted by Rockefeller's Westchester County to reduce their taxes. Most notable is the old "robber baron" device of charging a toll for use of the roads. Each year there are fewer highways that the public can use in Westchester County without paying a toll, or several tolls. To what extent Rockefeller "planning" has accounted for this baronial pattern, would bear investigating. But there can be no question of the overshadowing influence of the Rockefellers in the counties.

It is hard to believe that the Paul Robeson in-62

cident could have occurred in Peekskill without their acquiescence. The Communist Party undertook to stage a treasonous demonstration near Peekskill in the summer of 1949, in spite of the protests of the local citizenry and veteran organizations. They invaded the county under the protection of the officials who defied the loyal citizenry, created a disturbance of the peace, and were driven out by a group of veterans. On the following Sunday, a Communist mob armed with weapons of all varieties invaded the town, with the permission, and under the protection, of local officials, that they demanded and obtained. A group of veterans and loyal citizens assembled to drive out the subversive invaders, who came to disturb the peace in organized caravans recruited from five surrounding states. The local authorities and the augmented police force defied the citizenry and fought with them to protect the invaders. Instead of arresting the latter for disturbing the peace of the community and outraging the patriotic citizenry, the police arrested loyal townsmen; and the local authorities subsequently undertook to prosecute the latter on the demand of the Communist Party and of the subversive demonstrators. In this manner the Duchy of the Rockefellers undertook to make a crime of loyalty of the citizenry. To cap the climax, when the veterans undertook to organize a patriotic counter-demonstration, their plans were sabotaged and their efforts blocked by forces so powerful that no loyal demonstration could be staged. Neighbor Rockefeller never raised voice or finger to help or come to the support of the loyal citizenry.

Among the projects that Commissioner Rockefeller told his interviewer that he had in mind were new parkways and throughways, highway improvement and airport expansion. But he stated he was more especially interested in effecting a consolidation of the villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown into a city, as proposed by his father, that would eliminate duplicate services. The Rockefellers are endlessly persevering in their plans, pass them down from generation to generation, until they carry them through. Some future date will undoubtedly arrive when the Rockefellers will openly emerge as Barons of Westchester.

David Rockefeller, as has been related, is an active member of their Foreign Office, the Council on



Foreign Relations, where he has been associated with such distinguished gentry as Owen Lattimore, David Dubinsky, Justice Felix Frankfurter, Dean Acheson, Philip Jessup, Senator William Benton, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Joseph E. Johnson and Alger Hiss.

There are several traits which the Rockefellers share in common, of which they boasted in their publicity release by Joe Alex Miller in the Saturday Evening Post. First they made it quite clear that their highest principle is profit. This is illustrated by the tale of John D. Jr. who though he was in theory a Prohibitionist and one of the most important forces in imposing Prohibition on the nation, was perfectly satisfied to lease his property to speakeasies and to extend to them the protection of his authority. It is frankly related that:

"Their attitude toward money was of importance. By training and example they were far from soft about financial affairs. On the contrary, they were keenly interested in making money and, on various occasions, have made full use of all the legitimate business advantages the Rockefellers possess to do so. And one of the boys, while at college, distressed his mother by remarking that he was deliberately training himself to be cold and calculating in order to prevent his personal feelings from influencing his judgment in financial affairs."

Their parsimony, according to the publicity matter, even exceeds that of John D. Sr.; and in whatever they do they seek "to get a sound return on their investment." They are lavish with what costs them little or nothing—words and sentiment, as quoted by a friend of theirs:

"The Rockefellers almost never give presents of much value, but they understand the value of thoughtfulness." But they are ultra-lavish with other people's money, usually spent to serve their own interests, as is illustrated by Nelson Rockefeller's lavish squandering of public funds as Coordinator of Hemispheric Defense and his current demand for billions for their Point 4 program, Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact. The situation has been aptly expressed by Walter Trohan to the effect that they outdo John D. Sr. who sparingly gave away his own dimes, whereas his descendants are lavishly dissipating

other people's money and property, the wealth and patrimony of the nation, largely for their own advantage.

In all of this there emerges added proof that their so-called "philanthropies" were conceived as, and are, enormously profitable indirect investments. This is virtually conceded in the same publicity release in the statement:

"In the Rockefeller concept, however, the philanthropic principle of helping people to help themselves, of using money as a tool to make available the means of progress and self improvement, is inseparably linked to the development of sound business principles." This "principle" has been well understood and frequently restated by all Rockefeller "philanthropic" agents; and it has been most recently restated by their agent, Beardsley Ruml, in his announcement of profits that can be derived from the diversion of tax money to research and philanthropy, as detailed elsewhere.

There also emerges from a study of the situation, an amazing picture of overshadowing fear of poverty and loss of fortune. This was clearly indicated by John D. Sr., when he acknowledged to the members of the Standard Oil luncheon club, when he was worth many billions of dollars, in 1905, that he often awoke at night in a cold sweat in fear of ruin and poverty. This pathologic driving force behind their super-Napoleonic complex emerges once again in their Saturday Evening Post publicity in a statement by one of them:

"There is an old saying: 'Shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations.' Well we have to avoid a third-generation anticlimax." In ail the publicity matter released by them there stands out a studied effort to undervalue their fortune. At every turn they mention the figures on its size that they want the public to accept. Thus in the publicity release on August 15, 1951, made by the firm of Ivy Lee & T. J. Ross in connection with John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s remarriage, it was stated by them:

"His personal fortune has been estimated at between \$250,000,000 and \$400,000,000." This figure is so absurdly low that it appears probable that it is part of a long and deep laid plan to avoid the payment of inheritance taxes on the bulk

of the fortune at a future date, in the case of John D. Jr. as in the case of John D. Sr. The latter's estate paid an inheritance tax on only \$25,000,000, though his fortune was probably hundreds and possibly thousands of times larger.

These estimates can be arrived at in a number of ways. First, John D. Sr. acknowledged his practise to be to give away only a tithe, a tenth of his earnings. He gave away well over a billion dollars, making it apparent that his earnings were well over ten billion dollars. The capital value, from which those earnings had been derived, could scarcely be less than twice that sum, or twenty billion dollars. His estate paid inheritance taxes on approximately one tenth of one percent of that sum. Since then the fortune has grown by leaps and bounds. It has been augmented by the development of new industries, technologic developments, new conquests and inflation. It has been augmented by the dissipation of the tremendous volume of taxes levied on the nation, by their "New" and "Fair" Deals, a large part of which has flowed into their enterprises and eventually into their purses. It has been augmented by the tremendous expenditures of the nation on "Lend Lease", the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program and numerous other schemes for looting the taxpayers of the nation and the peoples of the world, the preponderating part of which has flowed into their coffers. It has been augmented by endless wars, including World Wars I and II, and their Korean "police action". It has been augmented by the tremendous profits of their Drug Trust. It has been augmented by the virtual exemption from taxation of many of their enterprises, particularly those launched by them abroad, as in Saudi Arabia and Africa, at the expense of the American taxpayers. It has been augmented steadily by the events that have spelled pain and misery for the rest of the world.

It is probably safe to say that the extent of the Rockefeller fortune is so fabulous that it can not be expressed in terms of money. In substance their fortune represents control of the natural resources of the world, plus the control of most important developments of the future, including atomic developments, on which the American taxpayer is spending billions for them. It is safe to say that if John D. Jr.'s estate will pay an inheritance tax



commensurate with that levied on others, the payment will more than wipe out our national debt. And that would be poetic justice. For the bulk of that debt has been incurred in the expansion of the Rockefeller Empire.

If the Rockefellers desire to extend a true philanthropy to the nation, let them pay and wipe out the national debt, which has been so largely incurred in the expansion of their Empire.

On December 1, 1951 the press announced that a John D. Rockefeller had been jailed. He had not undertaken to overthrow governments and enslave their citizenry. He had not looted nations of billions and impoverished whole peoples. He had committed no act of treason. Nor had he started wars that robbed mothers of their sons and wives of their husbands, and killed thousands of persons. His chief offense was lack of imagination that makes such grandiose schemes "respectable". His instincts were traditionally "correct". But he had robbed someone of a trivial sum that would scarcely be missed; and he lacked the ingenuity to pretend that it was done in the interest of his victim and for his benefit. And even more serious was his offense in being caught. His was really a grave crime and for it he will be punished by imprisonment under the law. There he will learn that crimes can be committed with impunity and honor only if the criminal controls the government.

## CHAPTER IV

### "PHILANTHROPIES" OBJECTIVES OF ROCKEFELLER

#### U.S. Monarchy & World Dictatorship

"The people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands"

#### Rockefeller-Gates' Occasional Letter No. 1

As early as 1872, in the Southern Improvement Company scandal, public recognition of the ruthless greed involved in its affairs threatened to bankrupt and ruin the Standard Oil Co. and put an end to Rockefeller's aspiration for security through monopoly and dictatorship. Fortuitous circumstances saved Rockefeller and his company. But learning nothing from that experience, Rockefeller and his associates went right on with their schemes and continued recklessly to flaunt the force of public opinion, in a headlong career of ruthless rapacity.

Rockefeller made hosts of enemies who were alert to the powers of public opinion. They undertook to use it as a weapon in their battle with the Standard Oil pirates. They organized and synthesized into an effective force the "socially conscious", the radicals, the "liberals" and other vocal groups, together with the demagogues, the politicians, the clergy and the press, in order to carry their fight to the public and win its support. Some of this was nothing more than commercial blackmail.

As resentment against the Oil Trust grew, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests were held up by the politicians through the device of "strike bills", and badgered by investigations and court actions. The muckrakers, church organizations and social-service groups exposed the ugly situation and further fanned public resentment. President Theodore Roosevelt, who had succeeded Rockefeller's hand-picked ally, President McKinley, played to the gallery by attacking the Standard Oil Company while indirectly he demanded increased Standard Oil contributions to his campaign funds.

The situation reached its climax in 1907 with the decree handed down by Judge Kenesaw Landis against the Standard Oil Company, imposing a fine of twenty nine million dollars. Two weeks later the panic of 1907 was precipitated. In 1911 the dis-

solution of the Standard Oil Company was ordered by the Supreme Court.

Rockefeller fiercely resented what he regarded as government interference in his private business. He regarded its conduct as his own affair. It could hardly be expected that he would not fight back. He responded as keenly and as incisively to the virulent and well organized slander and persecution as he had to the other problems that had confronted him in his business. Two modes of approach to such a problem were habitual; first was to compromise with a powerful enemy and to join forces with him; the second was to maneuver in the meantime to master and destroy him.

The enemies who confronted Rockefeller and who were responsible for the situation were three—the Wall Street crowd whom he had bested, the welfare and "liberal" crowd and the government. His score with Wall Street he paid rapidly. Within two weeks after the handing down of the decree, there broke loose the 1907 panic. As a result of the panic, the Rockefeller interests managed to get control of numerous, diversified and allied enterprises, and to tighten their hold on national banking.

As early as 1887, his in-law, Dr. A. H. Strong, pointed out to Rockefeller that only by a conspicuous pose of philanthropy could he hope to win over and seduce public opinion. Nevins cites the correspondence of Strong to Rockefeller of February 22, 1887, from the Harper Papers (JDR, v. 2, p. 208), as follows:

"Very many people do not understand you and they very unjustly accuse you . . . Your present gifts, to education and to the churches, do not stem the tide of aspersion as would the establishment of an institution for the public good, so great that it has manifestly cost a large self-sacrifice to build it." He went on to point out the success of George Pea-body in living down a bad reputation acquired by the commercial ruthlessness that was usual in the period, and continued to point out:

"He changed in his later days; began to make benevolence, not moneymaking, his principal aim in life; immediately he got a name for charity and public spirit; now he is remembered for nothing else. You have the opportunity of turning the unfavorable judgments of the world at



large into favorable judgments—and not only that —of going down to history as one of the world's greatest benefactors."

How little true spirit of charity there was in Rockefeller is demonstrated by the reply he made to a letter from his own mother, containing a plea for help from his cousin, cited by Nevins (JDR,

v. 2, p. 177) :

"I decided (I) would not comply with the request contained in it. I want to know surely, in giving, that I am putting the money where it will do the most good." Avowedly, his was an ostentatious display of charity, carefully studied to do the most good for himself and to yield him the highest profit. There was none of that true spirit of charity which does not let the right hand know what the left does. It was his plan not to give unless others were made acutely aware of his giving through being forced to give, too, unless giving served to advertise him, unless it furthered his objective and yielded him a profit. It is the same spirit that has permeated all of the Rockefeller "philanthropies", even to the present generation. It is the same spirit that, bred in his grandchildren, impelled one to tell his mother "that he was training himself to be cold and calculating in order to prevent his personal feelings from influencing his judgment in financial affairs." (Saturday Evening Post, December 30, 1950, p.64) John D.'s patriotism and his ruthlessness with the members of even his own family are illustrated by his relations with his brother Frank. Frank volunteered for service in the Civil War. John D. opposed the enlistment and bitterly refused to lend his brother seventy-five dollars for the purchase of equipment that he needed. When on his return from the war, Frank went into the oil business, John D. stripped him of the business. Frank's estimate of his brother John D. is as accurate a description of the clan as has ever been published. Removing the bodies of his children from the family cemetery plot in Cleveland, Frank said:

"No one of my family will ever rest on land controlled by that MONSTER, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER."

Coping with public opinion was a more complex problem that required long-range planning, craftiness and cunning. The mob, whom he held in con-

tempt, had not dealt kindly with Rockefeller. He had taken the brunt of the blows directed against the "Oil Trust", and had become the most hated man in the country. He could not walk the streets in safety. The ill will and hatred of the public also extended to the members of his family. It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that contempt of the people should ripen into hatred and should breed a desire for revenge. No subtler form of revenge on the mob could be conceived than to delude it into accomplishing its own subjugation and enslavement. No more cunning weapon could be conjured for accomplishing this revenge than fake "philanthropies". Rockefeller's "philanthropic" activities and their horrible consequences for mankind have been his slow but sure revenge.

Prominent in building up public antagonism against Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Co. had been "welfare" or "social service" organizations; the radical, Marxist and self-styled liberal elements; the church elements, especially the more "liberal" of them that were incorporated in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and allied organizations; and sections of the press. Acting on the principle—"If you can not lick your enemies, join 'em" — Rockefeller took them over, lock, stock and barrel.

Many of them, such as the social-service agencies of the type of the New York, and the National Tuberculosis and Health Associations, the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor and others that raised funds among the sucker public, emerged as extremely valuable ventures from every angle. The control of "social service" and of church organizations proved especially useful. For it served to muzzle and to check the censure of the sanctimonious and self-righteous elements in the community, and to cover all activities engaged in through such agencies with a cloak of respectability. And the most delicious irony of it, Rockefeller was wise and shrewd enough to discern, lay in the fact that by their goals, especially those of the radical and Marxist organizations, the unthinking mob was betraying itself into bondage and actually paying the cost thereof, and yielding a profit to those who engineered their betrayal. Sweet indeed were the uses of "benevolence" and "philanthropy"—and very, very profitable to some.

Rockefeller first became alerted to the uses of systematic and purposeful philanthropy, according to his biographer Nevins, (JDR, v. 1, p. 124) in his youth, through reading *Extracts From The Diary & Correspondence Of The Late Amos Lawrence*. The lesson he learned there on making philanthropy purposeful was well remembered.

The Rockefeller "philanthropies" were conceived for the dual purpose of taking the curse off the Rockefeller name and enabling the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests to carry on without interference from a hostile public or the government. One could hardly expect a man of Rockefeller's efficiency and financial ability to fail to expect to profit handsomely from the disarming advantages of a "philanthropic" front. That Rockefeller realized the profitable business possibilities of a "philanthropic" set-up is indicated by an interesting and revelatory story told of the inception of the plan to buy over public opinion and confound his detractors. It was conceived by Rev. Frederick Taylor Gates who had won John D's respect by his sharpness clothed with piety. Rockefeller had profited handsomely from deals engineered by Gates through religious activities as an executive officer of the American Baptist Education Society. Especially appreciated was his aid in gaining control, for a pittance, of the Mesabi mines, one of the richest iron deposits in the country. It netted many millions of dollars when later incorporated into the U.S. Steel Corporation. In *John D.—A Portrait In Oil*, John K. Winkler quotes Rockefeller Sr. as follows:

" 'Fred Gates was a wonderful business man,' said John D. with satisfaction. 'His work for the American Baptist Education Society required him to travel extensively. Once, as he was going south, I asked him to look into an iron mill in which I had an interest. His report was a model of clarity!

" 'Then I asked him to make some investigation of other property in the west. I had been told this particular company was rolling in wealth. Mr. Gates' report showed that I had been deceived.

" 'Now I realized that I had met a commercial genius. I persuaded Mr. Gates to become a man of business.' "

Mayhap one can judge with reasonable correctness that if religion helped net Reverend Frederick



T. Gates inordinately large profits in his dealings with his fellow men, the manipulation of millions certainly would not fail to do so. The "philanthropies" established with the cooperation of this "wonderful business man" could be expected to be highly profitable, directly or indirectly. They have been more profitable than investments of identical sums in even the Standard Oil Company.

The objective that lay at the back of Gates' and Rockefeller's minds at the inception of these "philanthropies" was clearly stated by Gates in the first publication of the General Education Board, the Occasional Paper No. 1, in 1904, as follows: "In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands. The present educational conventions fade from our minds, and unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk. We shall not try to make these people or any of their children into philosophers or men of learning, or of science. We have not to raise up from among them authors, editors, poets or men of letters. We shall not search for embryo great artists, painters, musicians, nor lawyers, doctors, preachers, politicians, statesmen of whom we have ample supply. The task we set before ourselves is very simple as well as a very beautiful one, to train these people as we find them to a perfectly ideal life just where they are. So we will organize our children into a community and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way, in the homes, in the shop and on the farm." For the past half century, however, the Rockefeller "philanthropies" have maintained the pretense that their purpose is exactly the reverse of that above stated. But that is characteristic of the strategies of the Rockefeller Empire, especially when dealing with the mob and its psychology. However, careful examination of the "philanthropic" activities will reveal that they are slowly but surely attaining the above stated goal.

The clear-cut statement of Rockefeller's purpose in his "philanthropies" has never been lost to sight by the Rockefellers or their agents. That purpose, from the very start, was, and still is, a "new social order," the establishment of a dictatorship in the

United States. The objective is to convert our republic into a totalitarian state, into what Hilaire Belloc has named a "Servile State", a state of slaves. This Rockefeller proposed to attain by propaganda, "thought control", bribery, corruption and force. And it is to be ruled by him or his heirs. In other words, Rockefeller was the first of the modern crop of would-be world dictators with super-Napoleonic paranoia. His was the inspiration of the crop that has plagued the world in the past half century. And in most instances, the Rockefellers extended support to them. The Empire which he founded, the Rockefeller Empire, is the first in all history that has approached his goal.

A more detailed statement of this purpose was made by John D. Jr.'s intimate friend, adviser on sociology and fellow member of the Union Club, Hoffman Nickerson. It was published in book form in 1930, by Doubleday Doran & Co., of which Theodore Roosevelt Jr. was president, under the title, **THE AMERICAN RICH**. This volume was the blueprint of the New Deal. In it, Nickerson, who fancies himself a superior specimen of the human animal ordained to rule by "divine right", and who speaks of all other Americans, whom he fancies as being of lesser clay, as "peasants", anticipated Hitler's regime and advocated a similar form of government for the United States. He suggested the ultimate goal of the New Deal as abolition of universal franchise; restriction of the vote to wealthy property owners; elimination of education because of the spirit of inquiry which it fosters, so that there may be restored the medieval mind and its submissiveness; and he urged the adoption in the United States, when the people shall have been forced into line, first of an elective but absolute monarchy and later of an hereditary monarchy.

This plan was advocated by implication and endorsed by another Rockefeller spokesman, Professor Philip E. Mosely, whose salary as Professor of International Relations is paid by the Rockefellers through funds granted by their Foundation to Columbia University for its Russian Institute. Professor Mosely is Assistant Director in Social Sciences of Rockefeller Foundation, and a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and Foreign Policy Association, which, as will be re-

lated presently, are top agency or "cabinet" and subsidiary, respectively, in the chain of Rockefeller-financed "internationalist" propaganda agencies. In a Headline Series pamphlet which Mosely wrote for distribution by the Foreign Policy Association as part of its propaganda and lobby barrage, he said:

"Over the long run, great numbers of people will judge both the Soviet and American systems, not by how much individual freedom they preserve, but by how much they contribute, in freedom or without it, to develop a better livelihood and a greater feeling of social fulfillment." So clearly stated are the totalitarian and subversive objectives of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" and so well have they been recognized, that Congress refused repeatedly to grant a charter to the Foundation. When directly after the Supreme Court decision in 1911, ordering the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company, Rockefeller sought of Congress a charter for the Rockefeller Foundation "to promote the well-being of mankind", Congress twice refused a charter to hold one hundred million dollars, on the grounds that it was a device for evasion of payment of taxes, that it was primarily intended for propaganda for seduction of public opinion and influencing politics, and that it would be a menace to the nation. The Foundation succeeded in securing from New York State in 1913 a charter to hold five hundred million dollars. Subsequently, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, in 1917, on the floor of the U.S. Senate, sounded a warning to our country on the menace of the Rockefeller "philanthropies". He stated:

"The Carnegie-Rockefeller influence is bad. In two generations they can change the minds of the people to make them conform to the cult of Rockefeller or to the cult of Carnegie, rather than to the fundamental principles of American democracy." Unfortunately this prediction already is fulfilled. Senator Robert F. Wagner, planted in the New York State Senate as a pawn of the Rockefeller interests, introduced and steered through that legislature a bill chartering the Rockefeller Foundation with a capitalization of \$500,000,000 and unlimited scope. It may be significant that Senator Wagner's reputed forebear was Professor Adolph Wagner,



who guided Prince Otto von Bismarck in setting up in Germany a "New Deal" and "welfare" state as a foundation for a German dictatorship and Empire, and for the eventual conquest of "Deutsch-land uber Alles". The pattern of the program which the Rockefeller interests had undertaken was a power pattern as old as human history, that already had become familiar to the modern age by the activities of Prince Otto von Bismarck. Prince Otto von Bismarck, Teutonic Knight who was bound by the Order's thousand-year-old oath to conquer the world, launched the "welfare" and "social service" program that now parades as the New Deal. Subsequently, he became the foster-father of Marxism and Communism. His objective in doing these things was world conquest, "Deutschland uber Alles". No one who knew the Iron Chancellor could be deceived for one moment into the belief that he had the remotest interest in the welfare of the weak or downtrodden. His mottoes were "Blood and Steel" and "Might Makes Right".

His program was a recrudescence of one which was old when it was introduced by the Gracchi in ancient Rome and which eventually destroyed the Empire. It furthered Bismarck's quest for personal power in several ways. First, it robbed the Socialists of the planks of their platform which made the greatest appeal to the mob—Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, Health Insurance, and all the other quasi-benevolent and paternalistic clap-trap. Bismarck shrewdly saw in these plans, devices fashioned to destroy liberty and to chain the workingclass to his program and to any jobs to which they might be assigned. He saw in that program a snare which would deceive them into accepting submarginal wages and the surrender of adequate present existence in return for a mirage of future security. As a means of winning the favor of the workers and of gaining some measure of power over industry and entree to its records, a part of the cost was levied on the employers. This made of what conceivably might have been a boon to the worker a penalty on industry for offering employment; and meant a tax on industry which materially increased the cost of production. Both factors ultimately operated to increase unemployment.

Second, Bismarck foresaw that with the working 76

class tied to him by this program, he could force into line the German industrialists, the nobility, and finally the reluctant Prussian king, to support his plan of a united German Empire. Junker Bismarck, who had contemptuously spurned any traffic with the workingclasses, whom he called a "revolutionary rabble," had grown tired of being buffeted about and shelved by his liege lord, the weakling King of Prussia. Adversity had served to make of him a diplomat who could advance from one compromise to another, from one treachery to another, to attain by a series of adroit maneuvers his ultimate goal—the consolidation of his own power by forcing his king to accept the position of Emperor of Germany. How well he planned, history reveals. With the Danish invasion, the elimination of Austrian interference in 1866, and the consolidation of his position by a treacherously conceived conquest of France in 1870, the German Empire became not only a reality, but also simultaneously a "first class power."

But for Bismarck, this was merely a beginning. With far greater vision, he planned the political and commercial conquest of the world—"Deutschland uber Alles." He placed on Germany the stamp of a national paranoia which still drives it with mad singleness of purpose and signal "success." The World Wars were mere interludes, which scholars tell us Bismarck foresaw and would have avoided.

The conquest of world markets by German industry and commerce was planned by Bismarck. In such a struggle the burden of taxation and cost involved in the "welfare" program might have proved a severe handicap. Obviously it was necessary to overcome it by forcing the adoption of the same program and handicap on competitor nations. Resort was had for this purpose to subjugation by ideas, propaganda and "boring from within."

There was launched one of the most persistent, persevering and skilled propaganda campaigns in the world's history for the imposition of Bismarck's "New Deal" on the entire world. Now more than half a century later it still continues to sway history and the world.

In this "New Deal" propaganda Bismarck found many allies. The pretended humanitarianism of the program won over many unthinking, kindly persons as well as most religious sects. These are the best possible camouflage and front for any propa-

ganda. Throughout the world these deluded groups still ardently advance Bismarck's destructive propaganda.

Allies of unusual value were the labor movement, Karl Marx and the Communist Internationale. Initially Bismarck had regarded them as the archenemies of his plan. He had called upon Marx's antagonist, Lasalle, for advice in his fight on them. On his counsel, he plucked the "New Deal" from the program which they agitated, with the objective of deflating them.

But Bismarck soon came to recognize what is just beginning to dawn on present day deluded Socialists and Communists. He realized that Karl Marx and his revolutionary Socialism or Communism were shams. He saw that they offered no real menace among dull, plodding, intense, unimaginative, docile and disciplined workers. He discovered that Karl Marx was an intense German nationalist who gloried in the "superiority" of the German worker and who sensed that his program offered no threat to his Vaterland. Marxian Socialism was therefore the ideal propaganda weapon with which to demoralize other lands.

Karl Marx was the son of Henrich Marx, whose correct name before it was "Aryanized" was Hirschel Levy, (Karl Marx—Man & Fighter, by Nicolaievsky & Maenchen-Helfen, p.4) the son of Rabbi Marx Levy of Trier. His mother was a Polish Jewess, derived from a family of rabbis, including Rabbis Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua, Joseph Ben Gerson ha-Cohen and Joshua Herschel Lvov. His elder brother, Karl's uncle, was also a rabbi.

In order to retain his post as counsellor in the Trier court, when the Rhineland was taken over by Germany, Heinrich Marx (ne Herschel Levy) was baptized in 1817, one year before Karl was born. He retained his court job and advanced to the position of Justizrat and a leader of the Moderate Constitutional party in Trier. Karl's Hungarian Jewish mother, Henriette, did not become baptized until after the death of her parents in 1825. Karl and his brothers and sisters were baptized in the National Evangelical Church (Protestant) on August 24, 1824, when Karl was a little over six years old.

Karl Marx suffered from an acute inferiority complex regarding his Jewish origin. He never could bring himself to realize that those about him re-



garded him with questioning, if not contempt, because he pretended to be something he was not. He held the Jews responsible for his state. His paranoia and inferiority complex were compensated by an intense hatred of the Jews. This found expression in the first works he wrote for publication. In the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbuch* of 1844 he wrote in a review entitled "Zur Judenfrage" ("On the Jewish Question") the following:

"What is the basis of Judaism? Selfishness and greed. "What is their faith? Swindling. "Who is their God? Money. "There can be no solution of the problems of the world without the destruction of the Jews and their religion, (Judenthum)." In 1875 he wrote: "The Hebrew faith is repellent to me". Thus Karl Marx, the renegade Jew, became one of the fathers of Nazism, acknowledged by Hitler and his crew.

At college, as a phase of compensation for his paranoid inferiority complex, Marx paraded as a Christian and undertook an intensive study of Canonical, or Church, Law. Thus he wrote to his father from Berlin on November 10, 1837:

"I confined myself to positive studies . . . some of Gauterbach's books . . . especially on ecclesiastical law."

In the Canonical Law he found sections which interpret profits in commercial transactions as usury and a cardinal sin. That meant that the Church Law demanded "production for use and not for profit".

This left open only three legitimate vocations: one was to join the Church orders; the second was to labor; and the third was to assume the role of the baron who preyed on the laborers on the pretense of protecting them, as do the modern labor barons and their gangster henchmen, and to live by physical force or violence. This was Medievalism. The Church later abandoned this doctrine except within its own orders, because it was found unsound and dangerous. It was largely responsible for the breakdown of civilization, law and order in the Middle Ages, and for the enslavement of mankind. It threw Europe into a reign of terror that lasted more than a thousand years.

But Karl Marx was not merely anti-Jewish; he 79

was anti-religious and especially anti-Catholic. He wrote that he classed Christianity as a Jewish religion. In this respect his ideas coincided with those of Bismarck, whose anti-Catholic activities have been recalled by the Pope recently as the origin of Nazi activities in Poland. Marx attacked religion as an opiate for the masses. But he stole the doctrine, "to produce for profit is a cardinal sin", which the Church abandoned because it was proved false, and made it the basis of his new religion, Marxism or Communazism.

Marx's hatred, like that of his followers, the Nazis, extended to all non-Germanic peoples, even those that supported his movement. He disparaged the Negro and held the Russian revolutionaries in contempt.

Labor, Marx hated whole-heartedly, and he despised the individual worker. When he married he sought out a noblewoman, Jennie von Westphalen. When one of his daughters wished to marry a worker, he forbade it and ordered her to marry a Negro bourgeois capitalist. Karl came from an affluent bourgeois family and never did a day of labor in his life. The loss of the fortune which his father left him, as a result of his incompetence, bred in him a paranoiac hatred of all who possessed property, the "Capitalists", because he regarded them as responsible for the loss of his fortune. This aligned him as a bitter supporter of the "have nots", not because he loved Labor but because he hated "the Capitalist" more.

His neurotic, paranoid character and overwhelming sense of inferiority gave rise in Marx to a compensatory delusion of superiority that insisted upon autocratic and absolute dominion, and to violent suspicions that were the origin of the "purge" complex that characterizes all his followers. Karl's sisters related that even as a boy, he was a fearful tyrant. He drove girls downhill at full gallop and compelled them to eat the cakes he made with his dirty hands out of filthy mud. His schoolmates feared him because of the satirical verses and lampoons he hurled at his enemies.

Utterly lacking in originality or capacity for lucid thinking, Marx showed faith in his concept of distribution of wealth only by plagiarizing the fallacious ideas of others. Foremost among the fallacies which he borrowed was the so-called "Law of Supply

and Demand." By its converse form—"it is primarily scarcity that gives value"—he undertook to justify ethically its application to human beings and their labor. That became the basic idea underlying labor unionism.

But unionism is only a half-way measure in carrying out the idea of maintaining a scarcity of human beings and their labor. The full and bold program for creating a shortage of human beings is concentration camps, wholesale murder. Hitler alone carried out Karl Marx's precepts completely and to their logical conclusion. In this, as in applying his anti-Semitism, Hitler was Marx's most faithful disciple. In faithfully following in Hitler's footsteps, Stalin and his Communist cohorts are carrying out Marx's precepts.

Quite as fallacious was Marx's reasoning in justifying his German patriotism. As a defense against the Prussian attitude that Jews were aliens, Karl Marx developed an intense German nationalism. Among the first words that he wrote were: "The emancipation of the German is the emancipation of Man".

His sham pacifism and internationalism vanished with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, and were replaced by martial enthusiasm and anxiety for a German victory. Expert at self-deception by dialectics, he justified his attitude in a letter to Engels, as follows:

"The German workingclass is superior to the French from the viewpoint of organization and theory." In a victory of Germany he pretended to discern a victory of the German workingclass, and most important, of his theories. Dialectics alone can match these views or his advocacy of class hatreds and warfare, which in final analysis is the worst form of civil war, with his pretended internationalism and a quest for the common welfare.

But even more obvious is Marx's deception in offering his Communist program as an improvement on human freedom. For Communism necessarily means total loss of freedom, virtual or actual slavery. Under Communism, the government and the people who control it, own everything and everyone. They dictate all conditions of life, including wages and employment. Without freedom to earn a living, all other freedoms are meaningless.



Foremost among the fallacies which he adopted were misconceptions regarding the interaction of supply and demand, expressed in the "Law of Supply and Demand", as contrasted with speculative manipulation. Fallaciously he treated supply and demand as inexorable forces, but sought to circumvent their interaction by a "managed economy".

The remedies that he proposes are fundamentally to frustrate the instinctive possessiveness of man by abolishing private ownership of property, through the devices of progressively heavier income and inheritance taxes, control of banks and credit with eventual nationalization of all industry; and enslavement of mankind by a process of progressive regimentation that begins with labor unionization, progresses to compulsory military training and compulsory labor and ends in serfdom and complete subjugation by dictatorship.

The basic fallacy of Marxian doctrines is of vast significance. For it ultimately justifies all measures which restrict and reduce population, such as war, exile, purges and birth control. It justifies barring fellow men from employment, and the opportunity to earn a livelihood, even when those fellow men happen to be unionists' own children. It justifies all the barbarisms which characterize present day society. The perfect expression of this phase of Marxism was Nazi Germany. Hitler alone carried the Marxian idea to its logical conclusion.

The antisocial character of Marx stamps the entire propaganda and doctrines that bear his name. It is indeed ironic that they should take the name "Socialism." For no doctrine is more antisocial or more destructive to the organization of society.

Bismarck came to regard Karl Marx as an important ally in his Pan-Germanic propaganda. He realized that Marxian Socialism planted in other lands would disrupt and demoralize them and would hasten the conquest of "Deutschland uber Alles." Bismarck eventually invited Marx to return from exile and offered him the editorship of his own paper. Marxian propaganda tracts printed in many languages became some of Germany's principal exports.

Only a dialectician trained to reason away the obvious and the truth can fail to realize that state ownership of the machinery of production implies irresponsible ownership and neglect. For what be-

long to everyone belongs to no one, and is neglected by everyone for a reason that is axiomatic and becomes evident from a psychologic experiment on rats.

Three rats were placed in a cage provided with three levers which released food to them from an overhead trap. The rats rapidly learned to press on the levers and catch the food. More complex conditions were then introduced into this rat society. The levers were placed on the opposite side of the cage distant from the traps that released the food. Only one of the rats had sufficient intelligence to associate pressure on the lever with the distant release of food, and had initiative and energy to do it. But this was of little avail to him. For the stupid and slothful rats learned to grab the food released by their ambitious colleague. Though he worked unremittingly he seldom managed to get the food which he released, and died of starvation.

Most humans are like the stupid, slothful rats. For that reason Socialism, Communism and state ownership of the machinery of production are doomed to failure. Eventually they degenerate into a dictatorship of the most forceful and most ruthless member of the community; for in final analysis the rule of the abstraction, the State, is the rule of an individual. The more absolute the power of the State, the more autocratic is the rule of that individual. Thus the Communist or Socialist State is inevitably a dictatorship; its dictator is owner of everything and everybody he surveys—he is a perfect feudal lord. Such overcentralization of power naturally implies the end of efficiency and initiative and the disruption or destruction of industry, commerce and social organization.

Communism and Socialism seek to dissemble and hide their true character and purpose. Bismarck's "New Deal", Fascism and Nazism are more frank and realistic in seeking the same goal. But in their ultimate expression they all turn out to be identical forms of feudalism. They imply dictatorship based on class hatred, established by propaganda and intrigue, and maintained by force and by violence. They are aptly designated as Bismarxian or Com-munazi programs. For one who understands their identity there is no surprise in current European events.

The Communist Internationales became important

agencies of propaganda of Bismarck's program. This is illustrated by the fact that through them Communism was planted in Russia during World War I with the aid of the German General Staff and of German funds. This is reported by Colonel Nikitine, organizer of Russian counterespionage, in his book *The Fatal Years*. Recent events have made it startling clear that Germany maintained her grip on the Communist movement throughout the following decades. The unity of purpose of Bismarck's propaganda and that of Communist Russia has been fully confirmed by every phase of Soviet policy.

The Labor movement has been a part of the Bis-marxian and the Communazi propagandas from their very beginning. It still continues to serve the purposes of Bismarck as a most efficient agency for paralysis of industry and commerce and for fomenting misery and unrest. It owes its efficiency to several features in a democratic land. It is a mob that commands a large vote, which compels the attention and compliance of the Government. By demanding an ever larger share of what it aids in producing, it can bankrupt and destroy commerce and industry. It simultaneously increases unemployment and the burden on the national treasury. Eventually it leads to destruction of the nation.

It masks, under the camouflage of "class war," acceptance of the basic fallacy underlying Karl Marx's doctrines—man must be scarce to have value. Labor is not only destroying itself by its greed and ruthlessness, but is also destroying its children. It is notable that it is Labor that has barred a refuge in this country for the victims of persecution abroad without a dissenting voice from its ranks. For it recognizes the same motives that prompt the Com-munazis as its basic doctrine.

Led usually by gangsters, thugs and racketeers, and allied with equally unscrupulous groups, organized labor has seized control of the governments of nations and converted them to base and destructive uses. In so doing it prepares the way for the conquest of Bismarck's successors. Whatever justification labor unions may have had and whatever sympathy they may have deserved they have forfeited by their criminal purposes and actions. Theirs is not the way to salvation of the cause. It is the path to destruction.

Propagandists and pseudo-liberals in the guise 84



of "authorities" and college professors have been ever at hand to instigate and justify the subversive activities of Labor. On the payroll of unions, prostituted to their dictates, with lectures censored by the union "leaders," they act as show-fronts for their racketeers and are accomplices of their gangsters. They reflect the thoroughness of Bismarck's organization of his propaganda.

Germany's entire education system, as well as her diplomatic corps, was made part and parcel of the Bismarxian propaganda system. Subsidized learning and scientific achievement were widely advertised and publicized and lent color to claims of German intellectual superiority. Trading on this reputation, Germany was able to palm off on the world, pseudo-sciences, such as sociology, social service and modern economics, which are nothing more than very thinly disguised false propaganda.

A system of recognition, adulation and decoration of foreign educators and scientists fostered their teaching doctrines that served the purposes of the Bismarxian propaganda. Germany thus made the education system of other lands a part and parcel of her propaganda machine. The Communist propaganda machine which has recently been exposed as dominating our entire school and university system, is but a subsidiary of the machine which Bismarck built and Rockefeller financed and fostered.

Bismarck's foreign "New Deal" propaganda came out into the open in 1890, when Kaiser Wilhelm II, for personal and strategic reasons (which included a survival of the resentment which his grandfather had held against Bismarck for forcing him into the undesired role of Emperor of Germany), resolved to drop the "Pilot," Bismarck. To strengthen his position he first sought to win over the German Socialist and Labor elements. In so doing, he let the cat out of the bag with regard to the stimulation of Socialist and labor propaganda in other lands, when he called an International Congress on Labor Legislation to consider the plight of the German workers. When an individual so jealous of his prerogatives and so contemptuous of menials appeared so anxious to share the consideration of the internal difficulties of his Empire with others, there was obviously something evil afoot.

It was the spirit of Bismarck that clumsily led 85

Germany. The status of Nazi Germany was a direct, logical and inevitable consequence of the concepts of Marxian Socialism and of the "welfare" program, the "New Deal" devised by Bismarck. Its development was guided by Hitler's "Brain", Professor Haushofer and his Geopolitical Institute. The class hatred of Marx was converted to another equally absurd hatred—the Aryan. Marxian internationalism translates itself rationally into Aryan internationalism. The war on capitalism logically assumes the form of raping other lands; for the Marxian definition of "capital", in final analysis, is "the other fellow's property." Restriction of the supply of labor to control its wage is served by eliminating minorities. The philosophies of Marxism and Nazism are obviously identical. Nazism is merely the active tense of Marxism.

Marxism is, in essence, a power pattern. It is a device for conquest of lands from within, by gangsterism and crime. It operates by robbing the people of their wealth, through taxation, under the pretense of "distributing wealth". It forces the people to surrender their freedom to the criminal Socialist, Nazi, Fascist, New Deal, Fair Deal or Communist rulers. It is a device for the looting of peoples by the most ruthless and most violent elements, aided and abetted by the unthinking, the gullible and the stupid. It means rule by brute force and violence.

The first of the formidable competitors of Germany that succumbed to the propagandized Bis-marxian program was England. A few years before World War I, Great Britain was forced by the agitation among her workingclasses to swallow the whole bait—hook, line and sinker. German industrialists openly urged upon Parliament the adoption of the program. England thereby set in operation forces which are accomplishing the fall of the British Empire. Premier Ramsay MacDonald in an address before Parliament in 1929, frankly blamed the welfare, dole and health insurance laws for the insoluble economic problem presented in England by the unemployment situation.

From the point of view of American affairs, even greater significance was lent the situation when the wholly alien ideas were given an aura of respectability in the eyes of American Tories. This was accentuated by the fact that British industry was

now in the same position, with respect to the cost of the "welfare" program, in its competition for world markets. It became of interest also to British industry that the United States should adopt an identical handicapping program.

The earliest published record of the launching of the Bismarxian propaganda in the United States is found in the report of the German subsidized International Association For Labor Legislation (reported in the American Labor Legislation Review, V. 4, p. 511, 1914) :

"Work towards the formation of an American Section was initiated in 1902, when the Board of the International Association began to make its objects known in the United States and to form connections with interested individuals."

Among the original founders of the Association were Richard T. Ely, Edward T. Devine, Mary K. Simkhovitch, R. O. Lovejoy, Mary van Kleeck, and John B. Andrews. Later joiners were John A. Kingsbury, Charles C. Burlingham, William Hodson, Ida M. Tarbell, Homer Folks, Frances Perkins, Leon Henderson, Harry L. Hopkins and Eleanor

Roosevelt.

They numbered among them the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party, which was organized by them shortly thereafter, about 1908.

Numerous organizations were launched to further this Bismarxian propaganda. Prominent among them was the American Association for Social Security, as it is now called, and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

The engineering of this program of propaganda, as has been related, brought into play all the usual devices of the craft. All its phases were touted as "liberal" by converted or subsidized writers, lecturers, labor agitators, professional malcontents and university professors. Particular attention was given to the seduction of the younger generation in schools, colleges and universities. Magazines and periodicals were subsidized, or founded, to agitate for these "liberal" measures. The foreign-language press was perverted early to the uses of the propagandists, and was corrupted cheaply.

Capitalizing on human nature and the desire to conform, "polls" of "popular sentiment" have been developed into superlative tools for propaganda and influencing public opinion. Hero worship of leaders,



so essential for a dictatorship, has been fed by sickening adulation of them by fellow-travelling or prostituted columnists. Book clubs have been organized to control what is published and read by the nation. Finally, vested interests in the form of highly paid positions were created for the leaders of the various movements that were gotten under way by the propagandists.

In due time the propaganda began to assume the form of an indigenous movement and its foreign origin was completely masked and forgotten. So widely and insistently were the Bismarxian ideas touted as "liberal" that in due time anyone who realized their specious character was placed in the light of an extreme conservative or "reactionary."

Social-service agencies and foundations proved to be most effective in raising this alien propaganda above all suspicion. They also enabled placing the burden of financing the propaganda on the very people who were to be seduced. This was done by collecting funds and endowments ostensibly for charitable and other purposes. Organized social service joined hands with the Socialist and labor elements to form the self-styled "liberal" group.

Foremost among the social-service agencies which supplied propaganda funds in the early days were the Russell Sage Foundation and the "Charity Trust." The latter group, at the beginning, assumed leadership until misuse of charitable funds was exposed by Senator Thompson's investigation in 1914-1916. The most influential of the social-service agencies which became agents of the propagandists was the New York City group designated the "Charity Trust." Its activities came into such disrepute that in 1914 an investigation of them was demanded of the New York State Legislature and was made by the Thompson Committee appointed by it. Hearings before the Committee revealed how the moneys collected by these agencies for supposedly charitable purposes were converted to personal use and to commercial and political propaganda.

The objectives of Bismarck and Marx, a "new social order", totalitarian in character, became the purpose of Rockefeller's "philanthropies", for which all of these agencies were taken under his wing.

## CHAPTER V

### ORGANIZATION OF ROCKEFELLER "PHILANTHROPIES"

#### Schemed "Benevolence" Hides Mailed Fist

The commercial use of "philanthropy" for evasion of law and taxes is now a familiar pattern. The Rockefeller "philanthropies" were pioneers in this direction. They were conceived and planned to supplement the Standard Oil Co. and other controlled industries, as the nucleus of the world-wide Rockefeller Empire. This is made clear in Nevins's authorized biography of Rockefeller. (JDR, v. 2, p. 164)

"How could so enormous an accumulation of money be employed? To dissipate it would be easy enough; but it was intolerable to Rockefeller's systematic and careful mind to think of frittering it away. Nor could he spend it for personal whims of a philanthropic or pseudo-philanthropic kind; first, because, unlike many rich men, he had no whims, and in the second place, because he had an unconquerable instinct for giving in an orderly way on the basis of fixed principles (Ed. the "principle" of acquisition) . . . Year by year, he and Gates were finding out, often by bitter experience, that some types of philanthropy **SIMPLY DID NOT YIELD ADEQUATE RETURNS.**" Nevins goes on to state that the "philanthropies" were intended to serve "... to fructify some important work along a nation-wide or even international front." (JDR, v. 2, p. 465)

The "philanthropies" supplemented Rockefeller's industrial interests and made possible attaining objectives that would have been suspect and conquests that would have been unattainable in the normal straightforward course of business. It has proved a perfect instrument for world conquest and the subjugation of native and unsuspecting folk. It follows that basic pattern that Bismarck launched in the modern world as a political weapon for world conquest, the "welfare state". To this basic pattern the Rockefeller "philanthropies" have superadded improvements and refinements that make Bismarck's plans look amateurish and crude.

The Rockefeller "philanthropies" were conceived and planned as the nucleus of the political control and government of the projected Rockefeller Empire during its formative period of world conquest by propaganda of a "new social order", in other words, subversion. They are superbly organized to serve to the best advantage all the purposes of Bismarck's "New Deal". They constitute the most Machiavellian conspiracy in all human history.

The "philanthropies" were shrewdly designed to retain control for the Rockefellers of all the activities fostered and all profits, actual and potential, tangible and intangible, derived therefrom, while forcing others to assume the bulk of the costs. Nevins, in his biography, describes the method as follows: (JDR v. 2, p. 465)

"As the fortune grew, it became necessary for him, his son, and Gates to plan philanthropies which should aggregate not millions, but scores of millions, and should if possible fructify some important work along a nation-wide or even international front. He insisted that all principles that he had laid down during the eighties must be maintained. His money should be given, in general, on conditional terms which would stimulate (Ed. or exact) gifts by other men and organizations. And finally the work done should be of continuing character, which should remain vigorous after his aid was withdrawn." In brief, the plan was the same as that which Rockefeller adopted in his business enterprises. His "philanthropic" investments were designed to take over the enterprise of others that were in distress to serve his interests and render him tangible and intangible profits in perpetuo, and to give him perpetual control of them while forcing others to sustain them for his own advantage and gain.

In the earlier stages of the development of this system of "philanthropies", the Rockefeller interests assumed a maximum of one quarter to one half of the cost of an enterprise, and required the participation of others for the balance of the cost, as a condition for their "gifts." Thus they compelled public support and financing of their schemes of which they assumed full control, benefits and returns. They took over direct or indirect control, with but nominal contributions, of rich "charities" such as the Charity Organization Society, the State



Charities Aid and the Greater New York Fund. They were thus enabled to turn to their purposes and dispose of large sums contributed by the public at large. Through devious devices such as interlocking directorates and political maneuvers, they were able, later, to gain control of a progressively larger proportion of the colleges, universities, church organizations, foundations and philanthropies set up by others. At the present time there is no important foundation in this country that is not controlled, usually directly but sometimes indirectly, by the Rockefellers or their agents, to be converted to the propaganda, conspiracies and other uses of the Rockefeller Empire.

The program of monopolistic control of foundations, philanthropies, and charities was initiated by John D. Rockefeller himself in the "merger" of Carnegie "philanthropies" with his own, by direct arrangement with old Andrew Carnegie. The story of it is intimated in Nevins's biography (JDR v. 2, pp. 591-2), which relates: "Clark was the publicity agent of the Standard— Rockefeller has none. Still some of Clark's work benefited the nominal president of the corporation. His hand perhaps appears in the New York World's display article of May 10, 1908, on twenty-five years of the Standard Oil, full of praises for the organization and its founder. 'One by one', declared the story, 'the falsity and exaggeration of the charges made by interested rivals and demagogues of every class are being made plain'—a remarkable statement to appear in The World. We are tempted to see Clark's touch again in a statement by Carnegie on his golf matches with Rockefeller. 'Our last game was hotly contested', said the Scot. 'In fact, we were so excited over some special good work that we lost count of the score.' Carnegie intimated that Rockefeller had taken advantage of this to give himself an extra point." The last sentence of this quotation points up a Rockefeller trait that has characterized all their "philanthropies". Carnegie and Rockefeller had a community of interest in steel. Nevins points out (JDR v. 2, p. 39) "As a matter of fact, Rockefeller and Carnegie were personally always on the best of terms . . ." William S. Dutton, Rockefeller propagandist, 91

writing for their Collier's magazine, issue of April 28, 1951, relates that though there were antitrust laws that barred Rockefeller from attaining his objective of monopoly in business, there was no barrier to his attaining it through "philanthropy". He relates that Rockefeller and Carnegie merged their foundations, in effect, with an agreement to collaborate, not to compete or overlap, an understanding, he reports, that is still effective between their foundations. Thus did John D. Sr. lay the basis for a "Philanthropy Trust" that was destined to attain for himself and his descendants the subjugation of the world that he sought.

The pro-British slant of the Carnegie philanthropies was made to fit into the Rockefeller scheme of things, when the Marxist Labor Party, that was heavily subsidized by them, took over the government. On the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of the most important of the Carnegie group from the viewpoint of propaganda in international affairs, sit David Rockefeller and his kinsman John Foster Dulles, chairman of the Board, with Alger Hiss as President as late as 1949, General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Ambassador at Large Philip C. Jessup. It is also noteworthy that Senator Robert A. Taft served as Trustee, in the years 1935-1938, on the Board of this Rockefeller - dominated "internationalist" outfit.

Herbert Morrison, British Labor leader, was attached to the Rockefeller-dominated Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, and was a protege of the Rockefeller Empire. He displeased his masters when after becoming Foreign Secretary he announced on March 17, 1951, according to a special dispatch to the New York Times, that he opposed abandonment of British national sovereignty to the super-national Council of Europe, sponsored by the Rockefeller Empire. His patriotism aroused their antagonism and brought an attack on him and the Labor Government in the Sunday, September 12, 1951, issue of the New York Times, that presaged Labor's defeat less than two months later.

When the Rockefeller publicists set out to build the phase of the "philanthropic trust" sought by their employer in the field of "charity", they undertook to build further on the discredited organization of the "Charity Trust". They sought a new front for their organization, one that

would serve to dispel the odor of rot which had issued from the investigation that had discredited "uplift" activities. They had to have a fresh approach to the gullibility and purses of the "peasants".

They found it in the highly regarded New York Tuberculosis and Health Association set up by a group of physicians who were zealots devoted to the cause of fighting that scourge. It offered the dynamic approach to the public and its purse of the fear of disease, and the added advantage of periodic collection drives and a perennial income from the established sale of Xmas seals to finance the conspiracy.

The use of fear of disease had been one of the first approaches to public goodwill adopted by Rockefeller and he knew it to be effective. Since then it has become standard and accepted practise among the conspirators, even in radical circles. Thus the Russian Communists offered as an excuse for the invasion of Rumania, statistics that were designed to show "an appalling prevalence of endemic diseases" in Bessarabia. The Communists propose, in the words of one commentator, that "if Rumania will not treat the needlessly ill with Communism, Russia will cure them with bombs." The Rockefeller interests placed the relatively unknown social-service worker, Harry L. Hopkins, in charge of the program, as Director of the New York Tuberculosis & Health Association. Thus did they begin to groom him as one of their top lieutenants in their conspiracy to take over the nation and the world. Then their pseudo-philanthropic conspiracy emerged an ultra-potent power-pattern.

Under the aegis of Harry L. Hopkins, a Rockefeller almoner and agent, there was built up a social service, charity and philanthropy trust that was expanded to national and worldwide scope. In the 1920's it had an annual "take" of more than four billion dollars a year and was one of the country's five largest and richest businesses. This racket was built up about the nucleus of the New York Tuberculosis & Health Association. It made the sucker public finance its expansion through the purchase of Xmas seals. Not one penny of the money ever raised from the sale of the New York Tuberculosis & Health Association seals ever went to the relief of a person with tuberculosis or to an institution for



his care. This fact was confirmed by New York City Health Commissioner Louis I. Harris, in a letter to the New York Times of June 8, 1932; and by subsequent acknowledgement of the officers of the Association "that all its money had been expended on salaries and overhead". (Your Life Is Their Toy, 1940, p. 27) The Xmas seal funds were fraudulently used to build up a whole array of agencies for the exploitation of diseases, such as the Heart Association, the American Cancer Association, the Social Hygiene Association, the Diabetes Association, the National Association for the Prevention of Blindness and a host of others.

These organizations, in turn, cadged money from the public on the fraudulent pretense of helping victims of the diseases. The funds were used to build up the national and international "Charity Trust" that controlled the billions of dollars mulcted from the public under false pretenses. This money was used to build up a political machine fostering Rockefeller's objective, a "new social order", that in its initial phases emerged as the New and Fair Deals. Its ultimate goal is a Marxist "welfare state" dictatorship controlled by the imperial lords that rob the very people whose funds were obtained under the pretense of defending their freedom and property. Financial allies dominated by the conspirators swelled their war chest. Thus the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company officers, among others, violated their trust, and the law, by pouring millions of dollars of their policyholders' money into the political activities of these organizations, on the pretense of benefiting public health. (Your Life Is Their Toy, 1940, pp. 121-135)

These "social services" organizations contributed materially to the conspiracy to take over the government and convert it to the uses of the conspirators. They contributed both money and propaganda value. Under a pretense of an interest in the physical welfare of the public, they gained control of the health, hospital and welfare agencies of the governments. These they used in turn to aid in taking over control of the government as a whole and effecting its conversion to a "welfare state". Much of their funds supplemented those of the Rockefeller controlled "philanthropies" in financing the spread of the Marxist "social sciences" and Communism, as a device for attaining their totali-

tarian objective.

In all of these activities, "mastermind" Harry L. Hopkins, Director of the fraudulent New York Tuberculosis & Health Association, served as a pawn of the Rockefeller interests. His political ascendancy and power in Roosevelt's "New Deal" merely meant his emergence into the open as their top agent in effecting the seizure of the government through the "social service" device. Hopkins' subservience to the Rockefellers is clearly discernible in his repeated offers of government posts to Nelson A. Rockefeller, including the offer to make him his Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

Before reviewing the Rockefeller propaganda, "thought control" and commercial agencies that masquerade as "philanthropies" it should be noted that the Rockefellers never have let go of financial control of those "philanthropies", or of their Standard Oil or other industrial enterprises. At various times they have pretended that they have retired or relinquished control, for purposes of popular deception, or to escape the consequences of some nefarious activity. This pretense was exposed as false by testimony given under oath by John D. Rockefeller before the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations in 1916, as stated in the summation of the chairman of the Commission, Frank Walsh, as follows:

"The Foundation is entirely outside and above the Government. The power it exercises is practically unlimited . . . There is hardly anything to which the enormous power of the money it employs cannot be applied, if Mr. Rockefeller deems it proper to apply it. I say Mr. Rockefeller because Mr. Rockefeller is the Foundation. The testimony shows that the Trustees exercised no authority that did not come from him." Rockefeller also testified that on dissolution of the Foundation the capital funds would revert to him or his heirs, which makes it quite clear that the Foundation is private property.

The extent of control exercised by Rockefeller dominated foundations over the activities of its grantees is clearly illustrated by the recent action of the Rockefeller dominated Carnegie Endowment For International Peace. It demanded a refund from the American Bar Association of a \$15,000 grant made to it for a study of the U.N. Genocide

Convention that had been approved by the U.S. Senate, because the report of the Committee condemned the Convention as approved (N.Y. Times, Oct. 15 & 20, 1950). "Researches", to the support of which grants are made by the Rockefeller controlled foundations, are required to make reports favorable to the Rockefeller interests or approved by them. As a matter of practise, grants are not made except to individuals who are known to support Rockefeller causes. When Rockefeller grants are given to Communists and other subversives, it can be assumed that the views of the Rockefellers coincide with those of the grantees, or vice versa. It is a striking fact that none of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" or their allies have ever been known to contribute to a patriotic cause designed to support the Constitution and inspire respect and devotion for our republic.

The flagrancy of violation of the law by the foundations is accentuated by the fact that the bulk of their funds are moneys which are due to the Treasury but are left with the foundations in trust for use in public interest. The Treasury has the final say as to whether activities undertaken are "in public interest" and the foundation funds therefore exempt from taxation, or whether the moneys shall go directly into the Treasury. Since the Rockefeller interests control the U.S. Treasury, it is a simple matter for them to exempt the funds of their own foundations from seizure for taxes and to bar the setting up of other foundations than those under their control. In effect, this means that the Treasury has ruled that the activities of the Rockefeller controlled foundations, no matter how subversive, are "in public interest".

Our tax laws are written by Rockefeller puppets at the instance of their agents. One of the most important of these agents in the field of taxes is Beardsley Ruml, former Director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial who surreptitiously launched through it the Rockefeller campaign for the Marxist "social sciences". Of him Horace Coon has stated in his *Money To Burn*:

"... wherever the Rockefeller interests have made contributions to the 'social sciences', Beardsley Ruml's name is usually to be found." (Quoted by Hughes, *Prejudice & the Press*, p. 302) It is no mere coincidence that the same Beardsley 96



Ruml who directed the spending of the funds of the Rockefeller controlled foundations to foster Communism in the guise of "social sciences", has also served as the mouthpiece of the Rockefellers in dictating for them the tax legislation of the country. For it is a fundamental of the Marx-Lenin formula that Communism most readily can be imposed on lands through national bankruptcy. This was epitomized by Harry Hopkins, in his slogan:

"Tax! Tax! ! Spend! Spend! ! Elect! Elect! !" He omitted, as too revealing, the purpose of this policy:

"Betray! Betray! ! Enslave! Enslave! !"

Naturally the Rockefeller interests dictated no tax legislation that would affect themselves. Those who engage in the business of drilling for oil are especially provided with numerous loopholes for evading taxes, "in the interest of national security". Not even the lowest paid workers, who earn scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, are permitted to evade taxation, by the withholding tax so kindly provided for them by the Rockefellers through their agent Beardsley Ruml. In violation of the Constitution the government impresses the services of the employer to collect it and thereby misdirects public wrath against him.

In many directions the Rockefellers are permitted to evade taxation entirely by the laws their agents have drawn up. As an example, John D. Rockefeller's estate paid an inheritance tax on a mere twenty five million dollars of the fortune of billions of dollars he left behind. This explains why the Rockefellers personally are always in the vanguard of the citizens who appear before legislatures and Congress to demand the passage of bills calling for continually higher and more crushing taxes. They escape payment of those taxes by devices provided for them in the laws or by their administration.

But there is an even more cogent reason for the activities of the Rockefellers in demanding ever greater taxation and in their support of the program enunciated by Harry Hopkins, their agent, in his slogan above quoted. As will be shown at length and in detail in later chapters, the bulk of the moneys looted from the U.S. taxpayers by the outrageous method of taxation devised by them, flows into the coffers of the Rockefeller Empire. The U.S. Treasury and local tax collectors merely serve as

their collection agents. The Federal and local governments are administered largely by public officers who are handpicked agents of the Rockefeller Empire, whom it imposes on the electorate by control of the nominating machinery of all parties.

Through such devices the Rockefellers have compelled the Federal and local governments to assume the burden of any and all of the schemes launched by them to further their interests through their own and dominated foundations, as their supposed "philanthropies". They have compelled the Government to finance with taxpayers' money and property their private business enterprises that parade as "benevolences".

The numerous enterprises which the Rockefeller Empire has financed by sacrifice of life and confiscation of wealth of the taxpayers of the U.S. through control of the Government will be described later. Among them is the development of the Saudi Arabian oilfields by their Aramco to provide the Communists with oil for their war in Korea, for slaughtering our troops in a war that was "philan-thropically" engineered for them; and World Wars I and II that wrested for them from England the concession for Saudi Arabia and the right to develop it.

The "philanthropies" of the Rockefellers developed, as planned, not only into a source of unbounded political power, but also into the fountainhead of enormous revenues that literally comprise the bulk of the national income and wealth of the people of the U.S. and other lands, through such devices as Lend-Lease, Co-Ordination of Hemispheric Defense, the Marshall Plan and the ECA, UNRRA, the Atlantic Pact, the United Nations, the Point 4 program and many other "philanthropic" schemes.

Strangely enough there is one phase of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" that must be remembered. The law exempts philanthropic foundations from taxation. But it specifically provides that this tax exemption will be forfeited if the foundations engage in political activities and propaganda. Since the Rockefeller foundations are almost completely and exclusively engaged in propaganda and lobbying, their funds should be subject to full taxation that would virtually wipe them out. But the Rockefeller Empire thumbs its nose at our laws, even those they themselves write. For they are the powers behind our Government and in it, as well.

## CHAPTER VI

### ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

#### "Philanthropy", Drug Profits and Treason

Rockefeller Institute For Medical Research was John D.'s first bid for public favor. It was intended to allay the bitter antagonism that his activities had created and had made him "the most hated man in America". This was done by bribing public opinion through a pretended interest in their health.

This plan was first conceived by Reverend Frederick Taylor Gates, an amazing and completely underestimated character who has left an indelible stamp on world history of an entirely unclerical nature. His influence derived from his collaboration with the Rockefellers in a conspiracy for a super-Napoleonic world conquest under the sham front of philanthropy.

Frederick Taylor Gates was born on a farm in Broome County, N.Y., in 1853. His father had studied medicine, which may serve to explain the son's interest in the subject, much as the medical quackery of John D.'s father, "Doc" William Avery Rockefeller, whetted the interest of his son. Gates' father, unlike John D.'s never practised medicine, but became a pitifully underpaid Baptist minister who served in country churches at Lamb's Corner, Mott's Corner and Ovid, N.Y. In his unpublished manuscript, Autobiography, which is quoted in Professor Allan Nevins' official biography, authorized by the family, entitled John D. Rockefeller, Gates expressed his bitter resentment of the family's poverty during his boyhood and his hatred of the rigid religious discipline to which he was subjected. He wrote:

"People handed their church subscriptions to my father from time to time in cash, as it became convenient. Father's usual salary amounted to about \$250 per annum, and his 'donations' added \$50 more. His wood was usually furnished, and we had trifling presents. So we were always poor, and during the Civil War we became progressively poorer, because while the salary did not rise, the cost of living did. Father's was probably a typical case of the country pastor. He had to keep a horse, because his church mem-



bership was scattered, and expected the usual amount of pastoral visits and preaching at out-stations. He had to dress in ministerial broadcloth and wear a silk hat; he must take papers and magazines, and read books, and his wife and family must dress respectably. Father always had to pay a rental of not less, I think, than \$50 a year for his house. He received a few wedding fees of from \$2 to \$5, but never, I believe, a funeral fee. Never while he lived in the State of New York did Father receive as much as \$400 in money in any one year." (JDR, v. 2, p. 271) "The best religion had to offer me as a boy, was death and heaven, the very things I most dreaded, —being a normal, healthy boy." Nevins recounts that "there was impatience, too, in his recollections of some crudities of rural religion—the public baptism in the creek, with hymns and prayers, and the revivals."

Gates' father was sent by the Baptists' home-mission service to Forest City, Kansas, in 1868. Fred attended Highland University, Kansas, for a brief period; and at the age of fifteen he left to teach primary school for three winters. He then went to work for a bank and proved himself to be a good money-getter. He also sold patent harrows and earned \$1500 in commissions. In 1875 he entered the University of Rochester and two years later, he matriculated at the Rochester Theological Seminary. He emerged a "modernist" minister, whose prime interest was money-getting, and became pastor of a poor congregation in Minneapolis. A series of essays in the Minneapolis Tribune on the happier observance of Sunday attracted attention and drew the interest of wealthy George A. Pillsbury, who called him in to advise on the disposal of his estate in a manner that would draw public interest.

Gates shrewdly carved out a job for himself by recommending to Pillsbury that he should give the Owatonna Academy only \$50,000 forthwith, on condition that the Baptist community raise an equal amount; and that he leave the additional \$150,000 he had planned to give the Academy, in his will. He then took on the job of raising the funds; and was so successful that he was offered simultaneously the positions of principal of the newly named Pillsbury Academy and the presi-

dency of the University of Rochester. He accepted neither, for in the meantime, he had attended the May, 1888 meeting of the American Baptist Education Society, and was appointed its executive secretary.

In his new post, Gates was in an excellent position to reveal and give full play to his true nature. Nevins makes it quite clear that Gates was quite as adept at using the front of religion and the ministry to advance his interests and those of his associates as was Rockefeller, and he became skillful at using the "philanthropic" fronts for the same purpose. Nevins points out that Gates was in essence "a business man with a talent for large affairs, a keen interest in the power of money . . .", who "combined strong altruism in some directions with strong self-interest in others." He gives the impression of having entered the ministry despite his aversion to fundamentalist religion for the primary purpose of advancing and serving himself; and he frankly acknowledged that he was attracted by Christ's "social and moral teachings . . . and . . . I wanted to side with him and his friends against the world and his enemies. That frankly was the only 'conversion' I ever had." (JDR, v. 2, p. 271) Nevins comments that it was an intellectual rather than an emotional experience. At any rate, he states: "He was, in short, a man after Rockefeller's own heart" or lack of heart.

Considerable light is thrown on Gates' character by the rules that he drew up for a financial agent of a Western college for raising money, that Nevins cites from the records of the General Education Board. "Keep your victim good-natured", he admonished. "Let the victim talk freely, especially in the early part of the interview, while you use the opportunity to study his peculiarities. Never argue with him. Never contradict him . . . Give your fish the reel and listen with deep interest. Appeal only to his nobler motives. His own mind will suggest to him the lower and selfish ones." He was as cold, callous, cynical, calculating, hard and unscrupulous as any swindler. The old adage that "birds of a feather flock together" no doubt accounts for Rockefeller's attraction to Gates; and in addition there were financial advantages that Gates gained for Rockefeller in the course of his religious activities.

Gates used his position to ingratiate and serve the wealthiest co-religionist, John D. Rockefeller. It was not long before John D. recognized his shrewdness, his unscrupulousness, his inordinate ambition and his business ability. First, he employed him as adviser in his "philanthropic" investments only, but it was not long before Rockefeller retained Gates to manage his other investments as well. John K. Winkler, in his *John D.—A Portrait in Oil*, reports Rockefeller's tribute to Gates, as follows:

"Fred Gates was a wonderful business man. His work for the American Baptist Education Society required him to travel extensively. Once, as he was going south, I asked him to look into an iron mill in which I had an interest. His report was a model of clarity!

"Then I asked him to make some investigations of other property in the west. I had been told this particular company was rolling in wealth. Mr. Gates' report showed I had been deceived. "Now I realized that I had met a commercial genius. I persuaded Mr. Gates to become a man of business." As a businessman Gates managed the notorious Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. through his nephew, Bowers, whom he made president of the company. One of the principal agencies for seducing public opinion, lulling suspicion and creating a false sense of trust, while at the same time reaping enormous profits from their victims, was medical research and practise. Gates acknowledges in his *Autobiography*, quoted by Nevins (*JDR*, v. 2, pp. 466-70), that it was he who inspired and initiated the schemes to take over control of medical education and practise, beginning with the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, that have progressed until today they dictate medical practise and what remedies may be used. They derive from this, unconscionable profits that levy a toll of billions of dollars on the victims for their patent medicines, whether they be good, indifferent, bad or positively harmful and lethal. It is a far cry from the shekels garnered by quack patent-medicine vendor, William Avery Rockefeller, to the billions raked in by his descendants through their I. G. Farbenindustrie and other Drug Trust concerns; the spirit, however, is the same.



Gates' story of his inception of this medical enterprise, that eventually was to prove richer than his most avaricious dreams, goes back to the days of his pastorate in Minneapolis. The homeopathic physicians of his parish, who were unaware of the allopathic medical training his father had received, appealed to Pastor Gates for his support and gave him Hahnemann's *Organon* to read. He regarded it, as do most allopaths, as absurd; and he reported himself as "depressed to learn that there were thirty schools teaching their doctrines in the country." When he undertook to investigate the practises of the allopathic physicians and to read Osier's *Principles and Practise of Medicine*, he discovered that all medical treatment of the time was empiric, and that the majority of patients recovered in spite of it. And he awoke to the realization that whereas the homeopathic remedies were harmless, not so much could be said for some of the poisons used by the allopaths in larger doses. Quoting from the Nevins biography (JDR, v. 2, pp. 467-8) :

"Being thus convinced that medicine as taught and practised in the United States was at best largely futile and at worst very injurious, Gates searched in Osier for proof or disproof. He thought he found a verification. Osier's pages indicated that of hundreds of diseases then recognized, the best medical practise did not as yet know any certain cure for more than four or five." Gates' imagination was fired by the discoveries of Pasteur and Koch and the institutes established in their names; and by the profits accruing from the sale of antitoxins and sera. He also discerned the large profits derived directly and indirectly from medical schools. Here was a field closest to the hearts and purses of all men; for the desperately ill are generally willing to spend all that they have to recover their health, which for them is the most precious of all things. Gates was shrewd and hard enough to realize that the domination of medicine would inevitably prove profitable in many directions; but he was also cunning enough to invest his purposes with the sham cloak of philanthropy in the records. Gates states in his *Autobiography*: "Filled with these thoughts and enthusiasm, I returned from my vacation on July 24, 1897. I

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brought my Osier book into the office at 26 Broadway, and I dictated for Mr. Rockefeller, who was summering, as usual, at Cleveland, a memorandum. It enumerated the infectious diseases, and pointed out how few germs had yet been discovered, and how great the field for discovery, how few specifics had been found and how appalling was the unremedied suffering and fatality. It pointed out the usefulness of the Koch Institute in Berlin and the success of the Pasteur Institute in France." (JDR, v. 2, p. 469) The Rockefellers, whose medical background paralleled that of Gates, as has been related, promptly recognized the value of Gates' suggestion. They delegated Starr J. Murphy, an attorney from Mont-clair and a neighbor of Gates, to make a survey to determine the best way to go about stimulating medical research in the country. He brought in a report that it would be most profitable to subsidize promising research workers engaged in various parts of the land, but that this procedure would not serve as well the purposes of controlling medicine that the Rockefeller-Gates team always had uppermost in mind, as would an institute which they were bent on setting up. In 1901 John D. Jr. offered a group of medical men, including Drs. L. Emmett Holt, Christian A. Herter, T. Mitchell Pruden, Hermann M. Biggs, William H. Welch, Theobald Smith and Simon Flexner, an average of \$20,000 a year for ten years, increased to a million dollars the following year, for the purpose of setting up the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Simon Flexner and Abraham Flexner did "the most important work for Gates' fundamental idea".

Before considering the consequences to medical practise and advance of the Rockefeller Institute and the domination attained thereby, mention will be made of Gates' foray into the field of medical education, domination of which was essential for control of medicine. The "reorganization" of medical education along the lines Gates desired was launched by the General Education Board, in which Gates was boss. For this purpose Gates' hatchet man was Abraham Flexner, who had been employed by the Rockefeller-dominated Carnegie Foundation as an expert, and had written two books on medical education,—*Medical Education In The United States* and *Medical Education In Europe*. The

medico-political battle for the control of medical education, its prestige, its profits and its other advantages, that had raged furiously and often violently from the very beginnings of medical education in this country, was decided in the latter part of the 19th century, by Rockefeller millions, in favor of the Gates-Rockefeller team and their henchmen.

Abraham Flexner's study of medical schools, launched in 1910, was a joint venture of the Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller-Gates General Education Board and the American Medical Association. The American Medical Association was controlled at that time by an advertising quack abortionist by the name of "Doc" George H. Simmons, who had never had a day of medical education in his life but, after practising for decades had received his M.D. degree by mail from a diploma mill operated by the Rush Medical School. Rush later became the medical department of Rockefeller's University of Chicago. Simmons was a fit partner for the Gates-Rockefeller combine. He welcomed their cooperation in gaining monopolistic control of medicine, which was also one of the prime objects of his A.M.A. However, he reserved for himself the absolute control of the very lucrative medical advertising, in his medium, the Journal of the American Medical Association.

Competition in the medical-school business had become so keen that Simmons and his worthy associates were delighted to have the cooperation of Gates and Flexner and the support of Rockefeller in putting competitors out of business. The Rockefeller mob bought their way into control of the medical schools that they decided should survive, by "grants" from the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation. Up to 1919, the Board paid out more than \$5,000,000 to Johns Hopkins, Yale and Washington medical schools; and on September 20, 1919, John D. turned over to his agents more than \$20,000,000 in securities "for the advancement of medical education in the United States". He earmarked additional sums at later dates for this worthy purpose.

These well-heeled forces launched a violent campaign of calumny and slander against medical schools in which the socially or religiously elect political bosses of medicine had no interest. The competing schools were represented as low-grade

and inferior. While it is true that the standards of some of them were low, few were lower in calibre than many of the schools sponsored by associates of the Rockefeller-Gates gang and approved by them for reasons of self-interest. Over half of the 165 medical schools in the country were forced to close their doors, and the Rockefeller-Gates-Flexner-Simmons-A.M.A. gang were left in control of medical education in the U.S. After Simmons retired, his worthy heir, Morris Fishbein, became the "red herring" and "hatchet man" for the gang, in much the same sense as President Truman correctly pointed out that Alger Hiss was their "red herring" in other activities.

The control of medical education gave the Rockefeller interests the scope that power-mad Rev. Frederick Taylor Gates sought. Through control of medical education, he and his sponsors gained control of the right to practise medicine and the power of medical licensing. They could dictate by whom medicine could be practised and how they must practise it. Such broad powers over the health and lives of the people, gained under the pretense of "philanthropy" and "benevolence", mark the worst aspects of the most menacing dictatorships. In Nazi Germany, under the inspiration and guidance of Rockefeller henchman Alexis Carrel, such powers were used to sterilize all enemies of the ruling gang and to murder millions of humans.

The device through which these powers are enforced today, is the power to dictate "good medical practise". This "good medical practise" does not imply that it is good for the patient. On the contrary, it may mean a death warrant for the patient.

One such instance is the use of radium in the treatment of cancer despite the fact that it often causes the victim so treated untold misery and that it frequently causes cancer. Another instance is the use of testosterone, marketed under patents which Rockefeller's Drug Trust controls, for the restoration of sex vigor. Testosterone is synthesized at a nominal cost but is sold at a retail price of almost one million dollars a pound. It has caused so much cancer among its users, who are lured by false advertising, that a warning against its use has been issued by the Federal Government.

However, the doctor who follows the "good medical practise" as dictated, is free to maim and



exterminate humans with absolute impunity and complete freedom from reprisals, even though it can be proved that he was aware in advance of the injury that would result from his "good practise". A case in point is the Lempert Fenestration Operation.

The Gates-Rockefeller-A.M.A. Medical Trust not only has the power to dictate how medicine shall be practised, and by whom, but it also has acquired the power to prescribe what drugs may be used in medical practise and to dictate that those drugs must be used in "good practise". This has enabled the conspirators to gain fabulous profits through their international Drug Trust, which they have been building up steadily since their organization of the I. G. Parbenindustrie. Every supposed discovery of a new remedy by their Rockefeller Institute or by agencies subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation, and every discovery made by independent agencies of which they gain control, is promptly exploited, with or without patenting, and sensationally advertised in the best patent-medicine show tradition, hawked to the public through the entire publicity and propaganda machinery of the country, which they control, established as "good practise" and foisted upon the medical profession and the public as a "life saver", at outrageous prices that yield them enormous profits.

The entry of the Rockefeller interests into the field of medicine has materially retarded its advance. Except in the direction of the development of new drugs which they sell the public at exorbitant prices and tremendous profits through concerns owned or controlled by them, and which are marketed with all the advertising that their forces can muster without any regard as to whether they are injurious or beneficial,—with this striking exception, the advances that have been made in medicine in the past half century of their control, have taken place largely in spite of the baneful influence the Rockefeller "philanthropies" have exercised.

In the field of medical research, the Rockefellers and their agents have created the usual, unhealthy atmosphere that results from their predatory entry into any new field. Intensive commercialization and monopoly have become the keynotes of medicine and of medical research. Vested interests and frank rackets have been created or enhanced in

those fields. Institutional and personal jealousies and commercial rivalries have been intensified by the power acquired by small cliques with the funds of the Institute and of other Rockefeller controlled "philanthropies" and allied organizations.

This situation was well described in thinly masked fictional form by Sinclair Lewis in his *Arrow-smith*, which centered about a true story of Rockefeller Institute activities. A factual exposure of the evil influence of the Rockefeller medical "philanthropies" was published by Hans Zinnser, a brilliant bacteriologist, researcher and scholar, in the February 1927 issue of *Atlantic Monthly* magazine.

The medical research cliques thus subsidized seek to protect their reputations and jobs, as well as the prestige of their institutions upon which both are dependent, by setting up a monopolistic control of research. Manuscripts of research results are censored by them to make sure that no researcher can publish a discovery that will enhance his reputation to the detriment or overshadowing of their own, or that will jeopardize commercial interests with which they or their sponsors are allied. For this purpose they have reestablished medieval dogmatism in many medical fields and a monopoly of medical education. They conspire to dictate "accepted medical practice". They dictate the directions which research shall take and block research by capable, independent workers whenever they can. They undertake to protect their own mediocrity and ineptitude by the device of group medical research which enables them to take for themselves the credit for the work of others. Discoveries by independent research workers, no matter how important, are suppressed, or stolen, unless it serves their purposes to permit release or publication of them.

Thus one of the most important medical discoveries of the past two decades has been the discovery of a method of successfully treating with small doses of a cheap mineral, manganese, myasthenia gravis. The disease without the treatment is hopelessly fatal. The discovery has been completely barred from mention in medical literature and has been barred from use to save the lives of the victims in institutions and hospitals of the country, by the conspirators. This is done primarily for political purposes. But it also serves to protect the invest-

ment of the drug firm of Hoffman LaRoche, one of the licensees of the Rockefeller controlled German Drug Trust, in prostigmine, a costly drug which sometimes gives temporary relief to the victims in the early stages of the disease but hastens their death in the later stages. Medical literature permits the mention of prostigmine only in a favorably endorsed light, in the treatment of myasthenia gravis; and has established this finally lethal drug as "accepted practice" in the disease. Any mention of the cheap but effective manganese in the treatment of myasthenia gravis is barred in medical or popular literature despite the fact that the disease is growing more widespread. The newspapers report tragically needless deaths from it with increasing regularity, though there is no reason for death from the disease in the present state of medical knowledge.

Another instance of the endorsement as "accepted practice" of an injurious but lucrative treatment, is the Lempert Fenestration Operation for the supposed relief of deafness. In a large proportion of its victims, the hearing is destroyed by the inflammation of the inner ear caused by the injury of the operation; and in no case does the hearing, even if slightly improved temporarily in rare cases, survive the operation more than a few years. In contrast with these ugly results of operation, unoperated cases rarely lose their hearing completely. In every case the sense of equilibrium is destroyed by the operation and in many cases the victims are unable to live a normal life or engage in their vocations because of it; and often the sense of sight is impaired by the operation. So much damage is done by the operation that it can not be regarded as being anything short of mayhem. In spite of this it has been given the status of "accepted practice"; and numerous victims are maimed by it, because it serves the commercial interests of certain medical politicians, thanks to the monopolistic control of medicine and its publications which "philanthropy" has helped to create. The victims are lured by fake favorable publicity made possible by the monopoly thus created.

As might be expected under the circumstances and from the character of its sponsorship, few significant medical discoveries have emanated from the Rockefeller Institute. In an era that has been

signalized by vast strides in the chemistry of medicine, no basic discoveries and few significant ones have emanated from the Institute in spite of the vast interests of its sponsors in the chemical and drug monopolies, so detrimental has been the atmosphere of the Institute to medical discovery. Its chief accomplishments have been political.

Many so-called "medical discoveries", however, have been announced by the Rockefeller Institute. Among them have been the supposed "discoveries" of the organisms that cause infantile paralysis, smallpox, mumps, measles and yellow fever; and the "discovery" of preventive vaccines for pneumonia and yellow fever. All of these "discoveries" announced by the Institute have proved false. But most of them have served definite and profitable purposes and have been exploited commercially and intensively.

The Rockefeller Institute pretends to release its "discoveries" for the "free use of mankind". But there have come to light instances of its patenting discoveries and licensing them to specific drug firms, more especially those controlled by the Rockefeller interests. An example is the dangerous arsenical drug, tryparsamide. This drug is so poisonous that its use was virtually abandoned in the treatment of syphilis, except for animal experimentation, by its original discoverer, Paul Ehrlich, in favor of the relatively non-poisonous drug salvarsan. Tryparsamide causes permanent blindness or death in a high percentage of the victims on whom it is used. Clinically its use was regarded as justified only in hopeless cases of trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, before the discovery of a less poisonous remedy.

An improvement in the commercial method of production of tryparsamide was developed by one of the employees of the Rockefeller Institute, which patented it. The Institute licensed the patent to Merck & Co., one of the German chain of drug concerns, which marketed it. At the time of the "social hygiene", anti-venereal campaign, launched in the early days of the "New Deal", that was sponsored by the Rockefeller and allied interests which control the chemical firms that produce salvarsan and the other anti-venereal drugs, orders were issued to the doctors engaged in the treatment of venereal diseases in clinics set up for the purpose, that a cer-



tain percentage of the victims had to be treated with the blinding tryparsamide. The clinics of the Health Department of the City of New York employed eye doctors to examine the victims for the damage and blindness caused by the drug. This was not done as a precautionary measure, because once the blindness had set in, nothing was known to stop its progress. It was done as a matter of commercial research on human guinea pigs.

The Rockefeller Institute licensee, Merck & Co., sold much tryparsamide for this purpose. Many victims of the treatment were blinded by it. But, as far as can be determined, Merck & Co. paid the Rockefeller interests the royalties due on the tryparsamide patents. Inquiries directed to the Institute elicited no answer from it on the royalties or the manner in which they were paid. The Institute, unlike most foundations, publishes no information on the stocks which it holds, so that it is not possible to state if it or its sponsors hold Merck stock. At any rate, it conferred on pathetic victims the "philanthropic" gift of blindness.

How many of the fake "discoveries" have been patented and exploited for the advantage of the Rockefeller Institute or its sponsors, has not been revealed by them. It is a matter of record, however, that the Lederle Laboratories, subsidiary of Rockefeller controlled American Cyanamid Co., intensively exploited the worthless "anti-pneumococcus" serum "discovery" by the Institute's workers; and though it was known in scientific circles to be worthless, enough of it was unloaded on the sucker public, at exorbitant prices, to make the Company and its stockholders a sizeable fortune.

Through similar exploitation of other products, Lederle has become one of the most profitable divisions of American Cyanamid, and one of the most profitable drug concerns in the country. Within the past year the stock has more than doubled in value on the basis of exploitation of drugs of supposed or real value, to sell at approximately one hundred dollars a share, and earnings have risen from a bit over \$2.00 per share on its 3,931,-000 shares of common stock in 1945 to an estimated \$12.00 per share in the current year. It required merely a rumor of its marketing of a supposed preventive of infantile paralysis to bring about a bull market in the stock, that raised its

price from a low of approximately \$72 a share to more than \$131 per share in the past nine months, so enormous have been the profits in drugs and antibiotics.

The Rockefeller interests have steadily expanded their holdings in the drug industry to the point at which they control the major drug concerns in the world, and are rapidly absorbing new ones by the process of merger. They have all been integrated into a cartel that maintains an absolute monopolistic control of the drug industry.

Control of the Food and Drug Administration, health departments and other government agencies have given the Rockefeller Drug Cartel a virtual monopoly of marketing of drugs, especially of new drugs. They are free to exploit any patent medicines they wish, in any manner they might choose to use. Thus the anti-histaminic fraud which would have landed any less powerful drug vendors in jail, they were able to exploit as crudely as any of the most vicious quack patent medicines of the past half century. The spurious claims made were known to be false from the start. The brief, high-pressure and cunning advertising campaign netted many millions of the sucker public's money in profits; and only a few of the victims died, fewer than are usually claimed by these quack medicine campaigns. The profits of these newer patent medicine monopolies are fabulous. Sulfanilamide tablets that cost a fraction of a cent, for instance, were sold as high as thirty cents a piece when they originally launched them on the market with a publicity release on their use by a Roosevelt. Generally the stunt of withholding the use of the drug from the rank and file of the medical profession under the guise of complying with F.D.A. regulations, together with intensive newspaper publicity worth millions of dollars, in which grossly exaggerated claims are made, for which they pay their controlled press nothing, serves to whip up a frenzied public demand. This permits them to exact exorbitant prices. In the case of cortisone, their overrated remedy and panacea for arthritis, for instance, they have even brought the government into the picture to give them millions of dollars of free advertising for their product. They have made it an excuse for another raid on the public treasury by way of ECA and Point 4 grants of tens of millions of dollars for

the supposed quest in Africa, which they are now beginning to exploit for oil and other products, of raw materials for the production of the drug, many of which are plentifully available on this continent. Fabulous prices have been paid for the drug by victims, as much as one hundred dollars a dose; and the current list price is one dollar a tablet. The direct and indirect profits to the Cartel from this patent-medicine exploit has run into the hundreds of millions of dollars. Also the political and oily business objectives of the Rockefeller Empire in Africa have been materially furthered by it. In the end it has proved that cortisone may do more harm than good for the victims of arthritis and other diseases, after an initial boost in some cases.

The Rockefeller subsidized "authorities" who established "good practise" in the use of sulfanilamide dictated such huge dosage in order to increase the sales of the vendors, that they poisoned their patients and in some cases killed them. These "authorities" who alone were decreed to be competent to observe the effects of the drug and advise on its use, made enormous incomes from its exclusive use for a long period. They also established as "good practise" the administration of the large and poisonous doses. When it was brought to light that the drug acts as a posion that interferes with the utilization of the essential vitamin, nicotinic acid, and precipitates pellagra in many victims, the discovery was barred from publication in medical journals in the U. S. and abroad; and it only appeared in the British scientific publication Nature because censorship in that direction had been overlooked. These instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

Thus ruthless exploitation of the public by the Cartel has become a fixed practise. Each year there are scheduled by it a number of new "wonder drugs" to be launched as a device for the merciless exploitation, mulcting and victimization of the sick, the halt, the lame and the blind. Following cortisone, for instance, came ACTH, an even more dangerous drug. When administered to young children, as has been done in some hospitals, it distorts the shape of the head and face by interference with growth; and makes the child victim "moon-faced". But these injuries are carefully hushed up by the Cartel with cooperative, complacent and unscrupulous medical

bosses. The fabulous profits roll in to the tune of millions of dollars. The Wall Street commentators seize upon each new patent medicine of the Cartel to bull the stock of the company that will market it. With the Cartel's control of the nation, enormous profits, high dividends and stock splits inevitably flow from the "benevolent" swindling of the nation's sick through the "philanthropy" dominated Drug Trust. The profits from it are even more fabulous than those that flow from oil. This tale is told at length in YOUR LIFE IS THEIR TOY.

It is reasonable to expect that an institution operating with the efficiency and spirit of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" would not be so unbusinesslike as to cast to the winds the large profits which devolve from drug and other products touching on the interests of the Institute. Gates, as Rockefeller discerned when he employed him, was indeed a "business genius" of the rarest foresight and discernment.

The extensive Rockefeller chemical and drug interests include American Home Products, Sterling Products, Winthrop Chemical, American Cyanamid and its subsidiary Lederle Laboratories, and many other companies. They are all highly profitable enterprises. They also have very large holdings in the German Dye Trust, the I. G. Farbenindustrie, on the directorate of which the Standard Oil of New Jersey was represented by its president, the late Walter Teagle. The Chase National Bank, which is controlled by the Rockefellers, has floated Dye Trust securities on the American market. Dillon Read & Co., of which former Secretary of War, and later Secretary of Defense James Forrestal was head, and General Wm. H. Draper Jr., head of the staff of General Lucius Clay, Military Governor of Occupied Germany, was an executive, joined the Rockefeller interests in floating I. G. Farbenindustrie securities in the American market.

Dillon Read & Co. floated the issue that financed the building of the I. G. skyscraper office-building in Frankfort, Germany, that by curious coincidence was the only building in Frankfort the American and Allied forces were ordered not to shell or bomb, and that came through the war practically intact. It was the executive office of the I. G. Farbenindustrie, one of the principal factors in the military might of Germany and her allies.



The legal representatives of the I. G. Farben-industrie in the U.S. are Rockefeller's attorneys. One firm is Sullivan & Cromwell, which is headed by kinsman John Foster Dulles, Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, who to all effects and purposes, is the State Department. Another is Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley & McCloy, which is headed by A. G. Milbank, Chairman of the Board of the Borden Co. and President of the Milbank Memorial Fund. It also numbers among its partners John J. McCloy, Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, son-in-law of August Zinnser who was a factor in the German Dye Trust, and former Assistant Secretary of War; his appointment to the post of U. S. High Commissioner in Germany signaled the end of the Berlin Blockade simultaneously with the end of the dismantling of the I. G. Farbenindustrie plants, for which the Berlin Blockade served as an excuse, and it signaled the beginning of the return of the I. G. and its Nazi henchmen to power.

Five hundred thousand shares of the American I. G. Corp., the direct American subsidiary of the German holding company, I. G. Farbenindustrie, were issued in the name of Walter Teagle at the time of its formation by a merger of General Aniline works and the Agfa-Ansco Corp. When questioned by the Securities and Exchange Commission, Teagle denied that the stock that had been issued in his name was his stock. He refused to divulge the ownership of the stock by the Rockefeller interests, saying that he did not know who was the actual owner. In view of subsequent events there can be little doubt that the Rockefeller interests were the principals in the deal. It is a practice in which they regularly engage to hold control of corporations through dummies and nominees.

The deal was a part of the gigantic conspiracy of the German Dye Trust to recover property seized during World War I by the Alien Property Custodian, A. Mitchell Palmer, and of the preparation for throttling U.S. defenses in a future war. Through the aid of Earl I. McClintock, an attorney in the Alien Property Custodian's office, Sterling Products was enabled to start the reacquisition of the sequestered property for ultimate retransfer to the newly formed I. G. Farbenindustrie. So pleased was Sterling Products president, William E. Weiss, with McClintock's deal that he hired McClintock at

many times the salary he had earned in the APC's office.

Sterling Products organized Winthrop Chemical Co. Inc. and transferred half of the stock to the I. G. Farbenindustrie. It, in turn, was given I. G. representation in the U.S. They also brought the DuPont interests into the deal by selling them half of the stock of the Bayer-Semesan Co. With the money thus acquired, Sterling proceeded to buy up numerous nationally advertised remedies, including Fletcher's Castoria, Phillips' Milk of Magnesia, and others. With Louis L. Liggett, they formed Drug Inc., a holding company for Sterling, Bayer, Winthrop, United Drug Co. and the Rexall Liggett stores; and then proceeded to buy up Bristol Myers, makers of Sal Hepatica; Vicks Chemical Co.; Edward J. Noble's Life Savers Inc. and others. Numerous other chemical and drug firms were absorbed steadily over the years until the Cartel gained control of the entire fabulously rich and profitable drug and chemical industry of the nation.

Through Walter Teagle, the Rockefeller interests played a key role in building the I. G. Farbenindustrie and the Dye Trust. It was he who paved the way for the entente between I. G. and the resistive DuPont interests. In 1930, Dr. Bosch of the I. G. wrote Teagle to thank him for his assistance, as follows:

"... the deadlock in the negotiations between duPont and I. G. has now been overcome . . . thanks to your personal interest."

As a matter of record, Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey had sat in at the birth of the I. G. Farbenindustrie in 1926. It then insured the combine of the success of their conspiracy by entering into an agreement with them as partners, and for an exchange of patents. This was stated in a letter by Frank A. Howard, head of the Standard Oil Development Co., as follows:

"The I. G. may be said to be our general partner in the chemical business as to its developments arising during the period beginning in 1929 and expiring in 1947." (Ambruster, Treason's Peace, p. 52)

The Cartel divided the chemical and drug market of the world amongst themselves and conspired to maintain prices that yielded them fabulous profits.

Later they took over control of the Federal Food and Drug Administration, as well as local food and drug agencies, through their control of the governments and political machines, as well as "by bribery and corruption of the officers of those agencies. For example, Dr. Theodore G. Klumpp was head of the Federal Food & Drug Administration in 1940, at the time that Winthrop Chemical Co. shipped 400, 000 tablets labelled as "sulfathiazole", that were found later to contain 5 grains of luminal each. They are known to have killed by poisoning 17 victims in various parts of the country. Winthrop Chemical Co. failed to notify the public immediately of the fatally poisonous character of the pills. Instead, the Company, with the aid or approval of the Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry of the American Medical Association and of intensive advertising in the Journal of the American Medical Association, ruthlessly pushed the sale of the "sulfathiazole" pills, thus increasing the number of fatalities. Dr. Klumpp, as Food and Drug Administrator, was very helpful to Winthrop Chemical Co. and very sympathetic toward them. Exercising his bureaucratic powers as head of that agency, he refrained from prosecution for the deaths, helped hush up the matter and merely revoked Winthrop's license to ship the "sulfathiazole" for three months, on April 22, 1941, after it had glutted the market with the product and overstocked the trade with it. The suspension of shipment for three months was an utterly meaningless gesture. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Klumpp became president of Winthrop Chemical at many times the salary that he had received from the Government. (Treason's Peace, p.23)

Since no real penalty had been imposed on the Winthrop Chemical Co. to induce it to exercise rudimentary caution to protect the lives of American "peasants", it is not surprising that the Company has made no effective effort to avoid recurrence of such fatal incidents, but has depended upon the political control of its bosses and its ability to "induce" public officials to overlook its criminal negligence and to suppress publicity with regard to it in the press. On June 15, 1951, physicians throughout the country received the following telegram from Winthrop-Stearns Inc., which is the name adopted by it since it has merged with Stearns, reading as follows:

"Until further notice, discontinue using sulfamy-lon hydrochloride solution one percent. Contamination with bacillus pyocyaneus found in some bottles. Advise patients for whom you prescribed to discontinue use and discard unused portions. Return for credit bottles of one percent you may have. All other forms of sulfamylon safe to use. Winthrop-Stearns Inc."

The story is entirely different when the manufacturer or marketer of a remedy is not a member of the Trust. The same Dr. Klumpp who saw no serious violation of the law or infraction of the regulations and arbitrary and dictatorial ukases of the Food & Drug Administration by the Winthrop Chemical Co., which subsequently provided him with a high salaried job, when it killed off humans with its gross negligence, expressed grave concern when the Iodobor Co. sought to label its product Iodine and Boric Acid Powder, as it is labelled in Johns Hopkins Hospital Formulary. The powder, which permits the use of finely dispersed iodine on even the most delicate tissues such as the ear and the urethra, and is an ideal and harmless antiseptic and prophylactic, contains 1% iodine and 99% anhydrated boric acid, as stated on the label. But Dr. Klumpp was gravely concerned with what he called the "misrepresentation" involved in the correct labeling of the product. He put every impediment in the way of its marketing. Iodobor Co. is not controlled by the Rockefeller interests and is not a part of the Drug Trust.

Dr. Louis Koch has undertaken to provide the profession with glyoxylide which, in the author's knowledge and experience, has never done anyone any harm or killed anyone. Many competent physicians state that they have obtained results with its use in conditions such as carcinoma, which had been pronounced to be hopeless. Certainly no humane individual would wish to deprive the victim of such a pathetic condition as hopeless cancer, of any ray of hope or possibility of relief. But the gang which we are describing are neither humane nor human. They do not regard Koch's remedy as "rational". They have undertaken to prosecute and persecute mercilessly Koch and all who use this harmless remedy, as has been pointed out rightly by Dr. G. B. Winrod, in preference to the remedies which Reverend Frederick Taylor Gates, his Rocke-



feller sponsors and their heirs and associates do regard as "rational", and which do yield them a profit, which is far more important.

The Food & Drug Administration was converted by the Drug Trust into a device that would leave them free to engage in any type of skulduggery with impunity, but would enable them to drive competitors out of business by hampering regulations and excessive expense involved in compliance with arbitrary rulings and harassments. Thus Winthrop Chemical Co. was permitted to market sulfathiazole in spite of the fact that it is a harmful drug that causes the formation of kidney stones in a large proportion of patients that take it. But many completely harmless, but useful, preparations that are produced by less powerful and wealthy firms are completely barred from sale by the arbitrary rulings of the Administration. The products of the Drug Trust, no matter how worthless and injurious they may be, invariably get by; and many of them, such as cortisone, are actually boosted by the Government. One of the officers of Schering Co., an affiliate of the Drug Trust, openly has stated that the maintenance of a drug monopoly is one of the objectives of the Food & Drug Administration.

The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and the I.G. entered into numerous agreements and formed the Joint American Study Co. (called Jasco Inc.). This later was proved to be nothing less than a conspiracy to paralyze the rearmament and defenses of the U.S. Dr. A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian, had warned the nation after World War I: "The next war . . . will be a chemists' war, and the country which has the best-developed dye and chemical industry is the country which is going to come out on top." (Treason's Peace, p. 36)

As will be related presently, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil - I. G. conspiracy was not only instrumental in precipitating World War II, but also undermined our national security and threatened us with defeat by denying the U.S. the use of synthetic rubber patents, and in other ways. In the first year of World War II, a series of criminal and civil actions for treasonous conspiracy with the I. G. Far-benindustrie were started by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold against Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, especially in con-

nection with the direly needed synthetic rubber and chemical bases for munitions. Also, action was instituted against Sterling Products in connection with the use of its organization in South America, where Nelson Rockefeller was active as Co-Ordinator of Hemispheric Defense and the brother of Thomas Corcoran, high ranking Harvard New Dealer, represented it, for espionage and propo-ganda for Germany. The offenders pleaded nolo contendere, which was in reality an acknowledgement of guilt. The offenders were given small fines, and merely ordered to mend their ways. The penalties were surprisingly light in view of the fact that the offenses constituted treason in wartime, for which the usual penalty is death. It later was stated that the Rockefeller interests had acquiesced in these actions when the treasonous conspiracy became outrageously obvious and violent public reactions threatened, — in order to protect themselves and their fellow conspirators. It appears quite clear now that their old deal with I. G. Farbenindustrie still prevails and is being carried out by their agent and attorney, High Commissioner John Jay McCloy.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the law firm of John Foster Dulles and Allen Dulles, Sullivan & Cromwell, that is closely identified with the Rockefeller-I. G. interests and our Government, defended a criminal indictment of Ernest K. Halbach, one of the principals of the I. G. set-up in this country.

The I. G. situation is described in Howard Ambruster's book, *Treason's Peace*, published by the Beechhurst Press in 1947, an excellent book that should be read by every American.

This entire Rockefeller-Standard Oil-I. G. situation was aptly characterized by Senator Harry Shippe Truman, as chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, as "TREASON". He said, correctly :

"YES IT IS TREASON.

"YOU CAN NOT TRANSLATE IT ANY OTHER

WAY." And the same group has provided oil, munitions and other material of war to the Russian and Chinese Communists and the North Koreans, practically entirely at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer.

IS THAT ANY LESS TREASON?

These are some of the outgrowths of Rockefeller 120

Institute's "philanthropies".

Public suspicion anent the Rockefellers was further allayed by establishment of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission devoted to mass medicine—to spectacular cooperation with local health departments in a campaign on hookworm infestation, intended to demonstrate forcibly that Rockefeller's heart bled for the "Forgotten Man". The cost of this campaign was almost entirely borne by the victims, through the support of their local health departments. But the publicity released gave the Rockefellers credit for beneficence and a touching concern in the health and welfare of collaborator Walter Hines Page's "Forgotten Man". At the same time, it gave the Rockefeller interests entry into control of the health departments of the various sections of the country that in due time was developed into complete and absolute control of all of them from the Public Health Service of the U.S. Treasury Department to those of cities, towns, counties and, ultimately, of the smallest villages.

The control of health departments thus engineered later proved extremely profitable to the Rockefeller interests in many directions. For instance, it enabled them to gain a virtual monopoly of the production and distribution of milk throughout the nation, through health-department regulation of that industry, which was engineered by them on the pretense of protecting the public's health. Steadily, through decades, they drove independent milk distributors out of business by various devices, such as pasteurization, manipulation of milk sheds by their puppet health commissioners and dishonest and oppressive "regulation", and by numerous other devious devices. They are able, consequently, to indoctrinate the public, at its own expense, with the idea that milk is a perfect food and an absolutely essential element of the diet, which it is not. They progressively adulterated the milk distributed to the public until the bulk of it is, partly or wholly, a synthetic concoction, such as "homogenized" milk, of types that had previously been barred from sale for human consumption. Of the adulteration of milk, one can readily convince oneself by placing a bottle of milk on the window sill for a week. In olden days the milk would turn sour and curdle; but today it merely becomes putrid, slimy and stringy. The price of the adulterated milk was

progressively raised from an average of six cents a quart for real milk to an average of twenty-two cents a quart for watered, synthetic and adulterated milk.

Far from being a source of health and strength, milk has become a licensed spreader of disease and death. Milk transmits more diseases than any other one beverage or food. It carries tuberculosis, scarlet fever, such streptococcus infections as septic sore throat and acute kidney and heart disease, undulant fever, infantile paralysis and many other deadly diseases. Milk can be one of the most dangerous substances we put into our stomachs. Needless and excessive consumption of milk has been correlated to childhood ills, to hardening of the arteries, to premature senility and to cancer. But these facts have been suppressed and the public has been urged through official channels to drink ever more milk "for their health", in order to boost further the profits of the Milk Trust. (YOUR LIFE IS THEIR TOY, Rackets Social Service & Medical, pp. 93-120, Chedney Press, 1940)

Corruption of public health officers on a wholesale scale has been resorted to in connection with Milk Trust activities. Henry Wallace, was the first to launch a consistent attack on the milk cartel, in the Wallace Farmer, and named it the Milk Trust. He applied that name to the undercover combination between Borden Co. and National Dairy Products Co., that was later exposed in reports of the Department of Agriculture, but kept out of the press. The reports indicate that though the two companies pretend to be competing, they are actually working in concert, as a cartel. The Borden Co. is directly controlled by the Chase National Bank and the Rockefeller interests represented by the Milbanks. National Dairy Products is controlled by the Rockefellers, through Lehman Brothers.

Henry Wallace was silenced by an appointment as Secretary of Agriculture in Roosevelt's Cabinet; and he was later made Secretary of Commerce and Vice President. When denied the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1944, he was given the job of editor of the New Republic, with a salary reported to be \$75,000 a year, a greater sum than the magazine ever earned and largely paid by Nelson Rockefeller. Though Wallace has been closely identified with the Rockefellers, there is no published record



of the extent to which they backed his Progressive Party as a phase of the activities of their Rockefeller-Soviet Axis.

Control of the public-health activities of the nation was readily maneuvered by the Rockefeller interests by subsidizing the activities of the U.S. Public Health Association, the trade organization of the public-health officers of the country. Interlocking directorates were established from the start between that organization, through its officers (including as a rule the Health Commissioner of New York City), and one or another of the Rockefeller "philanthropies". Subsidies for these activities were arranged through various dominated organizations and foundations. Thus the Milbank Foundation, headed by Jeremiah Milbank and his son A. G. Milbank, a Rockefeller attorney and agent, and financed by 3% of the Borden (Milk) Co. stock, subsidized "public health" activities. The policyholders' moneys of controlled insurance companies, especially the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, were diverted into these channels of corruption.

Domination of official health agencies also implies control of the food and drug industries which they "regulate", and of the enormous profits which they yield. Such control makes possible the sale, with impunity, of inferior products or, even, of products that are actually deleterious to health and life, but yield extraordinarily large profits. For instance, mineral oil, a product of petroleum oil, was marketed by a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, as a remedy for constipation. In many cases it caused chronic malnutrition by robbing the body of fat-soluble vitamins. It was sold also as an ingredient of nose drops, and in many cases, caused lung abscesses. But the profits were enormous.

Far larger than the direct profits derived from domestic "health" activities and those gained in the international field through the International Health Commission, that was set up later to extend these activities abroad, were the indirect benefits derived from the good-will created by the pretense of benevolence, and by abuse of the powers vested in the public agencies thus taken over. The story has often been told how Colombia was blackmailed into permitting Standard Oil to develop the Barco concession by the establishment by the U.S. Public Health Service of a prolonged quarantine of Colom-

bian shipping for yellow fever.

The incubation period of yellow fever is about six days and the length of the voyage from Colombia generally was about two weeks. This meant that if anyone on board the vessels had been exposed to yellow fever, he would have developed the disease before coming into port and there was no justification for quarantining the vessels. Nevertheless, the vessels were quarantined for prolonged periods on their arrival at American ports. Perishable cargoes spoiled during the quarantine, threatening the Colombian merchants with ruin. This abuse of the powers of the U.S. Public Health Service was employed to force the Colombian government to relax its prohibition of development of the concession by Standard Oil interests. The Rockefeller Institute announced falsely at this juncture that its Hideyo Noguchi had discovered the cause, remedy and preventive of yellow fever. And the International Health Commission offered to Colombia the services of Noguchi in clearing up the yellow fever and lifting the unwarranted quarantine, with the implication that unless the Standard Oil interests had their way, the quarantine would not be lifted. The Colombian government was forced, in the interest of its merchants and its trade, to accede to this international blackmail. The Standard Oil Co. shared the concession with Gulf Oil Co., controlled by Andrew Mellon who, as U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, controlled the U.S. Public Health Service. Yellow fever is still endemic in Colombia, just as it was before the quarantine was imposed. But there is now no quarantine because the Rockefeller interests have their way in Colombia. The profits to the Rockefeller Empire of international "philanthropy" are great. The world cannot be blamed for mistaking Rockefeller imperialism for American imperialism.

## CHAPTER VII

### ROCKEFELLER'S GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

#### Red Totalitarian Thought Control For Peasants

"... We work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk."— Rockefeller-Gates Occasional Letter No. 1 Rockefeller's "educational philanthropies" were an outgrowth of Baptist missionary zeal. To educate Negro co-religionists, the Baptists had organized the Southern Education Board. In a spirit of religious rivalry, they had also undertaken to build the University of Chicago. Reverend Strong, Rockefeller's in-law, made this religious educational rivalry quite clear in a memorandum to John D. Sr. cited by Nevins (JDR, v. 2, p. 203) :

" 'Now where are we Baptists?' Strong wrote. 'We have no university at all. . . we have to send our sons to other universities . . . Against Harvard's 1500, or Yale's 1200 students, our largest number is 300 at Brown. The only approach to professional instruction is our theological seminaries, and the largest of these numbers no more than 50 well-prepared students . . . while Union (Theological Seminary) and Princeton have their 150 each' ". At about the same time, Reverend Strong had admonished his in-law that he would be wise to act to allay public resentment against his brigandage by courting public opinion with philanthropies, if he desired to overcome the handicaps to his enterprises arising from the ill repute his ruthlessness had created. He missed no opportunity to urge him to give his support to the creation of a college for Baptist missionary propaganda that would engage in a crusade to get folks to think as Baptists wished them to think. Rockefeller's endowment of the University of Chicago crowned his efforts with a measure of success. But it is doubtful that the divine would be very happy to witness the present status of the university he inspired. It is a hotbed of anti-religious Communist propaganda that has even overwhelmed his church.

Rockefeller was too pragmatic to be content, however, with mere missionary zeal for the profit of the church. Personal profits and benefits have a

stronger appeal to a person of his acquisitive disposition. His experience with the influencing of public opinion, that he had been compelled to resort to on more than one occasion in connection with his Standard Oil activities, could not have failed to impress him with the value of molding public opinion. No doubt, the waste of effort involved in the repetition of isolated campaigns irked a man of his methodical, systematic thrift. It is inconceivable that he could fail to see the economy and the high ultimate return of permanently molding public opinion as he wished it molded, through domination of education that would make it possible to convert that process to thought control that would be entirely imperceptible to both its agents and its subjects. It would be permanent, would never have to be repeated wastefully, and would insure him of domination of the indoctrinated by their own subconscious reactions, for the rest of their lives.

After a dinner at his home on West Fifty-fourth Street, New York City, attended by John D. Rockefeller Jr., banker Morris K. Jesup, Wanamaker partner Robert C. Ogden, Baptist pastor J. L. M. Curry, banker George Foster Peabody, Walter Hines Page, the inventor of Roosevelt's "The Forgotten Man", William H. Baldwin, Albert Shaw, Dr. Wallace Buttrick, Johns Hopkins U. President, Daniel Coit Gilman and attorney Edward M. Shepard, John D. Sr. launched the General Education Board, with an offer of a million dollars over a period of ten years for the "noble" purpose of influencing all education as desired, "without regard to sex, race or creed". The assembled worthies leaped to the bait. Rockefeller acquired an educational front imbued with the odor of religion, that would be regarded as above suspicion. And it was all his own, to be used entirely for his purposes. For contrary to his "philanthropic principles" and his past practices, Rockefeller did not require, seek or permit the participation of others in this enterprise.

Rockefeller placed his "wonderful businessman", Reverend Frederick Taylor Gates, in charge of this new enterprise. Boldly they announced its true purpose at the very start, in Occasional Letter No. 1 of the General Education Board already quoted.

The letter is a frank and open statement of the basic totalitarian conspiracy that underlies all of the Rockefeller "philanthropies". Their avowed



scheme is to gain the confidence of the people by a show of sham "benevolence" and then, when they "yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands," to "work our own good will upon" them through a Rockefeller dictatorship. In this conspiracy they are largely succeeding. And their "good will" has proved to be the "will for conquest" that has cost tens of thousands of "peasants" lives. The letter is about as open an expression of contempt of the intelligence of the citizenry (the "peasants", they call them) as can be made. Their cunning grasp and contempt of human nature did not fail them. There were some few protests from alert citizens and on the floor of Congress. But in the main, they were lauded for their action, by the usual complement of fools and traitors.

The ambitious character of the scheme is revealed by what Nevins (JDR, v. 2, p. 485) terms the "extraordinary charter" that Shepard drew up, and that Rockefeller's henchman and in-law Senator Nelson Aldrich, promptly rushed through Congress. It is a perpetual charter that gives authority to hold limitless capital and to engage anywhere in the U.S., in any activities whatsoever that can be construed as remotely resembling education. Since the funds contributed to its endowment and the income thereon are tax-exempt, the moneys involved are actually public funds. But control of them is effectively held by the Rockefellers. It was a far more ideal propaganda machine than those provided at a later date by Rockefeller, through Ivy Lee, his publicity man, for either Stalin or Hitler. Nevins, a Rockefeller spokesman, states:

"Thus was founded an organization which shortly became THE MOST POWERFUL EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION IN THE WORLD." The Rockefeller interests proceeded cautiously, as usual, put their their best foot forward and bided their time. Their initial activities were "window-dressing"—agricultural education, a fight on the boll weevil that was destroying the cotton crop in the South, and medical education activities—which allayed and disarmed public suspicion. The character and profits of the forays into the field of medical education have been described in connection with the Rockefeller Institute. The only error that the "planners" made in their estimate of the mentality and pervertibility of the American "peasant"

was in the imposition of Prohibition, for which the Rockefellers acknowledge their responsibility in their publicity by Morris in the Saturday Evening Post of January 6, 1951 (p.36). After a decade and a half, they bowed to public opinion and agreed to a revocation of the Volstead Act. But their only error sensed by the "peasants" proved highly profitable to them; and even in defeat, it served to gain them new victories through their New Deal program.

The Annual Report Of The General Education Board, 1928-1929, in a historic review of its activities makes clear the calculated deliberate approach adopted. It divides the development of the activities into three periods:

First period, 1902-1919, during which the Board appropriated more than \$15,000,000, mostly for increases of the endowments of 120 colleges.

Second period, 1919-1924, during which it contributed over \$50,000,000 for increasing teachers' salaries.

Third period, from 1924, during which it has undertaken to influence the character of scholarship and teaching. The extent of dissembling and oversimplification of this description of its activities is evident from contemporaneous comments.

At the start, Rockefeller entered into an entente with Andrew Carnegie to merge their "philanthropies". This gave Rockefeller effective control of the Carnegie Foundation For The Advancement Of Teaching, the most potent influence of which on teaching and teachers at university and college levels was exercised by its Retiring Allowances (for professors) and (Teacher) Widows' Pensions. This "security" scheme was highly effective in insuring that the staffs taught what was to the liking of the Carnegie-Rockefeller interests, and that any exercise of "academic freedom" would conform with their wishes.

On January 26, 1917, Senator Kenyon of Iowa reported that Rockefeller agents were examining the curricula of colleges that sought the aid of the Board; and that the Board refused aid unless the applicant colleges made their courses comply with the Board's dictates.

The General Education Board also dictated ap-128

pointments to the faculties of the colleges, packing them with their agents and henchmen, in preparation for future plans. Dr. W. J. Spillman, former chief of the Federal Farm Management Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, stated in a letter to the New York Globe of March 28, 1919:

"Nine years ago I was approached by an agent of Mr. Rockefeller with the statement that his object in establishing the General Education Board was to gain control of the educational institutions of the country so that all men employed in them might be 'right'. I was then informed that the Board has been successful with the smaller institutions but that the large institutions had refused to accept the Rockefeller money with strings tied to it. My information said that Mr. Rockefeller was going to add \$100,000,000 to the Foundation for the express purpose of forcing his money into the big institutions." This was exactly what might be expected from the statement of objectives in Occasional Letter No. 1 quoted above. The avowed objective of subverting the nation through its educational system and establishing a "new social order", required that the teaching staffs of its schools should enter into the conspiracy, wittingly or unwittingly. It made the chief requisite for obtaining or holding a teaching position, in any part of the educational system that was brought under their control, intellectual prostitution and adherence to subversive totalitarian doctrines that matched the objective of the Board.

At an early date, the Board began tampering with the public school system and the teachers colleges, experimenting to determine how best to succeed in indoctrinating future generations. It gave by 1929, \$500,000 to the School of Education at Harvard, \$1,000,000 to Teachers College of Columbia University, and \$3,177,231.43 to George Peabody College for Teachers, in addition to many other smaller grants. To Lincoln School, of Teachers College, Columbia University, for John Dewey's Marxist experiment in youthful libertinism that goes by the name of Progressive Education, was given \$5,923,747.62; and it was there that Laurance, Nelson, Winthrop and David Rockefeller were sent for training. As in the case of all the Rockefeller "philanthropies," the GEB and its grantees were made to serve the interests of the Rockefeller Em-

pire. When its plans of subversion were intensified after the Rockefeller Empire had entered into its entente with Communist Russia, the educational system of the country, which by then had come largely, if not completely, under its control, was converted to a huge "school for subversion". For this reason the proportion of exposed and convicted traitors is higher among the educated than among the uneducated; and it increases with the extent of education. After the 1926 Rockefeller-Soviet deal, the number of Communists and fellow travelers among the professors and teachers rose by leaps and bounds. Before a decade had elapsed, adherence to Marxism or membership in the Communist Party became a prerequisite for teaching appointments or for promotion in a large percentage of the schools, colleges and universities of the country, not merely in the "social sciences", but in all fields. Rockefeller, and dominated foundation, subsidy and endowment had a direct bearing on the degree of Communist infiltration; the greater the grant, the higher was the proportion of Communist faculty members. Special chairs and positions were created by the Rockefeller Foundation for notorious Red propagandists, as in the case of Hans Eisler at the New School for Social Research, of Dr. Henry Siegerist and Owen Lattimore, (Amerasia editor) at Johns Hopkins University, Harlow Shapley and Harold Laski at Harvard, William W. Lockwood, (Amerasia editor) at Princeton, and Rexford Tugwell and Harold Clayton Urey at Columbia and the University of Chicago, respectively.

Control of "social sciences" and their teachings automatically implies control of labor union activities. For though teachers of economics and labor relations, and of law, serve as fronts and mouthpieces for the labor unions that employ them, they also provide the pseudo-scientific doctrines and grounds for their demands. The "social science" program has served the Rockefeller Empire well in the regimentation of workers.

The plight of the patriotic professor—who rejects subversive doctrines and refuses to teach them, or to turn traitor and subvert his students—is not an enviable one in the Rockefeller-dominated educational system. This is well portrayed by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, who had been sympathetic to their "liberalism," in his privately printed pam-



phlet, *The Struggle Against The Historical Blackout*, as follows:

"A state of abject terror and intimidation exists among the majority of professional American historians whose views accord with the facts on the question of responsibility for the second World War." (p.9)

Professor Charles Austin Beard, long heralded as a "liberal" historian, points to the responsibility of the Rockefellers for this condition by reference to the report of the Rockefeller Foundation of 1946, as follows:

"The Rockefeller Foundation . . . intend to prevent, if they can, a repetition of what they call in the vernacular 'the debunking' journalistic campaign following World War I." (id.) The lot of professors and teachers who shifted from a defense of American institutions and the Constitution to advocacy of Marxism, Communism and other forms of totalitarianism in time to serve the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis has been far happier. They are heralded as paragons of wisdom and learning and as leaders who are to be followed. Their prior Americanism is forgiven in proportion to the number of Communist and Communist front organizations they join; and they take their places at the sides of those who have adhered to the Communist Party "line" from the start. Their totalitarianism wins them rapid advancement and lucrative Government posts as "Brain Trusters", "advisers", bureaucrats, diplomats and any other posts where they can serve as pawns of the Rockefeller Empire. The "social scientists" among them are given employment as economists and statisticians at high salaries in labor unions, to serve as "front" men and "mouthpieces" for racketeering and subversive labor leaders. But they must be willing to let the labor leaders dictate or censor their writings and teachings. Unscrupulously, these same union-employed "economists" also serve as "neutral" arbitrators of labor disputes, often in cases involving the very unions that employ them. In any event, their decisions must outrageously favor the unions without fail and without regard to honesty, or else they lose their union position and are placed on a blacklist, never to be so employed again. If they play ball with the subversive and totalitarian elements, and serve the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis faith-

fully, their futures are assured and they are always provided for on a liberal, if not lavish, scale.

Zechariah Chafee Jr., professor of law at Harvard, made the error of writing, as a young instructor, an excellent, scholarly and American book entitled *Freedom of Speech*, published in 1920. But by 1927 he had mounted the Rockefeller Red bandwagon in the Communist-inspired Sacco Vanzetti affair, with Professor Felix Frankfurter. And he has remained on the pro-Communist side of the fence. He advanced rapidly to professorship and now represents the U.S. at the UN, after having served as vice-chairman of the "Commission on Freedom of the Press", of which more will be related. He is engaged in writing the section of the UN Constitution on the press that proposes to abridge for the press the Bill of Rights that he had defended so wisely and eloquently in his youth. For his distinguished services to the Rockefeller Empire, he has been accorded membership in the Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Office of that Empire, and the Rockefeller-dominated invisible world government. Professor Chafee prospered. From the viewpoint of the Rockefeller interests and the GEB, his about-face had made him "right" for the furtherance of their totalitarian and pro-Soviet plans.

As the university faculties about the country were packed with totalitarian professors of all varieties, it became increasingly difficult for students who refused to accept Marxism, that came to be regarded as synonymous with "liberalism", either to secure admission to colleges and universities, or to get degrees.

Columbia University, including its Teachers College, was particularly, directly and heavily subsidized and dominated by the Rockefeller interests because of the education of the Rockefeller youngsters at the "experimental" Lincoln School, its subsidiary. The relations between the Rockefellers and Columbia University have been very close. Rockefeller Center is built upon land in part given to Columbia by the Rockefellers and then leased back by them from the University for the purpose of avoiding the payment of taxes. Through the General Education Board, they have dictated Columbia's faculty, policies and curricula. Under their direction and that of their agents, the faculties

of philosophy and "social sciences" and of Teachers College have become completely Marxist. It is questionable whether there is a single member of the faculty who does not subscribe to some form of totalitarianism that is compatible with the Rockefeller objectives stated in the Occasional Letter No. 1 cited above, that states the policy and objective of all the Rockefeller "philanthropies". The majority of the members of the faculty are Marxists, and a large number of them are frankly Communists. The following are some of the members of the Columbia faculties who have been cited by various committees investigating un-American activities for membership in Communist and Communist front organizations, and the number of organizations with which they have been connected (Red-Ucator, National Council for American Education, 1 Maiden Lane, New York City) :

#### Philosophy And "Social Sciences"

Angell, James W.	3	Baker, Elizabeth F.	9
Brissenden, Paul F.	8	Burns, Eveline M.	3
Edel, Abraham	6	Edman, Irwin	4
Frazier, E. Franklin	14	Friess, Horace L.	1
Klein, Philip	11	Kraus, Michael	1
Lamont, Corliss	56	Lindeman, Eduard C.	30
Lindsay, Samuel M.	3	Lynd, Robert S.	27
MacIver, Robert M.	5	Merton, Robert K.	1
Nagel, Ernest	1	Rautenstrauch, W.	62
Smith, J. Russell	3	Stanfield, Boris	1
Stern, Bernard J.	49	Tead, Ordway	4
Weltfish, Gene	32		

#### Education

Brunner, Edmund deS.	8	Rugg, Harold	2
Childs, John L.	2	Bryson, Lyman	5
Dewey, John	15	Counts, George S.	20
Hartmann, George W.	2	Goodsell, Willystine	9
Kilpatrick, W. H.	11	Hobbs, Nicholas	1
Osborne, Ernest G.	1		

#### Law

Gellhorn, Walter	11	Jessup, Philip C.	4
Llewellyn, Karl N.	1	Michael, Jerome	4
		Religion Niebuhr, Reinhold	19
		Van	

Dusen, Henry P. 1

#### Miscellaneous

Baehr, Dr. George	4	Behre, Charles H. Jr.	4
Barth, Lester G.	3	Boas, Franz	17
Brewster, Dorothy	38	Demerec, M.	3
Dobzhansky, T.	1	Dunn, Leslie C.	24

Ellard, Roscoe B.	1	Emerson, Haven	11
Grundfest, Harry	16	Kleinberg, Otto	7
Kolchin, Ellis	1	Muzzey, David S.	3
Moore, Douglas	4	Nevins, Allan	1
Robinson, Geroid T.	3	Rosebury, Theodor	8
Saerchinger, Cesar	5	Sargent, S. Stanfield	3
Schilt, Jan	1	Shotwell, James T.	7
Simmons, Ernest J.	6	Van Doren, Mark	19
Van Metre, T. W.	1	Vernadsky, George	2
		Officers	
Carman, Dean, H. J.	4	Hacker, Dir. L. M.	3

This list contains only a small fraction of the Columbia staff who are totalitarian in their views, influence or teachings. But it contains much that illustrates the nature of the deliberate influence that Rockefeller's GEB has exerted on the educational system of the nation and the world. This influence has been accentuated considerably since the Rockefeller interests arrived at an entente with Stalin, and has shifted entirely in the direction of that form of Marxism that suits the purposes of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, most aptly designated as Rockefellerism.

It has been the consistent practise of the G.E.B. to dictate faculty appointments as one of the conditions for making requested grants. Deliberate selection of militant Marxists for college posts is clearly indicated by the appointment of Paul F. Brissenden to an assistant professorship at Columbia. Brissenden had earned a reputation as a militant left-wing labor agitator long before his Columbia appointment, in connection with his activities as special agent of the U.S. Commission of Industrial Relations and of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and with the I.W.W. The theme of his Columbia U. Ph.D. thesis was The I.W.W., A Study of American Syndicalism, which quite clearly evinces his left-wing, Marxist attitude. His appointment to the post of assistant professor of economics at Rockefeller-dominated Columbia University School of Business, therefore, was made because of his radicalism. His I.W.W. thesis so delighted the Kremlin that it was translated and published in Russia. His pro-Communist attitude was a family affair; for both his mother and sister volunteered to help make a success of the Bolshevik revolution and migrated to Moscow where they were



employed by the Kremlin. Brissenden himself made no secret of his support of Communism. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the notoriously Red American Civil Liberties Union, and of the equally Red International Juridical Association and the International Rescue and Relief Committee. He was one of the signers of a letter to the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, defending the Communist Party against the Hitler-Stalin Pact. His "liberalism" has been rewarded by many appointive government jobs in the field of labor; chairmanships of commissions and boards in many industries, including cloaks and suits, cap and cloth, millinery and others; statistician and economist on the payroll of a wide array of unions; "impartial" chairman under many labor agreements; member of the Industrial Tribunal of the American Arbitration Association; and numerous other lucrative, policymaking appointments. These rewards that arose out of the Rockefeller-GEB-dictated professorial appointment are the customary rewards of radical teachers who subscribe to the doctrines of Rockefellerism. As a member of the Columbia faculty, Professor Brissenden is in a position to reject any applicants for the higher degrees, that are a prerequisite for teaching positions, if they do not accept the doctrines to which he subscribes.

The case of Walter Gellhorn, professor of law, clearly demonstrates the extent to which the Rockefellers go in their support of pro-Communist activities. A product of Rockefeller's GEB-fostered Columbia totalitarianism of the post-Rockefeller-Soviet Axis era, he was given, in 1931, the post of secretary to Supreme Court Justice Harlan F. Stone, one of his indoctrinators. In 1932, on admission to the bar, he promptly became attorney in the office of the Solicitor General of the Department of Justice. In the following year he was appointed to the law faculty of Columbia and, in 1937, to the Department of Political Science. His long series of government appointments included Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, in 1943, and Chairman of the National War Labor Board, 2nd Region, in 1945. During this period of rapid advancement he became increasingly identified with pro-Communist causes as a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Juridical Association, the National Lawyers' Guild, and the

semi-official Soviet Open Road. He was in the forefront of attacks on legislation and investigations directed against Communism. There was a personal aspect to this fight because Gellhorn was himself under investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

To aid in this fight against the exposure of un-American activities and such treason as that of Alger Hiss, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1948, announced a grant of \$110,000 for a "Study of the relation of civil rights to the control of subversive activities in the United States." The grant was made to Cornell University, where Edmund E. Day, former Director of Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation, had been planted as president of the University. Though Professor Robert E. Cushman, of Cornell, a Marxist New Dealer, was designated to head the "study", he turned over the job to Gellhorn. The money was used largely in a campaign to bring about abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee. The Cushman-Gellhorn-Rockefeller activities tied in with those of the Anti-Defamation League. Gellhorn was fittingly assigned the problem of security and loyalty requirements as applied to government scientists. His equivocal views were published in a Rockefeller subsidized book, *Security, Loyalty & Science*.

The high rewards and distinguished honors that were heaped upon Philip C. Jessup, Reverend Rein-hold Niebuhr and Reverend Henry Van Dusen for their services to the Rockefeller Empire and its Axis are discussed elsewhere.

Donald G. Tewksbury, professor of education at Columbia U., illustrates the security and promotion offered by the Rockefeller interests to their Red proteges who serve their Axis well. He is a product of their Red Chinese Yenching University, who had been subsidized by them through the Harvard-Yenching Foundation.

With the entire academic world from which to choose teachers to influence the minds of its students, Columbia University shares at least four of its instructors with the official school of the Communist Party, the Jefferson School of Social Sciences. They are:

Dorothy Brewster, Associate Professor of English

Abraham Edel, Lecturer on Philosophy 136

Corliss Lamont, Lecturer on Philosophy-Walter Rautenstrauch, Professor of Industrial Engineering

Numerous members of the faculty at Columbia U. are members and officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, the chief legal aid of Communist conspirators. Among them are:

Dr. Harry E. Barnes	Prof. Paul F. Brissenden
Prof. George S. Counts	Prof. Walter Gellhorn
Corliss Lamont	Prof. E. C. Lindeman

There they rub elbows with Rockefeller's minister, Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick, Morris Ernst, Melvyn Douglas, Arthur Garfield Hays, Max Lerner, Carey McWilliams, Dorothy Kenyon, Elmer Rice, Raymond Swing and Oswald Garrison Villard.

Professors of law have been particularly handy agents of the Rockefeller-Soviet conspirators. Subversives planted on the faculties of universities which they control become endowed with the halo of unworldliness and public trust that attaches to the traditional, but absent-minded professor who is devoted to learning and pure science and is unapproachable. The Communist and other brands of totalitarians, and the Rockefeller interests, have exploited the public trust in the college professor to the full limit; and it has served them well. They have planted their utterly ruthless, traitorous agents in professorships that are often especially created for them, and build up their reputations for "erudition" and "wisdom" while they are engaged in the very process of eroding the law and Constitution of the land at the behest of their bosses. Then they plant them in the courts and rapidly advance them until, not infrequently, they are placed on the Supreme Court bench itself, where they dictate a revolution by law. The cases of Supreme Court Justices Holmes, Cardozo, Brandeis, Stone and many others come to mind in this connection. The conspirators, who are expert at propaganda and agitation, create for their agents in high posts, fictitious reputations for impartiality and learning. These judiciary agents have created for the conspirators a complete immunity for their treasonous activity by tortured perversion of the law. Thus a person participating no matter how indirectly in a

crime is an accomplice. But an associate or fellow traveller who participates in a Communist act of treason is regarded as blameless; and any charges made against him bring out the cry of "guilt by association". This is exactly for what the law holds other criminals accountable. For the status of the accomplice is guilt by association.

Subversive legal rulings have made it a crime to call a man a Communist unless he acknowledges himself under oath to be a Communist, or his Communist Party card can be produced and it can be proved beyond any doubt that it is his. So infiltrated are our courts and juries with subversives that it seldom has proved possible to have a man legally adjudged a Communist, even on the testimony of several witnesses and even though it can be demonstrated that he had followed every bend of the Communist Party line. The defense offered in these cases is that to call a man a Communist means to charge him with a crime and injure him. And there is always plenty of subversive legal talent at hand, endowed with plenty of foundation and other "civil rights" money, to crucify anyone who dares label a Communist.

But in defending their Communist clients against indictments charging them with subversion and attempts to overthrow the government, the self-same judges and legal talent plead that the Communist Party is legal, and to be a Communist is not a crime. If to be a Communist is not a crime, why have their solicitous agents on the bench ruled that it is a crime to call a man a Communist? Is it because the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis dictates it shall be so?

There appears to be no limit to the brazen distortion of the law and absurd pettifogging of these "jurists" on behalf of the Communist conspirators. In the first week of October 1951, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down two decisions designed to protect Communists in their treasonous efforts to destroy our Government, creating the impression of a desire to cooperate with them. The first decision, delivered by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, ruled that \$50,000 bail was "unusually high" in the cases of twelve Communists who were merely charged with advocating overthrow of the Government by violence, under the Smith Act, and whose colleagues have skipped bail in flocks when



convicted. The court ruled that the Government must produce evidence of a "really serious offense" to justify this "high bail", that was so "high" that four of their fellow conspirators skipped and forfeited the sums.

A second decision that was handed down on the same day ruled that anyone who patriotically reports a suspected Communist to the FBI may be sued for damages by the accused. This decision is designed to ably assist the Communists in their conspiracy by cutting off reports and clues regarding them from Government agencies. The Court appears to be more concerned with protecting the conspirators than in national security. In this it is serving the interests of the Axis. The decision was undoubtedly motivated by the desperate effort of the conspirators to protect the swarms of Communist and Axis agents planted in the government departments.

Not included in the above list is Philip Edward Mosely, totalitarian Professor of International Relations and head of the Russian Institute at Columbia U., and Assistant Director of the Rockefeller Foundation. After securing his Ph.D. at Harvard under the tutelage of Felix Frankfurter, in 1931, and subsequently instructing at Princeton, he was permitted, or rather invited, by the Bolsheviks to come to Moscow and stay for two years (a privilege never known to be accorded to any but avowed and trusted Communists) to engage in "historical researches." He was then assigned as fellow, by the Rockefeller-subsidized and dominated, Red Social Science Research Council, for "research in the Balkans." From 1942 to 1946, he joined Nelson Rockefeller, Dean Acheson, Alger Hiss and the rest of the pro-Soviet clique in the State Department, as chief of the division on political and territorial studies and was adviser to the U.S. delegation to the disastrous Moscow Conference, in 1943, to the European Advisory Commission in London in 1944, and to the tragic Potsdam Conference in 1945. He was also U.S. representative in 1946 on the Commission for the Investigation of the Yugoslav-Italian Border. In 1936 he was the sympathetic Soviet-authorized translator of V. M. Chernov's official history, *The Great Russian Revolution*. He has very concisely stated his and the Rockefeller Empire's totalitarian credo, as has been related, in

a Headline Series pamphlet issued by Rockefeller's Foreign Policy Association, repeated here for emphasis:

"Over the long run, great numbers of people will judge both the Soviet and American Systems, not by how much individual freedom they preserve, but by how much they contribute, in freedom or without it, to develop a better livelihood and a greater feeling of social fulfillment." This statement is a variation of the Communist propaganda theme: "What is freedom without bread?" This is the Rockefeller-Soviet sales talk for their brand of totalitarianism and slavery that contrasts so sharply with Patrick Henry's Americanism of: "Give me liberty or give me death". But American history and patriotism are both taboo in schools dominated by Rockefeller's GEB. Only Mosely's views are taught.

The situation is, if possible, even worse in Rockefeller's pet University of Chicago, the Red gehenna of all the Rockefeller-subsidized professors. A list of its faculty indicates that advancement on it appears to be almost entirely predicated on how Red the professor is and how many Communist fronts he joins. A partial list of professors and the Communist and Communist front organizations they have joined reveals the following::

Abbott, Edith	15	Adams, James Luther	10
Borgese, G. A.	6	Burgess, Ernest W.	8
Carlson, Anton J.	18	Douglas, Sen. Paul H.	22
Havighurst, Robert J.	7	Haydon, A. Eustace	6
Hutchins, Robert M.	2	Lange, Oscar	9
Lovett, R. M.	114	McMillen, Wayne	26
Sharp, Malcolm P.	9	Slye, Maud	8
Thompson, John B.	10	Tugwell, Rexford	7
Urey, Harold C.	15	Wieman, H. N.	20

The extent that subversion effected by "educational philanthropies" has attained at Yale University is portrayed by William F. Buckley Jr. in his book God And Man At Yale. Buckley, a recent graduate of Yale, lists the subversive teachers. They infest the School of Divinity as completely as the other faculties, and their religion is Marxist Rockefellerism. He also lists in the appendix, subversive textbooks that are widely used, and the schools that use them.

The fostering of totalitarian and Rockefeller Reds in all the schools, colleges and universities over which it could gain control, is the chief function of Rockefeller's General Education Board in the pursuit of its boss's objectives. When found, dependable agents are often planted in key positions in the Government in Washington. If by any chance they are exposed or apprehended in illegal or treasonous activities, they are usually protected and shifted to other positions.

In the Wilson Administration, the Government was loaded to the gunwales with them. Those that could not be made to fit into the Republican administrations that followed, by the "bipartisan" device, were put back in storage in the universities dominated by the Rockefeller interests, as a part of a well organized and disciplined machine for totalitarian subversion and erosion of the Constitution and the law of the land. They were well provided for and shifted about in the government and universities for diversity of experience, to prepare them for their roles in the gigantic conspiracy.

In the universities, they were protected in their subversive activities when exposed, by all the wealth and power of the Rockefeller Empire acting through such organizations as the ultra-Red American Civil Liberties Union, and other subsidized agencies. When, unavoidably, for a particularly heinous offense, one of them had to be ousted from his position, he was likewise merely shifted to another position either in the government, in a foundation or in one of the schools. Oaths of loyalty to the U.S. are fought bitterly by the GEB-subsidized agents of the Rockefeller Empire, with all the power at their command. The State of California, for instance, was compelled by them to revoke its rational requirement that all members of the faculty must sign loyalty oaths. The only loyalty that is required of them is loyalty to the Empire. Professor Edward C. Tolman, who was dismissed from the University of California as subversive, was given, after his dismissal, an honorary degree by Yale in 1951, as an example to encourage others.

It is an adequate commentary on the General Education Board and its domination of the educational system that the "traitor scientists" have become a serious problem and a menace to the security of the land, a situation that was dilated upon in

the New York Times of May 15, 1951.

When a change in the political climate had been effected and Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been put into the Presidency to head a "Popular Front" government in Washington, all of the subversive agents were taken out of their storage in the academic halls of the "educational" institutions, where they had bent their energies to producing new generations of vipers and traitors. They were put back into the government to carry out the subversive tasks for which they had been trained so well, not infrequently in Moscow, through the creation of what was sardonically labeled by the conspirators as the New Deal. Many of the agents occupied the same posts in the Wilson "War to Save Democracy" regime as they did two decades later in the New Deal and World War II, that was its crowning glory.

In the past several decades, it has also become an established practise of the Rockefeller interests to place their political hacks, warhorses and pawns in the position of university president. This serves to keep them in the public eye, invests them with an academic halo in the eyes of the "peasants", makes it possible for them to serve as unsuspected propagandists for subversive totalitarian causes, and to indoctrinate the emerging generation of voters with Rockefellerism, and to groom them as traitors; it also provides these agents with handsome incomes. This practise is illustrated by their planting General Dwight Eisenhower in Columbia University, Harold Stassen in the University of Pennsylvania, Edward Stettinius in the University of Virginia and many others.

There is no doubt that subversive professors, fostered and subsidized by the General Education Board and allied "philanthropies" rank as the nation's most menacing enemies. They have produced some of our most dangerous traitors. Thus Hunter College, under the aegis of Rockefeller henchman, George N. Shuster, its president, spewed forth, inculcated with his indiscriminate pro-Nazi and pro-Communist totalitarian sentiments, "Axis Sally" Gillars. Harvard University, crawling with Red professorial vermin, evacuated on the nation its Alger Hiss; Cornell, its Lee Pressman; Columbia, its Judy Coplon. They have all loosed upon the nation a horde of unapprehended and unsuspected traitors who



are persistently betraying the nation. What a sham it is to pretend to be fighting Communism abroad, while at home these breeders of traitors are turning the younger generation into a horde of dangerously muddled Marxists!

The most pathetic figures in the situation are the nation's youngsters. Several generations of them have been made human sacrifices to the very doctrines that they have been schooled to adore, victims of their teachers' witting or unwitting treachery. For their fate they owe thanks to the success of the General Education Board in infiltrating the public school system throughout the nation and converting it into a subversive agency of Rockefellerism. Their pro-Communist training leads them to betray their country in the interest of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. Then they themselves become the victims of their own betrayal, in wars whipped up by arrangement between the pawns of the Axis partners. In the Korean "police action", close to a hundred thousand of them have been injured, and almost 10,000 killed.

The General Education Board, mindful of the aphorism: "Give me a child till the age of nine, and you can have it for the rest of its life", began to infiltrate and take over the public school system at an early date. It has pursued this objective steadily and with even greater vigor than it manifests in the field of higher education. After initial hostility, National Education Association (NEA) joined forces with the GEB, thus giving it domination of the greatest power in the field of primary education. The Rockefeller group also took over local school boards directly through their associates and agents, and converted them into agencies of subversion. Thus in New York City they took over the school boards and control of the school system about 1915, during the mayoralty of their puppet, John Purroy Mitchell. At about the same time they took over the Gary, Indiana, school system for "experimentation". They placed in charge of it Dr. William A. Wirt, who proved to be a better American than they suspected and exposed their conspiracy to prolong the depression, destroy our government and replace it with their totalitarian, "managed" economy to a Congressional Committee in 1934 (H. R. 73 Congress, 2nd Session, H. S. 314). In Scarsdale, New York, Edmund E. Day, Director

for Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation, took control for them of the local school board. The radical Progressive Education Association has been a Rockefeller GEB agency from its start.

The nature of the influence which Rockefeller's GEB exercised directly and indirectly through the NEA, is illustrated by a number of their deeds. In 1940 the GEB granted the Progressive Education Society \$1,635,941 and the NEA a total of \$706,100. In addition, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, allied with the NEA, received a total of \$122,600 for the purpose of "helping pupils gain a clearer understanding of problems involved in such fields as planning and public finance, public education, population, unemployment, health, personal security and self-development, democracy and dictatorship, free enterprise and collectivism . . ." (GEB Annual Report, 1940, p. 48). The money was used for the writing and publication of a series of booklets on "Problems in American Life", under the auspices of the NEA.

The pamphlet, *The American Way of Business*, that was prepared to introduce the junior-high-school grades to the subject, was entrusted by the conspirators to a notorious Communist, Oscar Lange, and Abba Lerner, an advocate of Communism, and both foreign born. Oscar Lange is the naturalized Polish-born professor of economics at the University of Chicago, whom Nelson Rockefeller chose as his mentor and adviser in the writing of his Ph. D. thesis, *Economic Waste*, which has been described; and in its introduction Nelson expresses his gratitude to Lange "for invaluable criticism and advice". One year after his book was published for distribution among school children, in 1945, Oscar Lange renounced his American citizenship and returned to Poland to become a Communist official in his conquered land. He is now Communist Polish representative in the UN.

True to expectation Lange's pamphlet, *The American Way of Business*, used in the public schools under the auspices of the Rockefeller-subsidized NEA, was a Communist tract that held up to ridicule American business, that has provided for Communist Russia well enough to save it from destruction at the hands of its confederates, the Nazis. It also lauded Marxist and Communist methods that have failed so utterly to provide the

barest necessities of life to the lands that have adopted them. It attacked private enterprise, endorsed government ownership of industry and advised that government bureaucrats be given the power to repeal acts of Congress. It was a polemic for the Rockefeller-Soviet brand of Marxism that goes by the name of New Deal, or Rockefellerism.

Proof that this undertaking to subvert the children was deliberate, is afforded by the examination of other pamphlets in the same series. They are all Communist tracts. Economic Problems of the Post-War World was written by Marxist, New Deal economist, Alvin H. Hansen, and endorses a Marxist program of taxation and deficit spending that will serve to force industry into the hands of the government, which he calls "compensatory spending." Another of the pamphlets of this series, International Organization After The War, was written by the avowed Marxist, Max Lerner, former associate editor of the Communist newspaper, PM.

For the subversion of seventh and eighth grade school children, the General Education Board made a grant of \$51,000, in 1938, to the NEA Association for Curriculum Development for the preparation of the "Building America" series of textbooks for use in the nation's primary schools. The title adopted displayed the usual use of semantics by the conspirators. The textbooks are entirely devoted to tearing down America. The texts and their illustrations subtly emphasize the unfavorable aspects of American life and breed a derogatory attitude towards the Constitution and American institutions. Communist Russia and its institutions, on the other hand, are presented in favorable contrast and in the rosiest light. The name of the series should be Building Soviet America.

The "Building America" series is endorsed as "excellent source material" by the committee on education of the National Committee on Soviet-American Friendship, according to the Report Of The Joint Fact-Finding Committee To the 1948 Regular California Legislature On Un-American Activities In California (pp.326-7), which also labels the Soviet-American Friendship outfit as "a direct agent of the Soviet Union". A sample of the authors of the Rockefeller-endowed textbook series for subversion of school children is Alain Locke, member of its editorial staff, who had a record of membership

in twelve Communist and front organizations.

The "Building America" series was barred from use in the public schools of California by the legislature, in an order cutting off funds for the "textbooks".

Thus does Rockefeller's "philanthropy", the General Education Board, seek to poison the minds of America with Communism and New Deal Rockefellerism from the cradle to the grave, and to convert the school system of the land to a hotbed of Communism and other forms of subversion. Its Communist friends are held largely responsible by Lait and Mortimer in their Washington Confidential for the drive to poison the bodies of school children with narcotics. They report that the sale of narcotics among our school children has been launched by the Communist Party and the Soviets, for the dual purpose of undermining the morale of the country and of providing a revenue for their propaganda. To what extent I. G. Far-benindustrie is encouraging this vile traffic through "Lucky" Luciano as their agent, is not definitely known.

The deliberate fostering and breeding of Communism in our school system emphasizes the sham of the pretense of the conspirators, of fighting Communism abroad. Of what avail is it to fight Communism in other lands, while breeding it at home? Obviously their pretended fight on Communism serves some other purpose.

The Rockefeller interests have been so successful in their plan to have the taxpayers take over, as an official agency, their thought control program launched by the Education Board, with their trained agents as its personnel, that they plan to liquidate the Board. This success is illustrated by the financing of their Institute of International Education, originally operated with Carnegie Corporation and Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial funds, by the Federal Government, with moneys derived from the sale of "surplus" war material overseas, under a bill introduced by their "internationalist" agent, Senator Fulbright. To insure further their subversive control, the Ford Foundation recently has been brought into the picture with a \$350,000 grant.

From the outset, the GEB engaged in its brand of agitation, that it calls "education," among the Negroes, especially for the F.E.P.C.



## CHAPTER VIII

### ROCKEFELLER'S FOUNDATION

"Internationalism", Totalitarianism, Treason &  
"Philanthropy."

Trevor Arnett, President of the General Education Board, stated in his introductory letter to its 1928 report (p.xi) :

"... the munificence of Mr. John D. Rockefeller cannot be understood unless these foundations are recognized as parts of a well ordered whole, in the planning of which his (Gates') thought, his imagination and his powers of vigorous and persuasive utterance were dominating factors. As he himself once said, the objects for which the several Boards were set up represented not an accidental succession of ideas but one logically developed scheme . . ." The object of the Rockefeller Foundation was to carry out in the international field the basic objective of the General Education Board, enslavement of mankind to serve the purpose of the Rockefeller Empire, and to enshroud Rockefeller with a toga of "philanthropy". There was also the more ambitious objective of further luring the United States and other nations into the international field to serve Rockefeller interests. This was clearly stated at a later date by the Foundation's President Vincent, as follows:

"The aim always kept in mind is not to assume governmental or social functions, but to show that certain things can be done successfully, and then as soon as may be, to turn these over to the community." (JDR, v. 2, p. 655) Nevins points out the need for the new charter: (JDR, v. 2, p. 645)

"The General Education Board was restricted by charter to the United States; this new organization should have the world as its field . . ." The basic terms of the charter sought for the Foundation were:

"To promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

A bill chartering the Rockefeller Foundation was introduced in Congress and was reported favorably from the Senate Committee on March 10, 1910. The nation, which had not yet been as extensively "edu-

cated", or indoctrinated, by the Rockefeller interests, still possessed sufficient native intelligence to discern the skulduggery that might be expected of their "philanthropy". Immediately a storm of protest broke out among intelligent, discerning folks. The only defenders of the bill were from among the Marxist elements, the Nation and the Survey. The bill was sidetracked.

A man whose generosity is spurned generally pockets his funds, and walks off,—unless that generosity has an ulterior purpose. Rockefeller's "philanthropy" obviously had an ulterior purpose, and that purpose obviously was extremely important for the one and only real interest of his life, his profits. For in the following year a powerful lobby was sent by him to Washington to force through Congress, at any cost, the charter for his "philanthropy", the Foundation. Nevins, his biographer, tries to explain away the persistent quest for a Federal charter on the ground that it would be "stronger, safer and more dignified than a state charter". But this is quite specious, because eventually Rockefeller was forced to be content with a New York State charter. For the U.S. Senate in 1913 blocked the charter though it was much amended and restricted, after it had passed the House, in spite of what some Western newspaper called "the most powerful lobby ever seen in Washington."

The New York State charter was put through the legislature for the Rockefellers by Senator Robert F. Wagner, their agent whom they had arranged to have elected by Tammany. This charter, in contrast with the one that the Rockefellers had been willing to accept from Congress, was unlimited in scope and provided a considerably higher capitalization.

The attacks made upon the Foundation on the floor of the U.S. Senate were peculiarly prophetic. It was predicted that the Rockefellers proposed to use the Foundation to seduce public opinion, to lobby and influence politics, to subvert American institutions, to evade the income tax which they were seeking to impose on the nation, to evade regulation by the government and to use the nation to further their private interests in complete disregard of national interests.

Launched in an atmosphere of suspicion and under fire of criticism, the Foundation adopted an

attitude of caution and courting of public opinion at the beginning. The Rockefeller Foundation patiently waited for more than a decade and a half before openly engaging in the totalitarian conspiracy which Gates and Rockefeller acknowledged at the start, in Occasional Letter No. 1 of the GEB, as the true purpose of all Rockefeller "philanthropies".

At the start, the Rockefellers put their best foot forward and stressed the "bleeding heart" activities of their Foundation, especially those that exposed to public gaze their pretended touching concern for the health of the "peasant," euphemistically and prophetically labelled "The Forgotten Man" by their associate, Walter Hines Page, whom they made wartime ambassador to England. Their first endeavors were the establishment of the International Health Commission and the China Medical Board.

The International Health Commission was designed to disarm public resentment against the Rockefellers and their Foundation, both at home and abroad. It undertook to agitate the problem of hookworm infestations of man and to high-pressure public health officers to launch spectacular campaigns, at the expense of the taxpayers, to purge the victim public for their health and the glory of Rockefeller. How effective it proved in establishing contacts with governmental officials in many lands for the Rockefeller interests is revealed by Dr. Victor Heiser, one of their agents, in *An American Doctor's Odyssey*. Later the range of Foundation activities was extended to medical research of the varieties described in connection with the Rockefeller Institute.

The China Medical Board activities added to the pose of interest in "The Forgotten Man", the sanctimonious aroma of missionary activity. It helped to redeem Rockefeller with the clergy and the churches, and to stop their attacks on him. But why did the Rockefeller Foundation specifically select China rather than India or other regions for their activities? The choice was a crafty one. It was dictated, as have been most of the activities of the Rockefeller "philanthropies", by either their immediate commercial or oil interests, or by their avowed totalitarian conspiracy, which is, in effect, their long-term commercial policy.

The China Medical Board was an important factor in the expansion and penetration of the Rocke-

feller Standard Oil interests in China and in the expansion of the Rockefeller Empire. The ruthlessness and the high profits involved in the split-penny market for "Oil for the Lamps of China" is related by Vera Teasdale, the wife of a Standard Oil official, in her book bearing that title. The Rockefeller interests more directly involved were the Vacuum Oil Co. (now the Socony Vacuum) and the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. The China Medical Board activities paved the way, together with a Standard Oil loan of fifteen million dollars, in 1914, for a partnership with the Chinese Government and the lease to Rockefeller's Standard Oil of mineral rights in Shensi and Chi Li provinces for a period of seventy-five years. These and other leases were the *causae belli* in the Japanese invasion of China. They were important factors in the train of events that led to Pearl Harbor, that cost the U.S. so heavily and profited the Rockefeller Empire so much.

In many quarters of the world, the Rockefeller Empire met with initial success in these Foundation and State Department spearheaded drives for commercial conquest and control of the oil and other resources of the world. In due time, however, they met with setbacks or were actually ousted by governments with which they had made deals or set up monopolies. The reason for these reverses varied in different locales. In some instances it was the utter ruthlessness of Rockefeller Imperialism. In others, it was resentment of local interests at being superseded, or of other world powers at being shut out. In line with the traditional Rockefeller "principle"—"if you can not lick your enemy, join him until you have a chance to stab him in the back"—temporary compromises were made frequently.

But the inevitable ultimate consequences of setbacks of the Rockefeller Empire in its march for world conquest, masked as a philanthropic crusade, were wars. Wars have been the outstanding Rockefeller "philanthropies". And wars have been the most profitable for them. To these wars they contributed nothing but incitement. For the oil and other material they supplied, they were paid well. Invariably they profited hugely from the waging of the wars. They invariably emerged as the real victors. No matter which powers waged the Rockefeller Crusades, the Rockefeller Empire emerged with all the spoils. The most consistent



banner bearer in the Rockefeller Crusades has been the government of the U.S.A., which they have converted into a minor bureau of their Empire. Americans have been "privileged" to shed their blood and dissipate their wealth in the oily Rockefeller Crusades.

To make possible these conquests by the Rockefeller Empire it was necessary, as indicated by Gates in his Occasional Letter No. 1, not merely to thought control the American people, whom they seek to reduce to the level of serfs and peasants, as was being done most efficiently by the General Education Board, but also to secure their submission and regimentation, by carrying out the essential features of the program that already had been launched by Bismarck, under the guise of "social science".

In 1914, Rockefeller had a demonstration close to home of the utter lack of docility of the American "peasant", in the violent strike of the workers of his Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. and in the refusal of the people to "yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands". The chairman of the board of the C.F.I. Co. was L. M. Bowers, a relative of Rockefeller's almoner, Reverend Gates, who wrote the above phrase as a statement of the purpose of Rockefeller's "philanthropies"; and was guided by that author of Rockefeller "benevolence" in his actions.

What happened in this case is a true guide to what the world might expect in the future of the "charity" of the Rockefeller clan. The employees of the C.F.I. Co. worked under conditions that Nevins, official Rockefeller family biographer, acknowledges were miserable. (JDR, v. 2, p. 667). They were forced to revolt, or strike, in order to survive. Their union bosses asked for improvement of working conditions, increased pay and union recognition, and a "closed shop". The union involved was the now all-powerful United Mine Workers.

Rockefeller owned 40% of the C.F.I. Co. stock, dominated the Company and was acknowledged leader of the local industry. He refused to recognize the dissatisfaction of the workers with his "philanthropy", or their other grievances. Rockefeller's "philanthropy" to these workers is strikingly stated by George P. West in his report of the

strike, made for the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations:

"... two entire counties of Southern Colorado for years have been deprived of popular government, while large groups of their citizens have been stripped of their liberties, robbed of portions of their earnings, subjected to ruthless persecution and abuse, and reduced to a state of economic and political serfdom." (quoted by Nevins, JDR, v. 2, p. 667)

This pattern of Rockefeller "benevolence" should be borne in mind. For though its appearance has changed in the course of years, and the agency through which it is administered has now become the Government and the unions, both dummies, its basic spirit and substance still remain the same. The entire nation now is being accorded the same treatment. It is the avowed goal of all Rockefeller enterprises, both the frankly commercial and the sham "philanthropic".

It should also be borne in mind that it is the fixed policy of the Rockefeller Empire never to yield its ultimate objective permanently, however frequently it may swerve or compromise it temporarily. The basic policy of Rockefeller "philanthropy" and enterprise, dictatorship and serfdom, are put into practice from the start, everywhere the Rockefeller Empire extends its dominion, in all lands where it is feasible.

Occasional Paper No. 1 failed to reveal the treatment that was planned for the "peasants" who would not "yield themselves to our molding hands". The Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. affair furnished the answer. The Rockefeller interests hired armed guards to drive the workers from their Company-owned homes. When they continued their resistance to Rockefeller's "molding hands" and resorted to the usual, stupid pattern of strike violence, the militia was called out to protect Rockefeller's property. It was at this point that Rockefeller's "philanthropic" method of treatment of the "peasants" who would not yield to his "molding hands", was starkly demonstrated for all the world to see and admire.

The story is best told in the words of Rockefeller's official, family-appointed biographer, Professor Allan Nevins, as follows (JDR, v. 2, p. 666):

"On April 21, 1914, the country was shocked to learn that the previous day a conflict had broken out between militia and striking coal-miners at Ludlow, Colo.; that the workers had been routed with six men killed; and that when the guardsmen had fired the tents sheltering the strikers' families, two women and eleven children lying in pits underneath had been suffocated . . . For days afterward little battles raged through the coal-mining areas of the state ... it became clear that a virtual civil war was under way."

Forty-four men, women and children were "philanthropically" burned to death in this incident. Rockefeller's sickening "philanthropy" won out. The strike was lost, though later Rockefeller was forced, by aroused public sentiment, to make grudging concession to the miners. In retrospect, however, the price paid by the miners was small as compared with the pathetic costs to the nation of later "philanthropies" of the Rockefeller Empire, in World Wars I and II, the Korean "police action" and other events.

The same story was repeated in the case of the Rockefeller-controlled American Agricultural Chemical Co. of Roosevelt, New Jersey. The Foundation held half a million dollars worth of the securities of this company, and A. Barton Hepburn was interlocking director with the Foundation. The men were paid so little, an investigation revealed, that they could not afford to feed their families. The strike was violent and many men were shot down, again demonstrating the *modus operandi* of the Rockefeller-Gates brand of "philanthropy."

Public outrage, government investigation and threats of action pointed to urgent need of "philanthropic" camouflage. With this objective, the Rockefeller Foundation was used as a cover for instituting a program of "research" into industrial relations that was to pave the way for Rockefeller control of the labor unions and their bosses. The man selected to head this enterprise, W. L. Mackenzie King, had been trained in the "social sciences" and thought-controlled at universities subsidized by the General Education Board,—Toronto, Chicago and Harvard. He had proved that he had learned the meaning and value of "compromise" in the "liberal" sense so dear to Bismarck and Rockefeller, in his

activities as Minister of Labor in Canada, and in his authorship of the New York Industrial Disputes Act of 1907. The real objective of the task to which he was assigned was to take the curse off the Rockefeller name in connection with C.F.I. Co. affairs, to rub balm on the workers' wounds and soothe them into the "compromise" that would delude and "mold" them into acceptance of the "social security" pattern that would prepare the way for "docile" serfdom and dictatorship.

In the course of the investigation it was revealed that the Foundation itself held \$2,000,000 worth of securities of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. at the time of the strike, as well as securities of other companies by which workers were treated with murder and brutality when they undertook to strike for a living wage and improved working conditions.

Public resentment and fury against these shocking demonstrations of the Rockefeller program "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world", forced abandonment temporarily, in 1917, of the plan to use the Foundation to effect a regimentation of labor along lines desired by Rockefeller, published under his name in a booklet entitled The Colorado Plan, and once again published in an elaborated form under the title, The Personal Relation in Industry. Nevins reports (JDR, v. 2, p. 661) :

"Public suspicion and hostility developed; his program was made the subject of inquiry by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations under Frank P. Walsh; and so much public criticism arose that in 1917 the project was dropped. The Walsh investigation put a damper on foundation activities in the social sciences for some years."

But the Rockefellers never give up the fight for their ultimate objective and profit. Though they pretended to abandon their plan for regimentation of labor, they were merely biding their time and planning a more crafty approach to their goal. Little suspicion was aroused when, in the following year, Rockefeller "philanthropically" established the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial dedicated to Mrs. John D. Sr. Its initially announced purpose was the support of charities or "welfare" organizations, of public health, of religious organizations and the championing of Negro causes, a course which it pursued for a period of four years. When



the Rockefeller interests entered into an entente with Communist Russia, Ivy L. Lee was assigned to create a favorable public attitude toward Russia and Communism, and began to set up Communist front organizations with Rockefeller funds. The Memorial was converted suddenly, under the leadership of Beardsley Rummler, to a continuation of the labor activities that had been started by John D. Jr. and Mackenzie King only to be abandoned to appease public resentment; and to the support of a host of Marxist, Communist and subversive causes. The details will be given in connection with an account of the Memorial. These activities were continued by the Memorial until 1928, when the General Education Board that had bred Rummler and his radical program, was merged into the Rockefeller Foundation.

With the 1928 merger, the Rockefeller Foundation entered, for the first time, into the world-wide "international" totalitarian activities, which, according to the report of the General Education Board that has been quoted, was the primary and unitary purpose of all Rockefeller "philanthropies" — "parts of a well ordered whole". (GEB Annual Report, 1928, p. xi)

The Rockefeller Foundation, together with the other foundations of import of which it seized control, became the spearhead of a world-wide drive for totalitarianism. Its vaunted "internationalism" implied a drive to crush competition and rival powers; world conquest by both indoctrination and force; and the ultimate welding of the world, thus conquered, into a united totalitarian world, "One World"—a Rockefeller World. For that, the United Nations organization was established as a forum and debating society, to give it the semblance of a representative organization, a "democracy", as they call it with their systematic, semantic perversion of language.

Following the 1928 merger, the Rockefeller Foundation's schedule was extended to include, in addition to medical sciences, natural sciences, the "social sciences" and the humanities. Work in the field of "education" at graduate levels and "research" was taken over from the General Education Board which was eventually to be terminated as having accomplished its task. All of the subversive "social science" activities designed to bring

about "a new social order" by a revolution, pre-ferrably by stealth and perversion, initiated by Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, were assumed by the Foundation. Any pretense of charity, that is so repulsive to the Rockefeller mentality, was sloughed off, and abandoned.

The members of the Rockefeller Foundation in the year of the merger were the following:

John G. Agar	Frederick Strauss
David L. Edsall	George H. Whipple
Raymond B. Fosdick	Ray Lyman Wilbur
Vernon Kellogg	John W. Davis
Wickliffe Rose	Simon Flexner
Martin A. Ryerson	Charles Evans Hughes
George E. Vincent	John D. Rockefeller Jr.
William Allen White	Julius Rosenwald

The Chairman of the Finance Committee was, as always until 1950, a member of the Rockefeller family—at the beginning John D. Rockefeller Jr., and later, his brother-in-law, Winthrop Aldrich. In this manner they retained personal control of the securities and funds, and of the uses to which they were put, without paying taxes on them.

In the following decades the political complexion of the Board shifted to the left, with the inclusion of representatives and advocates of the Marxist "social sciences". At all times it has presaged or reflected the current political scene. Rockefeller kinsman, John Foster Dulles, became a member of the Foundation in the early 1930's and immediately emerged on the public scene as Rockefeller's agent dominating the State Department, the churches and the foundations. Lewis W. Douglas likewise became Ambassador to England after doing his stint on the Foundation Board; as did Walter S. Gifford, former president of the American Telegraph and Telephone Co. John J. McCloy graduated from membership in the Rockefeller Foundation to the position of High Commissioner of Germany, Robert A. Lovett, to the post of Secretary of Defense and Dean Rusk, to Assistant Secretary of State. In December, 1951 Rusk returned to Rockefeller employ as head of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The studied plan of domination of other philanthropies is indicated by the presence on the Board of the Rockefeller Foundation of Julius Rosenwald, founder of the extreme left-wing Rosenwald Foun-

dition that devoted the bulk of its funds to Communist activities under the directorship of Edwin R. Embree, who was former secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation; of Anson Phelps Stokes, who established the foundation of the same name, that devoted its activities almost exclusively to agitation among the Negroes; and Henry Allen Moe, director of the crimson Guggenheim Foundation. The manner in which the control of all important foundations was attained through interlocking trustees, directors and grants will be presented later.

In the field of medicine, its "window dressing", the record of the Rockefeller Foundation is much like that of the Institute. It has done a bit of good by granting aid to research workers in institutions, who had made discoveries that already had been confirmed and that generally had a high commercial value. Such was the case of the grant to Dr. Florey for studies on increasing the yield of penicillin. But usually it was work that could have been done and would have been done without its assistance which was merely a convenience.

The principal activities of the Foundation have been in the fields of the "social sciences" and the humanities. In accord with the basic "principle" of the Rockefeller "philanthropies", no cause has ever been sponsored, subsidized or supported that does not foster totalitarianism, by preference, the Marxist brand. Support has been given by it lavishly to all of the "made in Germany" Marxist "social sciences". The plan was to establish centers of propaganda, labeled "research centers", in every land of consequence that would permit. The 1932 report of the Foundation states: (pp. 263-5)

"The Rockefeller Foundation continued to support in 1932 the program in the social sciences which has been under way for several years.

"Four clearly defined types of activity feature the general program in the social sciences: (1) the support of inclusive advisory and planning bodies; (2) the provision of training and research fellowships; (3) the maintenance of grants in aid and small projects; and (4) the development of institutional centers of advanced training and research." The organization chosen by the Foundation as its top planning body is:

The Social Science Research Council that "has 157

operated in the field of social sciences since 1923, with three officials representatives from each of seven scientific societies." Needless to state all the societies and their representatives are Marxist, ranging through the entire gamut of Red. By 1947 the Rockefeller Foundation had granted it a total of \$6,361,500 and its subsidiary, the Carnegie Corporation, \$1,023,500. Eleven controlled foundations extended it grants. It is the chief agency of all the large foundations in the social service field. Characteristic of the grants made by Rockefeller's Social Science Research Council is that made in 1946 to John Victor Murra, an instructor in anthropology at the University of Chicago and protege of Professor Redfield, who will be mentioned later. Murra was denied citizenship by a U.S. District Court judge on the basis of introduced evidence on his subversive activities on the University campus and of additional data provided by the U.S. Army Intelligence. (Chicago Tribune, Jan. 18, 1947) It is this organization that was subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation to prepare and supervise the New Deal "planned economy" for the nation. It provided the brand of training and research fellowship that the conspirators desired.

The grants-in-aid made by the Rockefeller Foundation give some insight into the range and breadth of their support of the Marxist "social sciences". They include:

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, a monument of Marxist and Communist propaganda, that was heavily subsidized by the Rockefellers from its start in 1927. They contributed to it \$150,000 in 1932, and \$102,410.13 in the following year.

On the topic of institutional centers, the 1932 report states the following:

"In the United States four institutions are regarded as major centers: Brookings Institution . . . Columbia University . . . Harvard University . . . the University of Chicago.

"Sections of the country not directly represented by these institutions are being assisted . . . University of North Carolina . . . University of Virginia . . . University of Texas . . . Stanford University . . . McGill University.

"In addition there are seven institutional 158



centers in Europe . . . London School of Economics and Social Sciences . . . Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Heidelberg University, Germany . . . Institute of Economics and History, Copenhagen, Denmark . . . University of Stockholm, Sweden . . . Rumanian Institute of Social Science, Bucharest . . . International Institute of Public Law, Paris, France . . . University of Oslo, Norway, Institute of Economics . . . American University of Beirut, Syria . . . and two in Asia . . . Yenching University, Peiping, China . . . Nankai University, Tientsin, China, Institute of Economics.

"Of these the London School of Economics and Political Science is considered the most highly developed."

Thus did the Rockefellers take over Bismarck's plan of promulgation of Marxism around the world on a far grander scale than he could have conceived possible. The Rockefeller interests regard the London School of Economics and Political Science as the most important from the viewpoint of their designs on the British Empire. Those most fraught with grief for the U.S. and the world at large, were Yenching and Nankai Universities, that were more effective in paving the way for the Communizing of China and the consequences that have flowed there from it, than was the Soviet's Sun Yat Sen (Chinese) University at Moscow.

It is in the field of international relations that the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation have yielded the Rockefeller Empire the most outstanding successes in advancing the conspiracy, and the greatest profits. The leading institutions which it supported or subsidized in this field were the following:

Council on Foreign Relations, the top organization and Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire and the "Invisible U.S. and World Government" Institute of Pacific Relations, the top Soviet propaganda and espionage agency in Asia, established and maintained by the Rockefeller "philanthropy"

Royal Institute of International Affairs, London  
German School of Political Science, Berlin 159

Postgraduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin

League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, which among other matters made a study on taxation. It recommended elimination of taxes on foreign enterprises, that proved invaluable to the Rockefellers in inducing Congress to eliminate taxation of their enterprises in Saudi Arabia and other lands.

American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers

Harvard University and Radcliffe College Social Science Research Council In the field of community organization and planning, which was so valuable to the Rockefeller interests in gaining control of local municipal and state governments, the Rockefellers scattered grants about the world where they would serve their purposes best. Their key organizations are the Institute of Public Administration and a group of organizations that were financed by the Spelman Fund, that will be described.

Among the organizations receiving unclassified social science grants were the following:

American Historical Association, which was quite helpful in perverting history in a manner that suited the purpose of the Rockefeller Empire

Association for the Study of Negro Life & History, that is active in subversive Negro propaganda around the globe

In the field of the "Humanities", the Rockefellers subsidized their totalitarian propaganda on the pretense of fostering learning. Their chief agency in this direction is the American Council of Learned Societies, which will be described later in connection with the use of its Rockefeller Foundation grants for the translating under the guise of "learning", the Soviet publications that embody the latest Communist Party "line", for the convenience of American Communists. One of its subsidiaries received a large grant for the purpose of planting Communist agents and pro-Communists in the Government in all sections affecting the Far East and Chinese affairs.

Since the close of World War II several new 160

wrinkles have been added to the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation. It has gone beyond the point of merely propagandizing the Rockefeller brand of Communism. In a grant of \$110,000 made to Cornell University in 1948 (Report, p. 64) for the "Study of the relation of civil rights to the control of subversive activities in the United States," it has undertaken to rise openly to the defense of its subversive agents and to harass those who seek to expose them. In the same year it made a grant to the notorious Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, for the purpose of fostering Marxism and its brand of totalitarianism in the churches. The Foundation is also contributing to the support of Rockefeller's United Nations. Under the guise of "humanities", the Foundation has undertaken to support left-wing penetration of the theatre, radio and television.

The principal function of the Rockefeller Foundation in the past decade has been furthering intensively the interests of the Rockefeller Empire: indirect control of the U.S., of other governments and of world affairs through such agencies as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Institute of Pacific Relations; imposition of the Marxist New Deal on the U.S. and other lands; to initiate, directly or indirectly, for the glory and enrichment of Rockefeller and the advancement of the Empire, "international" schemes such as "Lend-Lease", the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program and the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations; to foster disastrous inflation in the U.S. by forcing exorbitant expenditures that will lead to ever increasing taxation and popular discontent that will serve to bring about the "new social order", totalitarianism, that is the avowed objective of all Rockefeller "philanthropies"; and to foment, indirectly, under the pretense of seeking peace, a series of wars which must eventually lead to exhaustion of the two chief powers in the world today who might contest the supremacy of the Rockefeller Empire, the U.S. and Russia.

But for emphasis, it must be repeated that the bitter irony of this ghastly foundation situation is that under the tax laws virtually all their funds, that are being used to injure public interests, are withheld from the public treasury by exemption features of tax laws the malefactors have written.

## CHAPTER IX

### ROCKEFELLER'S GOOD GOVERNMENT FOR AMERICAN "PEASANTS" Rockefeller, Kefauver & Rackets

The flagrant and wholesale law-breaking involved in the building up of the Standard Oil Co. necessarily required powerful political protection and control. Long before the beginning of the twentieth century, Rockefeller had established control of the local political machines in the oil districts, in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Especially helpful as agents or as lobbyists were the following:

Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania, who on his death in the early 1930's left a cache of over \$10,000,000 in gold bars in his vault. He was particularly helpful in influencing the report of the Congressional Industrial Commission appointed to investigate trusts, especially the Standard Oil Co., the "Oil Trust." Senator Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania. Congressman Joseph C. Sibley, of Pennsylvania, who was labelled by the press, "Archhold's (Standard Oil Co's) jackal"; who gained his seat in Congress with Standard Oil Co. funds and support; and who was their frank lobbyist in Congress.

Senator Mark Hanna, of Ohio, political boss, who won his seat in the Senate with Standard Oil Co. support.

Senator Joseph Benson Foraker, former Governor of Ohio, who served the Standard Oil Co. as attorney and legislative agent, acting for bribes. Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, who was brought into the Rockefeller tribe by the marriage of John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Abby Greene Aldrich; the latter brought into the cold, calculating and ruthless Rockefeller tribe the hard, parsimonious Greene and Aldrich blood strains, noted for "thrift" in a super-thrifty New England. Aldrich and Hanna were bosses of the Senate and served the Rockefeller interests loyally and well. Aldrich introduced in the Senate a bill to charter the Rockefeller Foundation that later failed to pass the House. President William McKinley, of Ohio, was a Rockefeller-Hanna creature, representing the 162



emergence of the Rockefeller political domination in the national field. Since then every presidential nominee of every party with the exception of Theodore Roosevelt has been a Rockefeller puppet. Roosevelt resented the Rockefeller influence that had given the nomination to McKinley, which he demanded for himself but was forced to waive in return for the vice-presidential nomination. It is notable that McKinley did not live to enjoy his office long, but was mysteriously assassinated by a victim of mental disease, who was highly suggestible and a pliant tool. Roosevelt's antagonism toward the Rockefellers and subservience to the Morgan interests, however, did not stop him from seeking an increase in the \$125,000 contributed by the former to his 1904 campaign.

The list of public officers on the Rockefeller Standard Oil payroll is too long to detail. The nation was given the picture of their wholesale corruption of public officials by the Clapp Committee investigation. This investigation, plus seven Federal and six state indictments and suits against the Standard Oil and its subsidiaries, plus public reaction to the South Improvement Co. affair and other exposures forced the Rockefellers to migrate once again, from Cleveland to New York. Undoubtedly they served to impress on Rockefeller that mere bribery of public officials was not sufficient and was unsatisfactory in its results. It was the decree handed down by Judge Kenesaw Landis, ordering the dissolution of the Standard Oil Co. and imposing on it a fine of \$29,000,000, that served to convince the Rockefeller interests that they could carry out their plans only if they completely controlled the Government in Washington, as well as the local governments. It was then that government control through propaganda, or thought control, under the cover of "educational endowments", and manipulation of the government through the medium of super-lobbies parading as "philanthropic" foundations came into consideration.

At the same time, by various devices, the Rockefellers extended their political control of local governments in all sections of the country. This was engineered through one of the phoney Rockefeller "philanthropies," the Municipal Research

Bureau, set up for the ostensible purpose of guiding the "improvement" of local governments. "Improvement", like "internationalism", in Rockefeller parlance means invariably Rockefeller control domination and advantage—the more complete the advantage the greater the "improvement". The Municipal Research Bureau was later masked, to hide the identity of its Rockefeller control, by the adoption of an alias by which it is now known, the Institute of Public Administration. It is now located in New York City at 684 Park Avenue.

The methods and devices used by the Rockefellers in taking over control of a community is well illustrated by the experience of New York City. The Standard Oil Co. began its efforts to dominate New York City politics by the corruption of public officials in 1879. In that year several officials of the company were indicted by a Grand Jury in New York County. The indictment was quashed by New York City Corporation Counsel, William C. Whitney. Whitney rebuked the District Attorney for permitting the Grand Jury to bring in the indictment.

The Rockefellers were quick to realize the enormous profit possibilities of the highly concentrated, rapidly growing population of the New York area. With the Ryans and the Bradys, operating in the market through Bernard Baruch, they bought control of the local utilities and all essential facilities. They control the Consolidated Edison Co. that has a monopoly in the supply of gas and electricity to several boroughs of Greater New York, and Brooklyn Union Gas Co., among others.

The transit facilities of New York City were brought under their control through domination of the Manhattan Elevated R.R. Co., the Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. and the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. They looted these roads, that have the greatest passenger density of any roads in the world and managed to pay enormous dividends on a five cent fare, to the point of bankruptcy. Then they engineered the scheme, through their Fusion puppet, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, to have the city's taxpayers take over, at their par value, the well nigh worthless securities of the rooked roads, in exchange for New York City bonds. They labelled this steal "unification".

Through the Transit Commission, which they dominate, they still retain control of the unified lines, with the objective of expansion, fare increase, and deliberate mismanagement until the public will be compelled to demand the return of the lines, that have been greatly extended at the expense of the taxpayers, to their private management. Within five years after unification, the rolling stock of the lines, even the newly purchased cars, show obvious signs of deterioration, rust and flaking paint. Overcrowding is worse than ever. Treatment of the passengers has become constantly more brutal to the point of actual murder. The safety devices on the doors of the cars that protected passengers from being caught in the doors and dragged by the trains, were removed by order of the Transit Commission and the Mayor, "in the interest of efficiency". Since then five passengers have been killed by being caught in closed train doors and dragged; and numerous passengers are injured in varying degrees in this manner. Life has little value to bureaucrats and dictators. With the cooperation of dominated labor unions, demanding constant increase in wages for ever less work, the fares have been increased from five cents to ten cents. But the roads are being looted more mercilessly than ever, under their management, and are showing a constantly increasing deficit. At this time a fifteen cent fare is under consideration, and there is no end in sight.

They control most of the important banks of New York, including the Chase National Bank, the National City Bank, Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co., New York Trust Co., J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corp., Manufacturers Trust Co. and others, to the extent that they practically completely control the Federal Reserve System. Through their holdings in the Borden Co. and National Dairy Products Co., that comprise what Henry Wallace labelled the Milk Trust, they control the milk supply of the city; and, through their control of city politics and the Health Department, they have raised the minimal price of milk from 6c a quart to over 20c a quart during a period of two decades. They are dominant or controlling factors in the railroads that enter New York City, and also in many other key enterprises essential for the life of the city. Every citizen in the metropolitan area pays them heavy

tribute every day of his life.

Henry H. Klein, who was First Deputy Commissioner of Accounts of New York City under the Hylan administration, reported in his *Rockefeller Or God* as follows:

"The Rockefellers have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to campaign funds in New York City during the past twenty-five years. They virtually financed the campaign of John Purroy Mitchell for mayor in 1913, and have led in financing political campaigns since. (p. 39)

"Rockefeller guaranteed Billy Sunday three hundred thousand dollars for his so-called religious revival in New York City in 1917, where John D. Jr. was trying to re-elect John Purroy Mitchell mayor, but Billy's eloquence failed to achieve this result though he collected more than three hundred thousand dollars from those who attended his revival meetings. Ivy Lee was his press agent. (p.46)

"Rockefeller cash has been used in local district primary fights to defeat or elect district leaders. . . "In 1937 the Rockefellers were behind all the mayoralty candidates, their Consolidated Edison Co. being behind Senator Copeland, and their B.M.T. and I.R.T. being behind Whalen and Mahoney, in the Democratic primary fight against Copeland. They stood to gain no matter who won the primaries or the election. It is doubtful if any candidates can be elected to high public office hereafter, without Rockefeller support, unless it be on an out and out anti-Rockefeller issue. Besides controlling political bosses, they control virtually all channels of publicity, including newspapers, magazines, movies, radios, and they finance most so-called civic, social service and 'reform' organizations in the city. In addition to this, they support and finance influential politicians by contracts through various corporations, and most so-called 'leading citizens' are on the Rockefeller payroll as attorneys, insurance agents or in some other capacity.

"They tried to elect LaGuardia mayor in 1929 . . . and they contributed heavily in 1933 and 1937 to elect and re-elect LaGuardia . . . the Rockefellers contributed heavily to elect Thomas E. Dewey District Attorney in 1937 . . .

"The same sort of influence is exercised by the 166



Rockefellers in most large cities and in most states, and many congressmen, senators and others in high public office are undoubtedly favored by them or their corporations, in business."

Operating through various "civic", "reform" and "fusion" organizations, often set up and largely financed by themselves, the Rockefellers and their publicity men and propagandists lobby and create a semblance of public support for their own enterprises. In order to give themselves a larger measure of direct control of the local governments, they have made it a practise to "amend", or rewrite the local basic law, as they have the Constitution of the U.S. Thus they have given New York City and the States of New Jersey and New York new charters, and are now in the process of doing the same in Connecticut. This is done under the cloak of an artificially engineered "popular demand", naturally in the interest of "good government" and "economy". The economies are chiefly or entirely for the Rockefellers and their interests; and the governments that they engineer are "good" only for them and their radical henchmen of the "social science" crowd. Their "new social order" turns out to be the same corrupt old order, infinitely intensified, with themselves as masters.

A favorite device of the "new social order" in frustrating the will of the people and gaining control for their crew, is "proportional representation". By trickery such as "bullet voting," it is possible for an infinitesimal minority to secure disproportionately high representation. This favorite device of theirs was written into the New York City Charter. It resulted in giving the Communist Party numerous seats on the City Council which its small minority of voters could not have gained otherwise. The cost of this betrayal of the citizenry was enormous, in both time and money. It was abandoned because of unwieldiness after endless, unheeded public protests.

The new Charter and Rockefeller control have made New York City virtually insolvent. Within less than a decade the City budget of five hundred million dollars, which was assailed by the Rockefeller "reformers" as padded and corrupt, was almost tripled. Tax rates have risen steadily and the caliber of services received by the citizens in

return, such as snow removal, street cleaning, hospitalization, schools and others, has steadily deteriorated under the Rockefeller - LaGuardia "reform" Fusion administration and its Rockefeller-controlled successors. Payrolls have been padded outrageously and an endless array of drones has been planted on it.

Thus, the Health Department of New York City has little or no reason for a separate existence. Most of the services that it is supposed to render are merely an inefficient duplication of services that could be efficiently rendered by the Hospital Department, with which it jealously competes. Such services are the treatment of venereal diseases, which not infrequently requires hospitalization for the safety of the patient and his contacts and for which the Health Department has no facilities. Nevertheless, under Rockefeller-dictated and controlled Health Commissioners, the facilities of the Health Department have been tremendously increased by the building of a score of so-called Health Centers which must go out and drag in victims in order to discharge their inefficient duplicate services. They are empty and idle nine-tenths of the time. The Hospital Department, on the other hand, is terrifically overcrowded and has patients suffering from serious diseases swarming in its often verminous wards and corridors under conditions that jeopardize their lives. It is constantly faced with a crying need for enlargement of its facilities that could be materially increased by the space and funds wasted on the idle Health Centers.

But the Health Department serves the Rockefellers and allied interests commercially. The Health Commissioner controls the milk business of the city and dictates the terms under which it is carried on. Rockefeller's Milk Trust seeks and is steadily attaining a monopoly of the milk business in our cities, through its Borden Co. and National Dairy Products Co. Therefore, the appointment of Health Commissioners is dictated by the Rockefellers and they are generally employees or former employees of their fake philanthropies. The low or moderately paid and experienced civil-service medical employees who had been with the Health Department for years were dismissed. They were replaced in the majority of instances by utterly inexperienced, freshly graduated physicians, and

often by laymen, from the payroll of the various Rockefeller "philanthropies" who are dependent on the Rockefellers for their livelihoods and futures, and can be depended on by the Rockefellers to do their bidding, no matter what it be. Their essential qualification is adherence to Marxist "social science". This replacement was accomplished by the favorite trick of the Rockefeller interests that they snidely call "reorganization".

These "reorganizations" are usually made to serve the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. This is illustrated by the case of Dr. Leona Baumgartner, a "liberal" Rockefeller pawn, recipient of a Rockefeller Research Fellowship. When she had been graduated from medical school only five years and was practically inexperienced, she was imported in violation of municipal residence laws by the Rockefeller interests to take over the post of Director of Child Hygiene in their "reorganization" of the Health Department. She replaced one of the most widely experienced and illustrious men in the field, who did not happen to be a Rockefeller pawn or a Communist. Following her advent the Department abandoned tried rules regarding the isolation of victims of measles that had previously been in force to prevent the development of epidemics of the disease among schoolchildren and the danger to their health that it implied. The real motive underlying this abandonment was the effect that quarantine had on school attendance and the reduction of moneys allowed by the State of New York to the City of New York for the "educational system" on the basis of attendance. Less value was placed on the health and lives of the schoolchildren than on the funds for "education". The result has been annual epidemics of measles with a proportionate number of deaths and unrecorded injuries deliberately inflicted by the conspirators on tens of thousands of children. For them, the money was more important than the health and lives of the children. It is characteristic of the "liberals" in all their activities that they put little value on the lives of others.

It soon became apparent that Dr. Baumgartner was bent upon rendering an important service to her sponsors. Under the pretense of interest in the health of preschool children, Dr. Baumgartner's division usurped control of the educational program of

the play schools and kindergartens, which it undertook to direct into channels approved by the Communist Party and so-called "liberals"; it also undertook to dictate the selection of "approved" teaching personnel—a usurpation of the power of the Board of Education. Schools which failed to comply were put out of business for supposed violation of constantly changed Health Department regulations. Finally the Packard School courageously challenged the conspirators. It took the case to the courts, which ruled that the activities of Dr. Leona Baumgartner's department were illegal and enjoined them.

Dr. Leona Baumgartner was promoted for her service to the cause. She is constantly being built up in the press by her bosses with the objective of advancing her to the post of their Health Commissioner and further. Thus the New York Times of September 5, 1951, gives big headlines to some psychoanalytic buncombe of Dr. Baumgartner's that was part of a talk delivered to 250 overworked and miserably underpaid Health Department physicians who are required to "examine" millions of schoolchildren in the course of each year at the rate of one every several minutes. Dr. Baumgartner's exhortation to these drudges, that they "stress aid to emotionally disturbed children", was obvious humbug intended solely to make the headlines and dupe the "peasants", and for her own glorification in their eyes.

The "reorganized" Health Department, thus has become completely prostituted to the Rockefeller commercial interests. It advertises their brand of milk and urges the sucker public, the "peasants", to consume ever more and thus make even higher profits for the Rockefeller Milk Trust. Some of the Health Centers actually sell their milk. Most of it is "homogenized", synthetic and adulterated, of a grade that a conscientious health commissioner would bar from consumption. It bears little resemblance to the real article. When it is allowed to stand, it does not sour like real milk, but becomes putrid. Even if it were real, pure milk, it would not be the "perfect food" that the Department and its Commissioner dishonestly represent it to be in order to stimulate greater consumption and more business and profits for the Milk Trust. To avoid any damage to the business of their milk companies, the



Rockefeller-prostituted Health Commissioners no longer warn the public when the consumption of milk is dangerous because pollution with streptococci or with Bang bacilli are causing epidemics of septic sore throat and brucellosis. When the life of others is weighed in the balance against Milk Trust profits, it is the profits that win out.

Even the really essential function of the Health Department, vital statistics, is administered in such manner as to swindle the sucker public. The Health Centers serve as sales agencies for "industrial" insurance policies that are sold by such companies as Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Prudential and others at exorbitant rates. These policies have been declared by some courts to be fraudulent because of devices included in them to permit the company to evade payment of benefits. By "fixing" vital statistics and by releasing "confidential" information which the unscrupulous, Rockefeller-dominated health officers now require of physicians in connection with death certificates, the Health Department aids the insurance companies in evading payments to the "beneficiaries" of its policies. Needless to say, the Rockefeller interests control the large, key insurance companies and use the policyholders' monies to finance the expansion of the "Empire".

Thirty years ago, the Health Department included in its scope a large part of the activities of the Hospital Department and the present Department of Sanitation. Now its largely useless activities comprise less than ten percent of its former functions. But the cost of operation of the Health Department is more than three times what it was thirty years ago. This means that for its present Rockefeller-dictated, racketeering functions, Health Department costs have increased approximately thirty times.

The same arrant wanton waste and disregard of public interest characterize every branch of New York City's government under the Rockefeller "reorganized" and "reformed" government. Under corrupt Tammany rule, the Department of Sanitation kept the streets clean and promptly removed the snow as it fell. Now, though the Department costs the taxpayer many times what it did under Tammany, the streets are dirty and snow is allowed to remain in the roadways to form icy sheets, until it melts. Under Tammany, respectable citizens

were afforded some measure of police protection and crimes were recorded even if some were not solved. Now, the Police Department is too busy divvying up loot and collecting "ice", or protection money, from gamblers and criminals; guarding racketeering unioners and pickets; playing nurse maid to the mobs at the fights and ball parks; wooing votes for the politicians in parades; and acting as royal guards for guests of the Rockefeller Empire from abroad and lining miles of streets along the line of parade through the city to Rockefeller's Union Club —they are far too busy with these activities even to make a record on the police blotter of such crimes as burglary and assault upon mere taxpayers and citizens, the "peasantry". For that reason the FBI has refused to accept the records of the Police Department of New York City, on major crime. The Kefauver Crime Investigation Committee merely dramatically presented to the public, facts that have been known to it for many years and have been repeatedly published; the indictment of several score police officers merely serves to cover up the activities of the tops of the criminal syndicate operating on a nation-wide scale.

The sole differences made by Rockefeller-instigated "reforms" and "reorganizations" is that the corruption becomes greater, more insolent and costlier, and that the graft goes to higher strata of society. How the Rockefellers benefit from such activities is clearly portrayed in the Saturday Evening Post publicity series by Joe Alex Morris on the Rockefellers in the issue of January 6, 1951, as follows:

"... when he (John D. Rockefeller Jr.) was approached with the idea — in which Nelson Rockefeller concurred — that the time had come for him to abandon his lifetime advocacy of prohibition, (Ed: which he was largely instrumental in imposing on the nation) Mr. Rockefeller felt that things were being carried too far. Liquor had never been and still is not served in the elder Rockefeller's household, and he argued that opponents of the Volstead Act had been guilty of gross exaggeration when they claimed that the speak-easy situation had become a greater evil than the saloon. This was a deep religious and moral conviction. . .

"A story has frequently been told that Nelson 172

persuaded his father to declare himself in favor of repeal of the Volstead Act by guiding him one evening on a quick tour of mid-Manhattan where he pointed out in the space of a few blocks more than a score of speak-easies, all running full blast and ignored by the (Rockefeller dominated) police.

" 'And pa,' Nelson was supposed to have said, 'they're all on your property.' " It is a Rockefeller tradition that nothing must interfere with business profits—and certainly not "deep religious and moral convictions", that serve so well to cover up ulterior purposes. It requires a lot of explaining to understand why it is that in a community so completely controlled and dominated by the Rockefellers, to the extent that virtually nothing can exist without their consent, there can exist, the putrid corruption, rampant crime and merciless looting of the citizenry through the device of taxation, that exist in New York City.

The Rockefeller interests have derived their greatest spoils from political control of New York City by evasion of taxation for themselves while benefiting from the wholesale looting of the rank and file of taxpayers through steadily increasing assessments and exorbitant, constantly rising taxes. The Rockefellers and the corporations which they control have enormous holdings in New York City. In 1938, when realty values were a fraction of present prices, their own holdings were estimated as worth "about \$600,000,000." (Rockefeller or God, p. 37). Title to the land on which Rockefeller Center is built is vested in Columbia University, and is tax exempt. The assessed value of the buildings and improvements is relatively very low even though the Rockefellers, through their political domination, have arranged to give it an enormously heightened value. This they effected by having their top Democratic agent in the U.S. Senate, Senator Robert F. Wagner, introduce and secure the passage by the 72nd Congress, in 1932, of Public Bill No. 296 which made Rockefeller Center the only freeport in the U.S.!

The implications of the free-port status of Rockefeller Center are many. And they throw an interesting light on the modus operandi of the Rockefeller "philanthropies". It means that merchants located in Rockefeller Center can import

merchandise and display it for sale without paying customs duty. They can do business with a small fraction of the capital required by their neighbors across the street. This implies discrimination against other property holders, discrimination against every other port in the country, and violation of the Constitution. It enabled the Rockefellers to lure tenants from other buildings with the inducement of lesser capital requirements. They went out of the way to offer additional inducements to inveigle tenants to desert other landlords and move into Rockefeller Center, such as deliberately lowered rents, payment of unexpired leases on premises occupied, and many others.

The vacancies resulting from the wholesale exodus of tenants into Rockefeller Center from other properties was equivalent in its effect to "short selling" of New York City property and sharply depressing the value of property throughout the country. As a result the depression that then prevailed in this country and the world was greatly intensified and prolonged. And the Rockefellers were enabled to grab up, at bankrupt prices, properties and industries thus depreciated, while millions were thrown out of work, had their properties and homes foreclosed, were forced on a dole, or starved. This sharp and highly profitable business deal has been represented to the public as a "philanthropic" depression enterprise by the Rockefeller Goebbels, otherwise known as publicity men. All this is quite characteristic of the Rockefeller "philanthropic" enterprises.

The tactics employed by the Rockefellers in their "benevolent philanthropy" at Rockefeller Center were the basis of at least one lawsuit against them that came to public attention. It was brought by August Heckscher and was settled out of court. Its disposition was never made public.

Rockefeller Center is today the business capital of the world. It numbers among its 1100 tenants many governments. Many hundreds of the tenants are corporations owned or controlled by the Rockefellers.

The Rockefellers are the largest holders of New York City municipal issues, which are tax exempt and a first lien on all the property in the city. Their tactics in driving the city to the verge of bankruptcy and in steadily and relentlessly increasing



the tax burden through their control of the government, parallels their tactics in the Federal Government. The objectives could be the same in both cases,—personal gains at the expense of the taxpayers, and a drive to gain direct ownership and control of everything through bankruptcy. That is the Lenin formula for Communism and dictatorship. Bankruptcy is in the offing for New York City and its property owners, with an annual budget of one billion three hundred million dollars, that represents an increase of 25%, for 1951.

Under Rockefeller control, New York City squanders on the single item of "welfare", which is their favorite enterprise with other people's money, as much as two hundred million dollars a year. This amounts to almost half the total city budget of the late twenties. Their "social service" appointees have used this vast boodle fund to maintain their puppet mayors and administrations in power by buying "relief" votes and to foster Communism, subversion, improvidence and worse in large sections of the citizenry. Prostitutes have been maintained by the Welfare Department, at the expense of the taxpayers, in luxury in hotels in which they plied their trade, with grants as high as six hundred dollars a month and payment of summer storage charges for their mink coats. Bigamists have been aided by "welfare" grants to both of their families. Relief families have been maintained for years in expensive hotels, in idleness enforced by "welfare" regulations, at a cost to the taxpayer of hundreds of dollars higher than the average monthly income of provident taxpayers. Carpetbagging Negroes and penniless Porto Ricans were imported by train-and plane-loads, colonized in the city, and immediately placed on relief, before each election of Rockefeller's puppet, Fiorello LaGuardia. Communist unions of social workers have staged strikes against reduction of welfare allowances or budgets, which are frankly used by them to foster Communism. In May, 1951, in the midst of war, with an actual shortage of labor prevailing, Welfare Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy proudly reported in the press that public assistance for the month of April, 1951, amounted to a mere \$12,854,729. The same newspaper issue that reported McCarthy's figures, also reported that a couple who had on deposit in a savings bank more than \$12,000,

had received another \$12,000 in public assistance in the preceding three years.

During the past two years, the Rockefellers have made a number of cautious moves to take over direct and open control of the finances of New York City. The story of the abandonment of Winthrop Rockefeller's proposed candidacy for Comptrollership of New York City has been related.

But the Rockefellers did not give up their scheme to gain direct control of the Comptroller's office. On April 11, 1951, Beardsley Ruml was appointed Special Deputy Comptroller by the Democratic regime. He is Rockefeller's agent who operated the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and through it launched the Marxist "social science" program for them, and the "tax expert" who is entrusted to draw up the tax bills that suit their purposes of looting the taxpayers while providing loop-holes to exempt themselves.

New York City is merely cited as a typical instance of the Rockefeller political control of local governments. The scheme of municipal government control was launched in the early part of the century by the Rockefeller subsidized Municipal Research Bureau. In time every significant community in the country, every state, county, city, town, and many villages came to be as completely dominated by them and their agents as New York City. Two agencies were set up for this purpose. The first is the permanently endowed Institute of Public Administration which is an outgrowth of the Municipal Research Bureau which maintains the pretense of being dissevered from Rockefeller control, but is truly the Department of the Interior of the Rockefeller Empire. The second is the group of agencies centering about the Public Administration Clearing House, which are designated by the number 1313 derived from the building which it put up at 1313 East 60th Street, in Chicago, the establishment and maintenance of which was the sole function of the Spelman Fund to which Rockefeller granted \$10,000,000 from the funds of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial at the time of its merger.

Originally launched as the Municipal Research Bureau, in 1906, the Institute of Public Administration became the agency through which the Rockefellers developed their political control of New York

City, in the guise of a "philanthropic" interest in "good government". It rapidly became the most corrupt political agency in the city, and therefore the dominant one. Its influence was expanded, with the collaboration of other controlled foundations and interested industrial organizations, such as the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., to a national scope. In 1928 it was rechartered as the National Institute of Public Administration, but dropped the "National" from its name when its charter was made permanent in 1931, presumably because an "international" role was already schemed for it by its sponsors. At the same time, in order to mask its identity as one of their controlled agencies, the Rockefellers in collaboration with the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, which they dominated, and a group of associates, provided an endowment for the Institute. Its brochure states its purposes and functions as follows:

"The Institute of Public Administration is a research consulting, and educational organization concerned with improving public administration. It is incorporated under the Education Law of New York State, is supported by income from its endowment and from fees, and is independent of sectarian, partisan, or governmental control. The Institute is located in New York City where it was founded in 1906 as the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Its training program was established in 1911 as the Training School for Public Service, the first of its kind in the United States.

"The range of Institute activities has widened considerably since 1906. In the early years attention was confined to such matters as the accounting and budgeting systems of local governments, personnel and salary standardization, zoning ordinances and real estate assessment, and the operating problems of police, fire, health, public works and other municipal departments. In the 'twenties and 'thirties emphasis was extended to a number of broader problems of administration including the formulation of charters and constitutions, the reorganization of state governments, and the lessening of conflict and duplication among different units."

Its personnel is listed as follows: TRUSTEES Richard S. Childs, Chairman Carl H. Pforzheimer, Vice Chairman

Henry Bruere, Treasurer

William Tudor Gardiner      George S. Van Schaick

E. Roland Harriman      Delos Walker

Herbert Hoover      John G. Winant

It is significant that the Truman appointment that brought ex-President Hoover out of retirement was made in order to conduct a survey preliminary to the "reorganization" of the Federal Government. Miss Audrey Davies reports that when a revised Constitution for New York State was submitted to the State Legislature in 1915, it was almost unanimously rejected. But during the regimes of Governor Alfred Smith it was resubmitted piecemeal with his support and was "put over". The New York City Charter, however, guided by Rockefeller puppets led by Judge Thomas D. Thacher of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations as chairman, went through without a hitch, exactly as drawn up by Rockefeller's Institute.

The "1313," its objectives and attainments are clearly described in the Final Report of the Spelman Fund of New York, published in 1949. The trustees and officers of the Fund are listed in the Report, as follows:

Cleveland E. Dodge

Charles E. Merriam

Clarence A. Dykstra

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

Marshall Field

Laurance S. Rockefeller

William Tudor Gardiner Beardsley Ruml (Italicized-Council On Foreign Relations members) The Report relates that the Fund was created on December 27, 1928, with a capital of \$10,000,000 provided by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and received later grants of \$3,000,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. It related as the ultimate objective of the Fund that it

"... assumed as its major responsibility an exploration of the possibilities of cooperation with public bodies for the improvement of public administration." (p. 3)

The modus operandi of the Fund is stated as follows:

"From the beginning it was determined by the Spelman Fund that grants would not be made for research purposes but in the main for the application of research. The principle was that research would normally be conducted by academic institutions, while the Fund's beneficiaries would carry on their practical operations ..." (p. 14) 178



Subsidy or bribery of public officials to adopt the Rockefeller-serving schemes dished up by Rockefeller-subsidized and dominated "academic institutions" could fall into this description. The Report states:

"To facilitate this purpose, an agency known as the Public Administration Clearing House was set up." (p. 7) The Board of Trustees of the Clearing House

included :

Paul H. Appleby	William Tudor Gardiner
Sewell L. Avery	Paul G. Hoffman
Newton D. Baker	Robert M. Hutchins
Louis Brownlow	William L. Levis
Ralph Budd	Frank O. Lowden
Harry F. Byrd	George Fort Milton
Richard S. Childs	John Lord O'Brian
Frederick M. Davenport	John G. Pollard
Charles G. Dawes	Chester H. Rowell
Marshall Field	John G. Winant

(Italicized-Council On Foreign Relations members)

In "1313" there are housed a multitude of Rockefeller front organizations in the governmental field, including the Public Administration Service, successor to the Municipal Administration Service, that acts in "advisory" capacity to other front organizations or to unsuspecting independent communities. It has also reached out into the international field through "cooperation" with the International Union of Local Authorities of Brussels and the International Institute of Administrative Science. The Spelman Fund made contributions to those and to special conferences on governmental planning for conservation and utilization of national resources (including oil, naturally) in the principal countries of the world, held at Ardennes, Belgium, in September 1937. In November 1938, negotiations for domination of the Pan-American field were furthered by the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities at Havana. It organized in 1939 the American Society for Public Administration and launched its quarterly publication, the Public Review. These are a few of the endless array of Rockefeller front governmental agencies, two of the most significant of which are the Rockefeller-inspired and subsidized National Resources Planning Board and the Office of Government Reports, which have been characterized by Representative John Taber

of New York as follows: (C. R., v. 86. Part I. pp. 419-20)

"I want to call the attention of the Congress to an operation which is going on and which the Executive, according to his statement in last night's paper, is still trying to put across, notwithstanding the Congress has failed to provide any legislative authority for it—two schemes known as the National Resources Planning Board and the Office of Government Reports.

"The first of these outfits is a propaganda outfit, designed to embark the Government on all kinds of programs which have never been regarded as Federal functions; to embark the Government on all sorts of things that will bankrupt the United States.

"The second of these outfits is an outfit which has been designed to establish the Executive in great power and to build up his authority, and increase the trend toward dictatorship.

"The planning of this Office of Government Reports came largely through the direction and operation of one, Louis Brownlow, who was chairman of this so-called outfit. This Louis Brownlow has a great lot of organizations. I am going to put them in the Record in detail. Charles Merriam, a professor who formerly served at the Chicago University, is a member of this National Resources Planning Board and one of the moving spirits behind it. He is the head of the Spelman Foundation (Ed: Fund) which has contributed, in the last six or seven years, a total of \$3,953,000 to these different Brownlow outfits.

"As a result of the recent proposal of the reorganization of the Federal Government proposed by none other than Charles E. Merriam and Louis Brownlow, the National Resources Planning Board has been moved directly into the Office of the White House.

"I do realize that both of these organizations are a menace to the welfare of the American people, and they are a menace to Constitutional government. I feel that the Subcommittee on Independent Offices of the Appropriations Committee are to be complimented on cutting out all appropriations for the National Resources Planning Board and the Office of Government Reports."

Professor Charles E. Merriam boasts (p. 19):

"An important agency largely due to the public administration group (set up by the Fund) is the Division of Administrative Management under the Federal Bureau of the Budget. This Division carries on continuously the detailed study of the ways and means of administration in the federal service and constitutes a permanent center and activity in public administration.

"Another gain is the developing status of important consultants available for public service. It is not by accident that Louis Brownlow was called in by President Roosevelt as chairman of his Committee on Administration and Management; or that Herbert Emmerich and Don K. Price have been called upon by former President Hoover to assist in the work of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; or that Mrs. Emmerich has been asked by President Truman to help implement the whole plan of the Commission during the next two years; or that Donald C. Stone, first director of the Public Administration Service in Chicago, became the head of the Division of Administrative Management in the Bureau of the Budget and later Chief Administrator for the Economic Cooperation Administration; or that Frank Bane became the first executive secretary of the Social Security Board. These are but a few examples." Thus do the conspirators brazenly boast of the success of their conspiracy. But the Report was not expected to attain wide circulation and was intended to flatter the ego of the Fund's sponsor, John D. Rockefeller Jr.

The sum total of the consequences to the community of these Rockefeller "philanthropic" endeavors for "improving" our governmental administration is most dramatically epitomized in the report of the Senate Committee for the Investigation of Crime that was headed by New Dealer and Rockefeller henchman, Senator Estes Kefauver. The report indicated that the government at all levels, national, state and local, is dominated by a syndicate of crime. Rockefeller's Spelman Fund boasts, in the words of Professor Merriam, that it has "reformed" and controls our government at all levels. Can it be that the criminal syndicate that the Kefauver report states controls our government, and the Rocke-

feller interests that the Merriam report boasts as in control, are one and the same?

This question is pointed up by several facts. One is the rewarding of Murray I. Gurfein with "knighthood" in the Rockefeller Empire, membership in their Foreign Office, the Council On Foreign Relations, following his role in the release of the Mafia boss, gangster, white slaver and dope-ring overlord, "Lucky" Luciano, through successful intercession with Rockefeller puppet, Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Immediately following Luciano's release, the Internal Revenue agents reported the flooding of the U.S. with narcotics directly traced to Luciano. A second is the report made by Italy's Public Health Commissioner, Giovanni Battista Migliori that U. S. Communist leaders control the traffic of narcotics from Europe to the United States, thru Eastern, Germany.

After four decades of Rockefeller "reform", our government presents the spectacle of rule by criminal overlords who have free entry into the White House and associate intimately with the members of the President's family, as in the cases of the Roosevelts, Hardings and Trumans. Traitors and subversive elements persecute and prosecute patriotic citizens who undertake to expose them, as in the cases of Martin Dies and Senator Joseph McCarthy. The latter's ousting from the Senate is demanded by a colleague, Senator Benton, because he had dared to make an effort to do his duty and to protect the nation and its security against traitors, and has manifested loyalty to his country. The brand of "good government" that Rockefeller has so heavily subsidized, and Professor Merriam states is "no accident", has reached the point in Louisiana where the criminal element have so wholly taken the law into their hands that they have indicted and threatened with jailing the law-abiding elements who expose and fight them.

This we can not help but agree with Professor Merriam, is "no accident", but a nefarious conspiracy that threatens an early end to government by Constitution, law and order. If this is the situation that he boasts has been brought about through the activities of the Spelman Fund, as its report claims, its sponsors have much to answer for to the nation.



## CHAPTER X

### THE ROCKEFELLER "CRUSADES" AND THE "OIL WAR"

"What an opportunity! What a privilege! What a duty!"  
(John D. Rockefeller Jr. The Christian Church, What Of  
Its Future? January 31, 1945)

The twentieth century, to date, has been a continuous era of intensive war between the rival Rockefeller Standard Oil and the British oil interests. This war has only focused public attention at intervals. But periodically, it erupts into physical warfare in the battlefield; and it has twice involved the entire world in wars in the past half century,— World Wars I and II , with World War III in the making.

The Rockefeller Empire does not engage in the wars directly. It merely engineers, plans and plots the wars and then tricks and inveigles nations, or other groups, to fight as its pawns and mercenaries. Invariably these wars prove fabulously profitable to the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests. For they regularly supply oil and other material of war to all the belligerents indiscriminately; and modern war requires much oil. Among the nations that have been impressed as mercenaries in the wars of the Rockefeller Empire are Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Zionist Palestine, China, Korea, Canada, Bolivia, Mexico, Soviet Russia and many others. Outstanding mercenary of the Rockefeller Empire, and highly useful and profitable to it, has been the United States and its "peasants".

John D. Rockefeller Jr. has undertaken to represent these wars as Crusades in his address delivered on January 31, 1945 at a dinner given by the Protestant Council of the City of New York, entitled The Christian Church, What of Its Future?, in the following words:

"Not many weeks or months had elapsed after this World War began before there was presented to our vision a picture so horrible it hardly seemed that it could be true.

"It appeared that hell had broken loose and that millions of evil spirits had become incarnate in human form and were going about the earth com-183

mitting atrocities and acts of cruelty beyond belief.

"But there is another picture which the war has painted. In it we see millions of men and women who are exemplifying in their daily lives, in the commonplace fashion, unselfishness, generosity, loyalty, self-sacrifice and other characteristics and qualities which command the admiration of the world. Unconsciously these people are reflecting Christ's spirit. Whether they know it or not, their inspiration comes from the God of all good deeds." He stated further (id. p. 11) : "What I have said thus far is the substance of an address which I made during the first World War." In short, those who fought, shed their blood and lost their lives for his oil in the World Wars were "Crusaders" serving in a Christ-like manner in the "Church of the Living God," Rockefeller. "What an opportunity! What a privilege! What a duty!" said John D. Rockefeller Jr. (id.p.11) Millions of dead and tens of millions of mutilated and maimed would have been glad to have been spared the "opportunity . . . privilege . . . duty" offered them by pious hypocrisy.

The process whereby the U.S. government, and more especially the State Department, was converted into a minor bureau of the Rockefeller Empire at the very beginning of the century, was cunning, crafty and unscrupulous play on public gullibility and pristine American patriotism. This has become its systematic practise. Rockefeller publicity men, supported by prostituted "scientists" and "educators", represented to the public through all avenues of publicity, that the U.S. supply of oil faced imminent exhaustion. They pointed to the heavy and steadily rising export of petroleum products since the 1860's (for even in the midst of the Civil War the slogan of the Standard Oil principals was the same as it is now in the course of modern wars: "Business as usual"). They alleged then, as they have repeatedly since, that the oil reserves of the nation would not suffice for a decade more at the current rate of use. How false, absurd and designing these representations were, is apparent from the fact that after each of those "predictions" our rate of production and our ac-

knowledge reserves of oil rose by leaps and bounds. On the basis of these deliberately and designedly false "predictions", their oil "experts", supported by the Standard Oil Co. and allied interests, have insisted that our country must seek to gain control of foreign oilfields,—naturally, "in our national interest". These "predictions" served as an excuse for the corrupt political officials, agents of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil group to openly turn over to it control of our government, and more particularly of the State Department and of the nation's international policies. Since 1900, every President, with the possible exception of Theodore Roosevelt, who was subservient to the rival Morgan interests, and every Secretary of State of the U.S., has been openly an agent and spokesman for the Rockefeller Empire. The subservience of the U.S. Government to the Rockefeller and allied interests, and especially of the State Department, since the turn of the century, was acknowledged in the Federal Trade Commission Report On Foreign Ownership In The Petroleum Industry, 1923 (p. 39) and was clearly stated in the instructions sent out by the State Department to its consuls and agents on August 16, 1919, reading as follows:

"Gentlemen: The vital importance of securing adequate supplies of mineral oil both for the present and future needs of the United States has been forcibly brought to the attention of the Department. The development of proven fields and the exploration of new areas is being aggressively conducted in many parts of the world by nationals of various countries, and concessions for mineral rights are being actively sought. It is desired to have the most complete and recent information regarding such activities either by United States citizens or by others.

"You are accordingly instructed to obtain and forward promptly from time to time information regarding mineral oil concessions either proposed or granted, sale or transfer of such concessions, change of ownership of oil property or important changes in ownership of corporate companies concerned with oil production or distribution. Information regarding development of new oil fields or increased output of producing areas should also be forwarded. Comprehensive data are desired and reports should not be limited to points 185

specifically mentioned above, but should include information regarding all matters of interest affecting the mineral oil industry which may arise from time to time.

"You are instructed to lend all legitimate aid to reliable and responsible United States citizens or interests which are seeking mineral oil concessions or rights. Care should be taken, however, to distinguish between United States citizens representing United States capital and United States citizens representing foreign capital; also between corporations incorporated in the United States and actually controlled by United States capital and those companies which are merely incorporated under United States laws but dominated by foreign capital." (66th Congress, 2nd Session, Document o. 272, p. 17) Not infrequently in the course of the diplomatic exchanges in the "Oil War" the Rockefeller domination of the State Department found open expression. Thus U.S. Ambassador to Britain, Walter Hines Page, an associate of the Rockefellers, as are most of our envoys to St. James, reported the following exchange between Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan and Sir William Tyrrell, the special envoy of the British Foreign Office:

" 'The Foreign Office has simply handed its Mexican policy over to the oil barons for predatory purposes', Bryan charged in his talk with Tyrrell.

"Mr. Secretary' Sir William replied, 'you are talking just like a Standard Oil man . . . you are pursuing the policy which they have decided on.' "

(B. J. Hendrickson, *The Life & Letters of Walter Page*, v. 1, p. 203)

The State Department has served the Rockefeller Standard Oil interest with complete and undivided loyalty and without regard to the interests of the United States and its citizenry, during the past half century. It can be said with absolute assurance that whatever occurs in the State Department does so at the behest of the Rockefeller interests. Thus if the State Department is filled with Communists and fellow travelers, one can be certain they are there because the Rockefeller interests want them there; if records are removed from State Department files in volume, the same conclusion can be drawn. This was especially true during the past dec-

ade, because the Rockefellers are directly represented in the State Department in the person of Nelson Rockefeller, as well as indirectly, through their agents.

The British were not slow to recognize the importance of oil, in the imperial game. For this realization they did not require Clemenceau's plea to President Wilson, when in 1917 Great Britain came close to an oil shortage, when he wrote (Note of December 15, 1917):

"A failure in petroleum supply would cause the immediate paralysis of our armies and might compel us to a peace unfavorable to the allies. Now the minimum supply of petroleum computed for the French armies by their Commander-in-Chief must be 44,000 tons, and the monthly consumption is 35,000 tons. This indispensable stock has fallen today to 28,000 tons and threatens to fall almost to nothing if immediate and exceptional measures are not undertaken and carried out by the United States. These measures must be taken without a day's delay for the common safety of the Allies, the essential condition being that President Wilson shall obtain permanently from the American oil companies tankers with supplementary tonnage of 10,000 tons ... If the Allies do not wish to lose the war, . . . they must not let France lack the petroleum that is as necessary as blood in the battles of tomorrow." Nor did they need the assurance of Lord Curzon that "the allies floated to victory on waves of oil", American oil provided to both the Allies and to their enemies indiscriminately by Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co.

As early as 1882 Admiral Lord Fisher had sought to impress upon the British government the importance of oil as a fuel for the British Navy and merchant marine. He constantly reiterated the statements :

"The use of oil adds 50% to the value of any fleet that uses it."

"The use of oil fuel would increase the strength of the British Navy 33%, because it can refuel off the enemy's harbours. Coal necessitates about one third of the fleet being absent refueling at a base . . . With two similar dreadnoughts, oil gives three knots more speed, and speed is every-187



thing. Oil for steamraising reduces the engine and boiler-room personnel over 60%. At any moment during refueling the oil-engine ship can fight—the coal-burning ship cannot ... Oil does not deteriorate by keeping. Coal does ... It is criminal folly to allow another pound of coal on board a fighting ship." (Davenport & Cooke, *The Oil Trusts And Anglo-American Relations*, p. 5) The action of the British Government in the matter of acquiring oil reserves contrasts sharply with that taken by the U.S. Reflecting British cupidity and acquisitiveness, traits that they erroneously attribute to the Scotch, they held undeveloped the oil resources of their own Empire, and with dog-in-the-manger attitude refused to develop them and refused to permit others to develop them, and sought to acquire the oil reserves of other lands. Reflecting a higher level of official ethics, instead of using the wealth of the nation to roll up tremendous holdings for private groups, such as the Rockefeller Empire, the British Government entered into the oil business as an agent of the citizens whose wealth was being used for their theoretical advantage. It took actual partnerships in various oil enterprises, including Royal Dutch-Shell and Anglo Persian, which amounted to control. British Controlled Oil-fields Ltd. is entirely owned by the British Government. They erred gravely in permitting their cupidity to bring them into direct conflict with the Rockefeller Empire, and in dissipating the wealth that they gained from their lucrative oil ventures in Rockefeller fostered, Bismarxian "social service" activities. They were badly tripped up by the Rockefeller "philanthropies" and betrayed themselves into the hands of their mortal adversary, with whom they entered into direct and bitter conflict.

The battle with the Rockefeller Empire was gen-er-aled on the British side by Sir Henri W. A. Deterding of the Royal Dutch Co., who was popularly known as the oil "Napoleon". Rockefeller was nicknamed "Oil King". Deterding rescued the Royal Dutch Co. from bankruptcy in a fierce price war with Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. in the export field, by inducing the Paris Rothschilds to make a loan to his company in 1898, in return for a minority interest. The price war was continued until 1902, with the new financing and with the aid of the Shell Transport and Trading Co. and the

heavy Russian oil production of the Nobel-Rothschild interests. This eventually led to a merger of the Royal Dutch and Shell interests in 1907.

Lord Fisher joined forces with Deterding, and the two enlisted E. G. Pretymann, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and later, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, in effecting the entry and later expansion of the British government in the oil business. Churchill reported to the House of Commons in 1913:

"Our ultimate policy is that the Admiralty should become independent owner and producer of its own supplies of liquid fuel, first by building up an oil reserve in this country sufficient to make us safe in war and able to override price fluctuations in peace; secondly, by acquiring the power to deal in crude oils as they come cheaply into the market . . . The third aspect of our ultimate policy is that we must become the owners, or at any rate, the controllers at the source, of at least a proportion of the supply of natural oil which we require."

The Oil War was waged in every part of the world where oilfields were known to exist or were suspected.

The Mexican war was the first shift in the 20th century of the Oil War to the battlefield, in which the United States Armed Forces were drafted into fighting an oily Rockefeller Crusade. The British had carried their assault on the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests into home territory, the Western Hemisphere. Lord Cowdray's Mexican Eagle Co. had acquired more than half of the oil production of Mexico by 1910, in competition with the Doheny and Standard Oil interests. Diaz, dictator of Mexico for thirty five years, was overthrown because he supported the British by a revolution financed by the Standard Oil interests (Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings 1913, *Revolutions in Mexico*, pp. 104, 146)

Madero, who had sold his lands in Mexico to Rockefeller in February, 1912, staged the revolution. Oil concessions for the Standard Oil Co. were part of the deal. Two years later Madero was ousted by a revolution led by General Huerta, who was financed by British money. President Woodrow Wilson rose to the support of his masters, the Rockefeller interests, and refused to recognize the Huerta

regime. The Rockefeller dominated State Department openly issued orders for the ousting of Huerta and even threatened war. (We Fight For Oil, p. 50) Sir William Tyrell and Secretary of State Bryan accused each other of acting respectively for the Royal Dutch and the Standard Oil Co.

The Wilson administration openly fostered revolution against Huerta by facilitating exportation of arms and munitions for the rebels Carranza and Villa, while a financial and munitions blockade was established against the government. Panama tolls were used as a device for exerting political pressure on the British to force them to abandon Huerta. Vera Cruz was occupied by the U.S. Army and Navy. Every conceivable device was brought to bear by the Wilson regime to secure and protect the control of Mexican oil for the Standard Oil interests. Finally Huerta was ousted and replaced by Carranza.

The breaking of the hold of the British interests in the Mexican oilfields was solved by the expropriation of all of the companies, that at the same time solved the problem of the glutting of the oil market with Mexican oil. Josephus Daniels and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as Secretary of the Navy and Assistant Secretary, played a role in engineering this arrangement. Several decades later, the Rockefeller interests recovered the Mexican concessions which they desired by a decision of the Mexican Supreme Court that was influenced by the funds of the Committee for Coordination of Hemispheric Defense administered by Nelson Rockefeller. In the meantime the Rockefeller interests received the bulk of the \$28,000,000 paid by the Mexican government for the expropriated properties.

In the Near East at the turn of the century there was laid the foundation of one of the most fateful phases of both World Wars, by William K. D'Arcy, an Australian, and American Admiral Colby M. Chester. D'Arcy obtained from the Shah of Persia in 1901 a concession for all but the northern section of Persia. He promptly organized the Anglo-Persian (later the Anglo Iranian) Oil Co. with British capital for the exploitation of the concession. The controlling interest in Anglo Iranian Oil Co. was purchased for the British Government, after D'Arcy had arranged to sell it to foreign interests, in order to prevent loss of control by the British. The con-

trol was openly sold to the British Government several years later.

Admiral Chester unsuccessfully sought to gain control of the Turkish oilfields. Sultan Abdul Hamid first gave the oil concession to the Germans together with one for the Anatolian Railway Co.; and then reversed himself and offered to give the concession to D'Arcy's Anglo Persian Co. Before the Sultan could grant the concession, "liberal" forces were well financed from abroad to revolt against the Sultan and depose him. This gave the American Standard Oil interests another chance to bid for the concession. This time Chester got it, in return for the financing of the revolution. But before he could develop the fields, the British Government blocked the ratification of the deal by forcing the Turkish to recognize the concessions which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to the German interests. The German concession had been taken over by the Turkish Petroleum Co. which was 75% controlled by the British Government through the Royal Dutch Shell group and the Anglo-Persian Co. The Germans had been outmaneuvered by the British and retained only 25% of their concession when the deal was consummated in the early part of 1914.

The Rockefeller interests had been completely shut out and defeated. But they did not take their defeat lying down. They fanned German resentment at being outmaneuvered by the British and given the short end of the deal. They aided and abetted the German plan to seize control of the entire Turkish concession through the device of construction of the Berlin to Bagdad railroad. The Germans were so confident of the success of this "Drang nach Osten" that they opened the terminus in Bagdad before the road was built.

In anticipation of the war which they were instigating in order to seize victory from defeat in the battle for Turkish oil, the Rockefeller Oil interests made a deal with the German Government, under which their holdings in Germany were taken over by the Reich with full compensation. The deal was made to appear in press reports as an act of confiscation. The same sort of deal was consummated by the same principals before World War II, as a sort of established practice between them, and constituted the basis of a charge of treason, made against Standard Oil by Sen. Harry S. Truman.

The Germans were materially aided in their waging of World War I by the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests. They supplied the Germans with the oil required for the conduct of the war and enabled them to come within reach of victory. But trusting neither of their rivals, the Rockefeller interests aimed at "balance of power" by playing the Germans against the British. The plan was to let them fight until they had exhausted each other and then step in and "rescue" the weaker of the two for a price, using the Rockefeller Empire's satellite, the U.S., for the purpose. The price was Saudi Arabian oil and other concessions for the Rockefeller interests.

The manner in which the U.S. was forced into the War was a masterpiece of craftiness, cunning and deceit, that would do credit to "Doc" William Rockefeller's best moments. Ludwell Denny points out in his *We Fight For Oil* (p.32) :

"Standard met Dutch-Shell expansion in the United States by stirring up the Washington Government and by loosing the 'British Peril' propaganda . . .

"The situation was reaching a critical point in 1917. But the United States entered the Great War. On Washington's orders anti-British propaganda was suddenly turned into pro-British propaganda . . . There followed an Anglo-American oil truce, with Yankee wells and tankers furnishing 80 per cent of the 'blood of battle which won the war'."

Behind this change of front in policy and propaganda was a deal for the surrender by the British of a share in the Near East and other oilfields, particularly Saudi Arabia, to the Rockefeller interests in return for their drafting the United States into the war to fight and pay for it. President Woodrow Wilson was a slavish puppet of the Rockefeller-Ryan-Brady clique, and an intimate and agent of Rockefeller's in-law munition king, Cleveland H. Dodge, and was dependent on their pin-money bribes. (*Strange Death Of F. D. Roosevelt*, pp.103-4; *Lundberg, America's 60 Families*, pp. 120-8) His campaign for reelection at this time, 1916, had as its principal platform the slogan "Keep the U.S. out of the war". As in the case of Roosevelt twenty three years later Woodrow Wilson and his bosses already had made the deal with England to enter the war as an ally. Then within a short time after he



was reelected by the duped electorate, their propaganda was changed to a martial note, and the U.S. was drafted by them into another, oily Rockefeller Crusade, that was palmed off on the "peasantry" as the "War To Save Democracy". Rockefeller's acquisition of the Saudi Arabian concession cost the U.S. 333,734 dead and injured and more than fifty billion dollars.

Stewart Alsop in his Saturday Evening Post article, dated July 14, 1951, entitled Stalin's Plans for the U.S.A. quotes the former Secretary General of the Czech Foreign Office, in the Communized Gottwald regime, as follows:

"Heidrick sensed that Stalin believed deeply that the American Government was not really master in its own house . . . partly . . . because of the ease with which American opinion could be manipulated." (p. 108) None should know this better than Stalin and the Politburo, who have dealt with the Rockefeller Empire so long and served it so well.

The very planting in Russia of Communism, in the midst of World War I, through the German General Staff as agents of the German associates of the Rockefeller Empire, was a signal service to the latter. For it broke the stranglehold of Royal Dutch, Nobel-Rothschild and other interests on the Russian oilfields and cut off the dangerous flow of cheap oil from that source. It opened the way for possible acquisition of those fields by the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests.

At the conclusion of World War I, the British with the aid of Denikin and the White Russians, seized the Russian oilfields in the Caucasus and sought to set up independent republics in Georgia and Azerbaijan, (which were immediately given recognition by the Allied Supreme Council), that would give them control of Baku oilfield and the Batum-Baku pipeline. But the State Department refused them recognition. As Ludwell Denny reports, in *We Fight For Oil* (p. 33, footnote 10) :

"The American attitude is easily explained by the fear of the Standard Oil that the two British vassals in the Caucasus would close the door to the Rockefeller firm. . ." The French newspapers wrote of these projected republics as the "Oil State", and suggested that they operate under the aegis of the League of Nations.

The Rockefeller Foundation-subsidized Labor Party in England served the Rockefeller Empire well by raising an insistent demand for the withdrawal of British troops from the Caucasus, and prepared the way for its recapture by the Communists.

At the Genoa and Hague Conferences the Rockefeller interests demonstrated their mastery of the technique of the "balance of power" and the extent of their control among the world powers. They sought primarily to prevent their rivals regaining control of the Russian oilfields. They did this by forcing a united stand of the conferring nations against Russia and for denationalizing the oilfields of Russia. They were served faithfully by the State Department, with the help of France and of Belgium which were pawns in the game. In the meantime, behind the backs of the conferees, the Rockefeller interests sought to make deals with Russia for monopolistic control of its oil, while berating their competitors the Royal Dutch Shell interests, for doing the same.

In the end the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests won out with a deal described in detail in the chapter on the Rockefeller Soviet Axis which gave them a large measure of control, or influence, over Russia and her oilfields. These deals protected their valuable concessions in Saudi Arabia at the cost of the security of the United States and the rest of the world.

In the meantime, the Rockefeller interests also were instrumental in obtaining the use of U.S. military forces in blocking the invasion of Russia and the taking over of the Trans-Siberian railway by the Japs. They smashed Harry F. Sinclair and his associates, in the Teapot Dome affair, after he had secured concessions which they sought in Russia and in the Russian sphere of influence in North Persia.

The British learned nothing from their experience and jeopardy in World War I. No sooner was it over than they started once again to wage a more intensive commercial oil war on the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests and to offer them strenuous competition and opposition in the quest for world monopoly of oil. Despite the fact that World War I had been fought and won largely with oil provided by the Rockefeller interests from American oilfields, Sir Edward Mackay Edgar, Trustee of BCO

who represented Great Britain, stupidly boasted in an article in Sperling's Journal, September 1919:

"The British position is impregnable. All known oil fields, all the likely or probable oil fields, outside of the United States itself, are in British hands or under British management or control, or financed by British capital".

Treacherously the British undertook to block the Rockefeller interests from developing the Saudi Arabian and other Near Eastern concessions that had been surrendered to them as the price of the entry of the U.S. into the war, the objective of the British-French San Remo agreement for monopoly of the Turkish and Near East oilfields.

The significance of the oil war was pointed up by the Federal Trade Commission Report On Owner' ship In The Petroleum Industry of 1923. The findings were summarized as follows:

"1. The Royal Dutch-Shell group, a combination of the Royal Dutch Co. and the Shell Transport and Trading Co. of London has world-wide oil investments, including numerous refineries, an immense fleet of tank ships, and petroleum production in many lands, which in 1921, was less than 11% of the world output.

"2. The Royal Dutch Shell group in February 1922 consummated a merger of the principal properties and investments of the Union Oil Co. (Del.) with its chief American subsidiaries in a new company, the Shell Union Oil Corp.

"3. The Shell Union Oil Corp. now controls over 240,000 acres of oil lands in the United States; has about 3.5 per cent of the total of crude petroleum; owns extensive properties in refineries, pipelines, tank-cars, and marketing equipment; and is one of the larger companies in the domestic petroleum industry.

"4. The Union Oil Co. (Del.) owned about 26 per cent of the stock of the Union Oil Co. of California, but, to prevent the Royal Dutch Shell group from gaining control, certain stockholders of the Union of California organized an American controlled holding company, which now owns more than half of its issued stock.

"5. The most important instances of discrimination by foreign governments against citizens of this country are the exclusive policies of the Governments of Great Britain and the Nether-

lands in respect to the oil fields of India and the Dutch East Indies, and the San Remo Agreement of Great Britain and France covering the undeveloped oil fields of Mesopotamia and of the British and French colonies.

"6. Denial of reciprocity of treatment to citizens of this country appears to exist with respect to the petroleum industries of Australia, British Borneo, certain African colonies, British Honduras, British Guiana and Trinidad; France and French possessions; Italy, and the Netherlands and its dependencies.

"7. Thus forced to modify its historic policy, Congress in 1920 enacted a mineral leasing law for public lands which forbids the acquisition of properties by nationals of any foreign country that denies reciprocity to Americans, in consequence of which certain applications for petroleum leaseholds have been denied to the Royal Dutch-Shell group.

"What further efforts may be made by this combination to acquire privately-owned petroleum lands or competing oil companies it is of course impossible to predict, or how far anti-trust laws may be effective in preventing them.

"The supply of crude petroleum in this country is being rapidly depleted to meet the requirements of a growing domestic consumption and foreign trade. The sources of supply of the domestic industry are concentrated within its own borders and in Mexico, while those of its principal competitors are widely distributed throughout the world. It appears obvious that a nation having widely distributed supply and storage facilities and owning means of distribution will have certain advantages in world trade against one having concentrated supply." At the very moment that the American doughboys were laying down their lives and the wealth of the people of the U.S. was being squandered for the salvation of the British Empire and the expansion of the Rockefeller Empire, the British were making preparations to wage a devastating commercial and military war on the U.S. and the Rockefeller Empire. The irony of the situation was intensified by the fact that the British were financing this Oil War with the money provided them by the U.S. at

the expense of its taxpayers, and by American investors.

For the purpose of promoting this war the British organized in 1918 the Government owned British Controlled Oilfields Ltd. (BCO Ltd.) for the specific object of smashing Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. In collaboration with the Royal Dutch and Shell group, BCO Ltd. undertook to gain control of the Central and South American lands bordering the U.S. to the south and surrounding the Panama Canal, which it was openly suggested could then be seized in a British-American war with or without the help of Japan. M. Pierre l'Espagnol de la Tramerye in his book *World Struggle For Oil*, published in 1923, under the chapter heading "An American Balkanism", described the objectives of the British, as follows:

"The Anglo-Persian Oil is no longer sufficient for Great Britain, which founded a new company in 1918, the 'British Controlled Oilfields', specially commissioned to fight the Standard Oil . . . Like the Anglo-Persian, it is entirely in the hands of the British Government under a system of the Voting Trust. It seems that an immense tract of oil bearing territory exists from Mexico to Argentine ... Of these deposits the BCO Ltd. wishes to gain possession on behalf of the British Government, thus completing the work of the Royal Dutch-Shell in Venezuela and in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal. Its concessions actually surround two-thirds of the Caribbean Sea: they are situated in the States of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, British Guiana, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and the Island of Trinidad. The concessions of the BCO are nearly always on the sea coast—or rather in close proximity to the sea—which is a considerable advantage. It has expressly chosen them, on both the Atlantic and Pacific, as a precaution in case war should break out between Great Britain and the United States; for even with the help of the Japanese fleet, the British navy might not be able to seize the Panama Canal. All its units must be in a position to replenish their stores of fuel without being obliged to make the long detour round the Magellan Straits . . . In order to obtain Costa Rican concessions, Great Britain did not hesitate to foment revolution in 1917



this little Republic. Unable to obtain anything from the established Government, it helped to place in power the revolutionary Pres. Tinoco, from whom it got what it wanted; more than 60,000 square miles were granted to BCO. Unfortunately Tinoco has been overthrown; the regular Government restored to power, hastened to annul these concessions. Great Britain, to compel it to ratify these concessions stirred up a war between Costa Rica and Panama, while she sent the cruiser Cambrian to the coast of Costa Rica in order to increase the pressure. Events went against her. Costa Rican troops invaded Panama. A landing took place on February 28, 1921, on the Pacific Coast, south of the Dulce Gulf, the eastern shore of which is common to both countries, and another less important one on the Atlantic towards Bocas de la Toro. Panama lost the territory of Coto. Mr. Alves, chairman of the BCO, set out in March 1921 for Costa Rica, to study the question at issue. But the United States stepped in; and Judge White, as arbitrator, pronounced in favor of Costa Rica. On August 26, 1921, an American naval detachment assisted the Costa Rican forces to take definite possession of the contested territory, in spite of the indignant protests of the Government of Panama against the violent measures of which it was a victim. The imbroglio of British and American affairs around the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea (BCO, Mexican Eagle, Royal Dutch-Shell, Mexican Petroleum, Standard Oil) makes this region the Balkans of the oil world."

BCO, Anglo Persian and Royal Dutch and Shell companies obtained concessions throughout Latin America. Sir Edward Mackay Edgar exulted in his article in *Sperling's Journal*, in 1919:

"I should say that two-thirds of the improved fields of Central and South America are in British hands. In Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, a decisive and really overwhelming majority of the petroleum concessions are held by British subjects. The Alves group (BCO) whose holdings encircle practically two-thirds of the Caribbean Sea, is wholly British, working under an arrangement which insures that perpe-198

tual control of its undertakings shall remain in British hands. No American citizen and no American group has acquired, or even could acquire any such position in Central America as that which enterprise and personality have acquired for Mr. Alves . . . Unfortunately for them — and fortunately for us—their eyes have been opened too late."

Sir Edward's Growings proved absurdly premature. The State Department, ever ready to defend the Rockefeller interests, rose nobly to their defenses. Fortunately for the U.S. its interests and defense happened to coincide with those of the Rockefeller Empire. By diplomatic pressure, force and the happy accident of threatened insolvency of BCO Ltd., many of its important holdings were acquired by Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co., including the Costa Rican, through Doheny, and Colombian, directly. In the case of the Chaco, the grip of British interests was loosened or broken by a war in which the Paraguayan Government, financed by the British, openly charged that Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. was financing Bolivia, a charge that was later given substance by an increase of Bolivian concessions to the Standard Oil Co. of more than two million acres, announced on July 13, 1934.

In the meantime the League of Nations and its mandates were set up as instruments of the Oil War. The primary consideration of the series of conferences held at Genoa, the Hague and elsewhere was oil reserves—of Russia, Turkey, Persia and all sections of the globe. Rockefeller's Standard Oil was devotedly represented by the State Department as well as by the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire. When Great Britain undertook in its San Remo Agreement with France to set up a monopoly of Turkish and Near Eastern oil reserves through their Near East mandates and arrange for their "permanent British control", (State Dept. Note 11/20/20) Standard Oil (N.J.) protests voiced by Bedford, its president, were insistently echoed by the State Department. England was violently denounced on the floor of Senate with some open threats of retaliation, and even of war. When the Foreign Office, in reply to Standard Oil protests, replied that the U.S. was entitled to no voice in the disposition of the mandated areas and their resources, because of failure to join the League of

Nations the State Department replied that the U.S. "should not be dissociated in the rights of peace from the usual consequences of association in war". The inconsistency of the State Department's "noble, Christain" pose and attitude of spurning all advantages of the victory for the U.S. other than the oil reserves sought by the Rockefeller Empire, elicited from the British the taunt of "hypocrites", which was wholly justified. As Davenport and Cooke wrote in their *The Oil Trusts and Anglo-American Relations* (p.112)

"One observes that the high-sounding note of the principle of economic equality (the American "principle" of the Open Door) has now sunk into the lower note of the principle of 'sharing the swag'. How the mighty have fallen! The United States had originally set a fine example by virtuously declining to take a mark of German reparations or a square mile of German colonies, but after four years was found making an exception to its self-denying ordinance in the case of oil in Mesopotamia".

The protests of the State Department on behalf of the Rockefeller interests were effective. Through Sir John Cadman, negotiator of the San Remo Agreement and official of the Anglo-Persian Co., as envoy to Washington, and the Rockefeller Empire, a deal was made compromising the matter. Rockefeller's Standard Oil was given control of Palestine and the right to continue to explore it, subject to a mandate that was to be given to the British. This constitutes the background of the subsequent partition of Palestine and the ousting of British rule in favor of the Zionists, who might be expected to be more amenable than the British.

Despite this uneasy compromise, the Oil War continued more bitterly than ever. As Davenport and Cooke stated in their book, above quoted:

"For the betterment of Anglo-American relations the British Government fell to bribing Standard Oil: the bribes were to be paid in the oil of Persia and Mesopotamia . . . Did anyone suppose that Standard Oil could be silenced by sops from two of the world's oil fields as long as it did not control the rest?" How well they understood the character of the Rockefellers and their Empire is borne out in the newspaper headlines of succeeding years:

9/6/22 Englebert Graff announces that rivalry of money kings will cause a war; and that the Rockefeller interests control three Paris newspapers—Figaro, Matin and L'Eclair—for the purpose of warping public opinion on the Continent.

9/2/23 World politics are oil politics says Premier Briand of France.

3/5/24 See Standard Oil Co. dominating the world.

8/2/24 Big oil drama involves world peace.

9/7/24 World's future depends on oil.

9/14/24 America smeared with oil in Near East.

1/29/25 Tchitcherin says Standard Oil and Royal Dutch dominate world politics.

2/26/29 France protests world Oil Trust.

11/28/34 Secret war over oil.

Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. steadily pressed its advantages in the Oil War in other sections of the globe than those from which it was barred by Great Britain. This is made clear from a perusal of newspaper headlines of the period. France and the Rockefeller Empire: 5/20/20 U.S. protests to France for the Standard

Oil Co. 10/16/20 Standard Oil merges with French oil company to form a government monopoly. (Bedford Petroleum Co.) 10/30/20 Standard Oil monopoly is disputed. 4/5/21 Standard Oil Co. monopoly upheld. 6/7/21 Standard Oil Co. spends six million francs

to influence press. France served as catspaw of Rockefeller Empire at Genoa Conference:

3/15/22 "Standard Oil interests are reported to be preparing to make a fight at Genoa to protect the company's old concessions, held in the name of Russian Standard Oil Co. and are seeking French assistance against their French rivals". (N.Y. Herald)

5/6/22 Secretary of State Hughes assures Standard Oil Co. that United States would tolerate no agreement which would exclude it from Russian oil concessions. (N.Y. Herald) 5/7/22 The press is full of oil to-day. (London Times)

5/9/22 "As regards the Standard Oil Co., which 201

wields great influence in the United States, it must be remembered that its acquisition of the oil rights of the Nobel Brothers in South Russia some time ago, gives it a distinct status in Russian oil negotiations. This status clearly lends point to the support given by the United States to the French and Belgian attitude in regard to private property in Russia ..." (London Times)

5/11/51 Standard Oil interests stiffen opposition of French and Belgians to Rapallo Treaty . . . "consider the present moment of financial stringency of the Soviet government . . . favorable to enable them finally to arrive at some co-ownership of Russian petroleum deposits . . . Without this support from America, France, which furnishes the Pretorian guard for this Trust (Standard Oil Co.) would hardly dare oppose Great Britain in this manner." (Berlin Lokal Anzeiger) 5/15/22 America intervened at Genoa in a sense hostile to the Soviets". . . . the plan proposed by (Ambassador) Child, with the support of Vander-lip and 'Observers' of the Standard Oil now at Genoa ... represents the ... basis on which it will participate in a commission to be set up at the Hague ..." (London Daily Herald)

The story of the Ethiopian War is that of another oily Rockefeller Crusade. It began on July 1, 1923, when the press announced that the Anglo-American Oil Co. a Standard Oil subsidiary, had obtained an exclusive oil concession in the northern half of the Harrar Province of Abyssinia. Nothing more was heard of this concession for more than a decade despite the urgent need of the Rockefeller interests for a source of oil for the Mediterranean basin that was close at hand and did not require costly haulage by tankers, from the far-off Gulf and Venezuelan ports, or from East India. Behind the scenes there raged a fierce diplomatic battle. For Ethiopia holds the source of the Nile and was regarded by the British Empire as one of its critical spheres of influence. It vigorously opposed permitting its deadly rival, the Rockefeller Empire, to gain a foothold there. Under pressure of the British, Haile Selassie denied permission to the Rockefeller interests to proceed with the development of the concession that had been given them.



Following negotiations of Sir Francis Rickett, a director of Rockefeller's Socony Vacuum Oil Co., with Mussolini, in which it is apparent that the Rockefeller interests assured Il Duce of supplies of oil for a war on Abyssinia in exchange for a thirty year monopoly of the Italian oil market and the ratification of their Ethiopian concessions, as well as other considerations, border incidents on December 9, 1934, between Italian and Ethiopian troops, in connection with a dispute over the Italian Somali-land frontier, served as a pretext for the waging by Italy of an undeclared war. In the midst of the war, on September 1, 1935, the press announced the text of an Ethiopian concession, negotiated by Sir Francis Rickett, to the African Exploration & Development Co., organized in 1933 as a subsidiary of the Socony Vacuum. The names of Mellon, Mitchell and Teagle were mentioned in connection with the deal, and in the following month, October 15, the press linked an Ethiopian arms order to the Rickett deal. This followed the traditional practise of the Rockefeller Empire, of playing all ends against center. Shortly thereafter the British, acting on behalf of the League of Nations offered Haile Selassie a negotiated peace for surrender to the Italians of the oil-rich Fafan Valley in the Harrar Province—the original 1923 concession to the Rockefeller interests. This was rejected on December 12, 1935.

In the meantime belated economic sanctions were ordered by the League of Nations to go into effect November 18, 1935, and continued until July 15, 1936, after termination of the war. The Rockefeller Empire, which had assured Mussolini in advance that no effective sanctions would be applied in respect to that absolute essential of modern war, — oil—made good on its assurance. On December 4, 1935, the press announced that the Rockefeller interests would defy the League and supply Mussolini with oil from the Roumanian fields; on December 12, Socony Vacuum announced the building of two refineries for Mussolini in Naples; and on January 8, 1936, it was announced that Italy might get oil from Germany. The Ethiopian oilfields are now controlled by the Rockefeller interests through Sinclair Oil Corporation. The red that tints their end product, ethyl gasoline, might well be Italian and Ethiopian blood.

## CHAPTER XI

THE ROCKEFELLER-SOVIET AXIS "... we want to trade with Russia." Ivy Lee

The Russian Communist Revolution posed a major threat to world oil monopoly and to the worldwide expansion of the rapidly growing Rockefeller Empire. By the precipitation of World War I and by undermining the power and prestige of the mighty British Empire, the Standard Oil Co. had acquired the concession to the fabulous oil domain of Saudi Arabia. But the whole of the Near East and control of Caucasus oil fields and of Saudi Arabia, lay within the grasp of the Communists.

The situation presented the horns of a dilemma. It did contain some elements of good from the viewpoint of the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests. For the Caucasian and Persian oil fields had been controlled by Rockefellers' mortal enemy in the international field, the British-Royal Dutch-Shell group. Since the turn of the century their bitter rivalry has meant incessant strife, bloodshed and war for the lands involved. The Russian Revolution of 1905-06 had been precipitated with the aid of financing by Rockefeller's banker, Kuhn Loeb & Co., with an eye to the oil of the Caucasus and adjacent lands; and its most intense activities had centered around the Baku oilfields. They had engineered Mexican revolutions and the Mexican War to oust the Royal Dutch and other rivals from Mexico.

Through World War I, the Saudi Arabian oilfields had been wrested from British control. Now Communist Russia offered the opportunity to oust the British-Royal Dutch-Shell also from the Caucasus, Persia, the rest of the Near East and India. But the moot question was: "Would not the Communists prove to be more dangerous and more difficult to deal with than even the British?" The pros and cons were many, but the possibilities of playing British against Communists were great.

The British, needless to say, likewise were intrigued by the possibilities of seizing control of the Caucasian oilfields. They attempted to do this in 1918 by an expedition of officers, headed by General Dunsterville, that combined forces with a

White Russian brigade led by General Bitcherakov. They occupied Baku when the Bolsheviks withdrew, but were in turn ousted by Turkish forces led by German officers. Following the Armistice in November, 1918, the British moved in and took over the oilfields. The British were able to boast: "In the Caucasus from Batum on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian and from Vladikavkaz southward to Tiflis, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Persia, British Forces have made their appearance . . . Never in the history of these islands was there such an opportunity for the peaceful penetration of British influence and British trade, for the creation of a second India . . ." (London Financial News, Dec. 24, 1918) But they were oversanguine and reckoned without the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests in Caucasian oil. The British labor movement, which the Rockefellers had fostered, opposed further military occupation of the Caucasus, and forced withdrawal of the troops. Denikin took over, with British support, in August 1919. Two British vassal states, Georgia and Azerbaijan, were set up and recognized by the Allied Supreme Council. The Rockefeller-dominated U.S. State Department, however, refused to recognize them and blocked the turning over of the Caucasian oilfields to Royal Dutch and Shell. In February, 1920, the Bolsheviks entered Baku, and in the following year Georgia turned Bolshevik. It by no means chagrined the Rockefeller interests to see Royal Dutch thus shut out, even though it did mean control of the fields by the Russians.

To establish a semblance of legal title to the Caucasian fields, the Rockefeller Standard Oil group, in 1920, bought a half-interest in Nobel & Co.'s production in Baku. This amounted to approximately 40% of the yield of the field. The title was a mere mirage, unless the Bolsheviks could be forced to restore to the owners their properties that had been expropriated, or "nationalized", in 1918. Shortly thereafter, the Rockefeller interests also acquired from the Persian government a concession to the North Persian oilfields for a period of fifty years, in conflict with the British interests and with Soviet treaty claims. A concession had been granted to Russian interests during the Czarist regime and had been sold by them on May 8, 1920,

to the Anglo-Persian Co., the majority stockholder of which is the British government.

Both the Russian and the British governments objected strenuously to the North Persian concessions to the Rockefeller interests. Thereafter, the Rockefeller Empire's game has been to play the British-Royal Dutch interests against the Communists until they could dispose of first one and then the other. Their's is a chess game, with mankind and the wealth of nations as pawns. The prize, that they cherish more highly than the blood and wealth of others, is OIL and world dominion.

The Rockefeller-dictated State Department policy in regard to Russia at Genoa was aimed at compelling the restoration to them of the "nationalized" oilfields. Hughes made it the condition for recognition. They sought to put Russia into the position where she would be forced to make restitution, while at the same time blocking the granting of concessions to their competitors. It can be said in praise of that policy that it had the semblance of being in favor of the U.S., even though it did serve the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests more particularly, or exclusively. The Royal Dutch Oil Co. had already begun negotiations with Russia for a monopolistic oil concession, which Standard Oil Co. was able to block with the aid of its handmaiden, the U.S. State Department.

At the Hague Conference in June 1922, the same tactics were successfully repeated. In the following September, a blockade of Russian oil was organized under the auspices of the Standard Oil Co. and others through the Groupement International des Societes Naphthieres en Russie. Behind this sham front that was designed to hamstring competitors, the Royal Dutch and Shell interests purchased 70,000 tons of oil from Russia, and Dodge, an official of the Standard Oil Co., went to Moscow to seek concessions.

Two things happened that served to bring about a change of front among the oil companies. Russia began exporting oil—330,000 tons in 1922, 771,000 tons in 1923 and 1,360,000 in 1924—through its Naptha Syndicate. And she undersold the oil companies. The Russian Oil Products Co. was retailing benzine, kerosene and other products in Great Britain at one to three pennies below the market price. Far more disturbing than this threat to the price

structure of the oil market, from the viewpoint of Rockefeller's Standard Oil companies, were the activities of Harry F. Sinclair. Sinclair was a close personal friend of President Harding, in whose campaign he and his associates had played a part. He numbered among his business associates many top political figures, including Will H. Hays, his attorney and Morgan-allied National Republican Committee chairman, as well as Archibald B. Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt Jr. The latter was a director of the Sinclair Refinery Co. At Theodore Jr.'s request, in 1919, Archibald had been made vice-president of the Sinclair Co. In the following year Theodore Jr. resigned his post to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Harding Administration.

Rockefeller's Midwest Oil Co., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, and the Sinclair and Doheny oil interests conspired to gain control of the Teapot Dome structure adjoining the fabulous Salt Creek oil field in Wyoming, that had been made a Naval Oil Reserve. This required an executive order, made on the approval of the Navy Department and recommended by the Secretary of the Interior. Admiral Griffith, on behalf of the Navy personnel in charge, forwarded a recommendation that leases of Naval Reserve oil lands should be permitted only with the approval of the Navy Department. This was transmitted to Secretary of the Navy Denby through Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt Jr., former Sinclair Refining Co. director, who in turn took it to Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. Fall, who, it was later revealed, had received a total of nearly half a million dollars for his "services", and Sinclair, acting for themselves and the other interests involved, "subtly modified the clause (requiring Navy Department approval) to give the Secretary of the Interior full authority to dispose of naval oil land. Secretary Denby and Assistant Secretary Theodore Roosevelt Jr. acquiesced in this unusual arrangement." (Lundberg, *America's 60 Families*, p. 205)

Fall issued the lease to the conspirators. Rockefeller's Midwest Oil Co. relinquished its share to Sinclair and Doheny for the sum of one million dollars. The Mammoth Oil Co. was organized to take over the Teapot Dome lease. The Continental



Trading Co. was incorporated in Canada by James O'Neil, president of Rockefeller's Prairie Oil & Gas Co., Col. Robert W. Stewart, president of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, and Harry F. Sinclair, as a secret dummy corporation to purchase more than thirty million barrels of oil from the Mexia field at \$1.50 and to resell it to the organizers' companies at a profit of 25c a barrel, or a total profit of more than eight million dollars. These profits were used in part for the bribery of the public officials involved in the Teapot Dome case. The complicity of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. in the Teapot Dome scandal is further revealed by the conversation between Harry Sinclair, James O'Neil and two other persons at the Bankers Club of New York in 1922. One of them asked:

"Suppose there was some future trouble to come up afterwards, who would take care of it?" "The Sinclair Oil Co. is big enough to take care of that", answered Sinclair.

"If the Sinclair Oil Co. is not big enough to take care of it, Standard Oil is big enough to take care of it," O'Neill said. The Rockefeller interests cunningly avoided, however, any direct involvement in turning over the bribes. They thus prepared the way for their subsequent maneuver that was to destroy Sinclair as a competitor.

John D. Rockefeller Jr. testified before the Senate Committee that investigated Teapot Dome, on behalf of Col. Robert W. Stewart, as a character witness, bestowing on him the effulgence of his "philanthropic" odor of sanctimony in order to impress the "peasants". Subsequently, when it was brought to light that Stewart had withheld from his company the profits of the Continental Trading deal. John D. Jr. professed indignation for the benefit of the gullible "peasantry", retired Col. Stewart on a meager pension of \$75,000 a year and promoted two of his sons to highly paid Standard Oil executive positions, to show his "disapproval" of the Colonel's acts. One wonders what might have been the fabulous rewards if he had "approved" of Stewart's deeds.

With the Teapot Dome deal in the bag, Sinclair went after bigger game. Using his influence with the Harding Administration and recognition by the U.S., that he represented he could obtain, as a bait,

he set out to gain the Near, Middle and Far Eastern concessions from Soviet Russia and Iran that the oil titans, Standard Oil and Royal Dutch, had sought in vain. In this quest, he had the advantages over them of having no prior claims and of starting with a clean slate.

After Secretary of the Interior Fall had resigned under fire, Sinclair gave him \$35,000 to go to Russia to negotiate oil leases. (Lundberg, *America's 60 Families*, p. 206) In June 1923, a party consisting of Harry F. Sinclair, Albert Fall, Archibald B. Roosevelt, Mason Day, Robert Law Jr., Wm. Dewey Loucks, E. R. Tinker, Elisha Walker and Grattan T. Stanford, with some engineers, went to Moscow to seek a concession for all the Caucasian oilfields that Rockefeller considered his property and over which he and Royal Dutch were battling fiercely. In November 1923, a provisional agreement for the exploitation of the Baku and Grosni oilfields by a company in which Sinclair and the Russian government had equal shares, was signed in Moscow by Mason Day. Final ratification was to be effected in ninety days. (Fisher, *Oil Imperialism*, pp. 156-161) On December 20, 1923, Sinclair got from the Persian government a provisional agreement on a concession for the North Persian oilfields in the Russian sphere of influence, for which the Rockefeller Standard interests had received a concession in 1921, which had not been ratified. The circumstances under which Sinclair obtained this concession are concisely stated in a letter dated May 3, 1922, sent by Mr. A. C. Veatch, vice-president of the Sinclair Exploration Co., to the Federal Trade Commission, as follows:

"Gentlemen: In July of 1921, following up a suggestion of the Secretary of Commerce (Herbert H. Hoover), the Sinclair Company began its negotiations with the Persian authorities for an oil concession over the five northern provinces, which are stated by the Persian government to be free of any prior claims.

"These negotiations have been continued up to the present date, during which period the Sinclair Company has had active opposition from a combination of interests of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and the Anglo-Persian Company of London.

"To refer again to the competition the Sinclair 209

Company has encountered in endeavoring to obtain the concession, we wish to state that early in 1921 an oil concession over the area referred to was signed between the Persian government and the Standard Oil Company, but in order to become legal this required the ratification of the Persian Parliament.

"While this ratification was pending, Sir John Cadman, a director of the Anglo-Persian Co. of London, came to the United States and while there, entered into an agreement with the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey to share on a 50-50 basis with the latter company, the Persian concession when obtained." On August 16, 1923, Sinclair was given a monopolistic concession of the oilfields of Northern Sakhalin Island by Soviet Russia. It was then occupied by the Japanese, who were exploiting the fields. The concession was implicitly conditioned on the recognition of Russia by the U.S. before 1927, which Sinclair and his colleagues had assured; and on the good offices of the U.S. State Department in inducing the Japanese to withdraw from Sakhalin Island. The State Department and its Secretary, Charles Evans Hughes, a Rockefeller attorney, never got around to bringing pressure to bear on the Japanese to withdraw from Sinclair's concession, despite the fact that Sinclair was the only American interest involved and that the State Department directives had ordered its agents to do their utmost to help American interests in their quests for oil abroad. Obviously, the directives meant "certain interests only"—the Rockefeller interests.

Shortly after the granting of these concessions to Sinclair, there began to occur a series of incidents that were of the utmost value and importance to the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests in their struggle for the concessions. First, was the death of President Warren G. Harding, suddenly and under strange and highly suspicious circumstances that were never exhaustively investigated. This meant that Sinclair had lost control of the government which enabled him to assure Russia of recognition in return for his concessions. President Calvin Coolidge, who succeeded Harding, favored the Rockefeller interests and was keenly alert to the significance of their oil and Empire.

Then, at a time most opportune for the Rockefeller interests in their rivalry with Sinclair, the Teapot Dome affair, which had never been a secret and had been common knowledge from the start, but had never been regarded as worthy of exposure by the Rockefeller-controlled press, suddenly and for reasons not difficult to surmise, began to stir its interest. The Denver Post attacked the Teapot Dome lease, but dropped the matter when its owners, Bonfils and Tammen, were paid \$250,000 by Sinclair. (Lundberg, America's 60 Families, p.205) Then the St. Louis Post-Dispatch began to publicize the case editorially. A Senate investigation was demanded by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, a Rockefeller warhorse, and by Senator Thomas J. Walsh. As a result of the investigation, Sinclair's friends, Attorney General Daugherty and Secretary of the Navy Denby were ousted. (Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt Jr. who had played a dominant role in the affair, was whisked off to a Philippine post, so as to preserve the halo that clung to the Roosevelt name in the minds of the "peasants".) Fall, Sinclair and Doheny were indicted. Fall was found guilty. Sinclair and Doheny won acquittals; but Sinclair went to jail for six months for contempt. The Rockefeller interests, that had been involved and had profited from the deal to the extent of a million dollars paid them by Sinclair, were never indicted, for reasons that can be surmised.

The Teapot Dome scandal robbed Sinclair of the influence which he needed to make good on his Russian deals that required early recognition of the Soviet Communist regime. It also impaired his credit, so that he was not in a position to raise the hundreds of millions that his deals required. Rumors got around that the Sinclair companies had fallen into the hands of the Rockefellers, which they did subsequently. The results were that all of Sinclair's Asiatic concessions were cancelled and the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests were rid of their most dangerous rival.

The Russian oil situation had become menacing to Rockefeller's plans for world monopoly. It became obvious that the Bolshevik regime was not going to collapse and that it would be impossible to force it, by boycott or other forms of pressure, to return expropriated property. It was also evident

that there would not be the expected delay in resumption of Russian oil production. On the contrary, Russian exports of oil were rising to large proportions and constituted formidable competition, especially through price-cutting. In 1925 Russia was providing all of Italy's fuel oil and was rapidly cutting off Standard Oil from that market. The navies of Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece were being supplied with oil by Russia. By April 1925, Standard Oil itself, now allied with Royal Dutch and Shell, had purchased 290,000 tons of kerosene and gasoline from Russia and had become a regular customer. The Rockefeller Standard Oil interests had even proposed the purchase of the entire output of all the Russian fields for a period of three to five years.

The Rockefeller interests were most concerned about the control of Turkey, which was then rapidly being penetrated by the Russians. For, control of Turkey and its dependencies meant control of Saudi Arabia, the prize for which World War I had been engineered. The Rockefeller interests were frantic in their anxiety to get Turkey under their control and keep it there. They could secure that control and hold it only with the acquiescence and cooperation of Soviet Russia. The Rockefeller group then proposed to pool their interests in Turkey with the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate in a partnership monopoly, and to sell there only Russian oil. So anxious had they become to effect a deal, that they were now willing to accede to any terms; and they went out of the way to court the favor of the Communists.

In March 1926, Vacuum Oil Co. entered into an agreement with the Russian government monopoly, the Naphtha Syndicate, for the purchase of 800,000 tons of crude oil and 100,000 tons of kerosene, primarily in order to ingratiate itself with the Russians. This was the first direct, commercial postwar transaction between the Soviet Government and the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests. The terms of this agreement and of the subsequent agreements entered into by the Rockefeller interests and Soviet Russia have never been published. It was well known, however, that the monetary price paid by Standard Oil for the oil was most favorable and low. Price was no object to the Communists.



World conquest on the basis of the plans laid down by Lenin was for them the prime consideration, and the oil deals were, for the Soviets, merely bait and the means to that end. Bearing in mind this fact and the subsequent course of events, however, it is not difficult to arrive at reliable conclusions concerning the terms that were demanded by the Soviets and accepted by the Rockefeller interests.

Recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, implicit in the Sinclair deals, was obviously a fundamental term and the basis of negotiations. By crushing Sinclair and throwing him into jail, the Rockefellers had proved to Russia their complete and absolute control of the U.S. Government and their ability to make good their agreements involving recognition, so eagerly sought by the Bolsheviks.

Recognition implied an acceptance or tolerance of the Marxist ideology and of Communism in the U.S. But inevitably the cunning and scheming Communist bosses, from Stalin down, would and did seek with singular devotion to purpose, to further the forcing of Communist propaganda and rule, wherever and whenever they could. Surrender to their terms would mean to engage in intensively fostering Communist propaganda, the second condition.

Recognition, however, was sought only as the first step toward Communist world conquest. It was the open sesame to industrialization of Russia, the third condition imposed. For world conquest Russia must master the best and most modern technology. Where could that be found except in the U.S.?

A regular demand of the Soviets in any deal they make or alliance they enter into, is that they dominate and eventually take over. Recognition and propaganda are merely steps in the direction of infiltration and control of the government of the allying power. Surrender to Soviet terms means, as a consequence, to become a satellite through the device of a "Popular Front". A "Popular Front" in Communist language means a Communist government. The setting up of a Communist-controlled government in the United States is the ultimate Soviet purpose of any deal that the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests could have entered into on

the basis of surrender to the Soviets in exchange for control of their oil.

Money for their purchases and propaganda was directly needed by the Bolsheviks. The opening of the American market to their exports of raw materials, in addition to oil, was implied in the desire for recognition,

The major part of the benefits and returns of any deal, to begin with, and eventually outright ownership, are the best terms that anyone can expect of the Communist leaders, or brigands. They regard every contract as a temporary expedient, as a "scrap of paper" that must be torn up as soon as they are in a position to do so. In any deal on Turkish and dominated Arabian oilfields, for instance, the Soviets certainly demanded that all the oil produced must eventually be theirs.

Such demands by the Kremlin would be expected by the suppliant Rockefeller Standard Oil interests. For they are exactly the same terms which they themselves would have laid down had the roles been reversed. And their intent would be equally treacherous. They invariably plan to ravish anyone who yields to them. Such is the philosophy of the force majeure.

Finally, since both of the contracting interests aimed at world conquest and dominion, there was undoubtedly an initial agreement to divide the world between them, as a beginning. The initial division of the world required by Lenin's formula for world conquest, epitomized by him in his dictum—"Who rules Asia, rules the world",—would give Asia and the Eastern Hemisphere to the Soviets and leave to the Rockefellers the Western Hemisphere. It might also be expected that such a world partition would respect the demands of Pan Slavism, Russia's traditional goal.

Bearing in mind the terms which the Kremlin, holding the upper hand, would be expected to demand a priori, it is interesting to see how fully such demands have been met by the Rockefeller Standard Oil agencies and their "philanthropies", industries, dependencies and the lands dominated by them, in short, by the Rockefeller Empire; to observe what loyal allies they have been in the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis; and to study how they have compelled us, the United States, to pay the

costs of their commitments with our lives and fortunes.

As soon as the ink had become dry on the Standard Oil contract for the purchase of Communist oil, the entire Rockefeller propaganda machine was put to work to twist public opinion to conform with Rockefeller purposes. All of the tremendous power, which had been exerted to damn the Communists and stir hatred against them, was turned overnight to the task of building up in the U.S. a love of Communism and Russia for the purpose of creating a favorable atmosphere for recognition of the Soviets. Rockefeller profits are always a "holy cause", and a basis for a Crusade. On March 27, 1926, the New York Times announced under a Paris dateline:

"The Standard Oil Company of New York and the Vacuum Oil Company have just completed negotiations with the Soviet Government of Russia for the purchase of 190,000 tons of refined oil at \$17 a ton, or a total of more than \$3,200,000." On the following day its front page announced:

### "IVY LEE MOVE TO AID THE SOVIETS

"Ivy L. Lee, the best-known and most expensive of publicity agents, who among other activities is the 'adviser on public relations' of the Standard Oil Company, has begun to display keen interest in the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia by the United States. Mr. Lee, it was learned yesterday, is so greatly interested that he has sent out a series of 'confidential letters' to prominent men in relation to the matter, among them to the former Secretary of State Elihu Root".

The letter to Root, who had served faithfully and indiscriminately both the Morgan and Rockefeller interests, like the balance of Ivy Lee's voluminous correspondence on the theme, was obviously merely a sounding board for the publicity campaign under way. His pleas were many and varied. But one of them is outstanding because it has become the keynote of Rockefeller Empire dogma: "the advantages of 'internationalism' vs. the disadvantages of 'isolationism'", as seen, of course, from the view-

point of his masters. He frankly stated on their behalf:

"From our point of view, we want to trade with Russia".

"Internationalism For Profit" and "Love Those Communists" became the theme songs of every activity of the Rockefeller Empire. Like Bismarck before them, the Rockefeller interests had come to recognize in Marxist Communism and Socialism, power patterns which could be used to delude the "peasants" and made to serve their own imperial ambitions. Communist fronts were given their support and Rockefeller-controlled "philanthropies", social-service agencies and "educational" institutions were converted to Communist propaganda outlets. New fronts, hundreds of them, were created and sponsored, fostered and financed by the Rockefellers, their associates and allies, in order to build up sentiment in favor of Soviet Russia and recognition of the Bolshevik regime.

Ivy L. Lee took seriously the assignment he was given by his employer, John D. Rockefeller Jr. and his Standard Oil Co., to manage pro-Bolshevik propaganda and to teach the Communists all that he knew of the art of propaganda and public relations. The Soviets, and Hitler in the following decade, learned so much that made their poisonous propaganda effective, from Rockefeller's agent, wily Ivy Lee, that there can be only one explanation for their failure to set up memorials to him— ingratitude.

Following a two-week trip to Russia in May, 1927, as representative of the Rockefeller Empire, Lee was the first of a steady stream of its emissaries who, in the following decade, travelled to Russia as their guests or as guests of the Soviets, to return as agents of Red propaganda. After his return from Russia, Ivy Lee wrote and published a masterpiece of propaganda in favor of Russian recognition. The first edition was privately printed and circulated under the title, *The USSR, An Enigma*. And six months later a revised edition was published by the MacMillan Co. under the title, *Present Day Russia*.

In the preface of the book, Lee states that the purpose of his "mission to Moscow" was to get first-hand information on the state of mind of the

rulers of Russia and to survey their propaganda methods. (pp. vi and vii) He pretends that he made his trip with an open mind in regard to the wisdom of trading with Russia. But it is a matter of record that his employers had made their deal with the Soviets and were trading with them on a vast scale at the time; and that he had already committed himself in favor of trading with Russia and aiding the Communist regime. The only purpose of this trip and his book therefore, was to serve the interests of his employers' allies, the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis.

He reports that he gathered from his interview with Karl Radek, master of Communist propaganda and President of the Sun Yat-Sen (Chinese) University in Moscow, a number of important points to guide him in fulfilling the assignment given him by his employers—to serve the Soviets as consulting propagandist, in much the same manner as they later assigned him as consulting propagandist to Hitler and the Nazis. He learned from Radek that the latter despaired of succeeding in Communist propaganda in the U.S. because of the prosperity that prevailed among the working classes; and that only in case of a depression did he hope to make any headway. (p. 123) He also was told that it was the object of the Communists to gain control of the hordes of Asia and China as the first step in their conquest of the world. (p. 125) But he found that the "Bolshevik propaganda was, in itself, perfectly futile" (p. 124) and was largely confined to "training a very large number of people in the philosophy and technique of revolution." These were his guides in harnessing the Rockefeller fortune and "philanthropies" to the service of their allies, and in facilitating the progress of Communism. Naively, for the record, he describes his object as the defeat of the purpose of his clients. He points to the menace of alignment by Bolshevik Russia with the distressed hordes of Asia as the potent reason for attracting Russia to the West, with trade. Quoting President Wilson's statement at Turin—"The men who do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world", he points to Russia as the supreme challenge to the business man, and the failure of diplomacy. He poses the question: Is not business as usual the best road back to "normalcy" and the elimination



of the menace of a Bolshevik alliance with Asia?

The book was obviously written with tongue in cheek, to delude the public into accepting recognition and trade with Russia, while the conspirators proceeded with their plan to make good the terms of their deal with Russia and to precipitate the very menace which he pretended to be seeking to avert. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial had already begun to finance the Institute of Pacific Relations, a Communist espionage agency dedicated to the carrying out of Russia's plan to attain world conquest through control of China, India and ultimately the balance of Asia. The depression, which Radek envisaged as essential if Communism was to make any headway among American workers, was engineered and already in preparation.

The Memorial had undertaken, under the aegis of Beardsley Ruml, to foster the spread of Marxism, Communism and Socialism in the U.S. and the world, by financing numerous agencies devoted to the Red objective of bringing about a "new social order" through the so-called "social sciences". Among these agencies, the financing of which by Rockefeller got under way only after the deal with the Soviets for their oil, are the following:

Russian Student Fund  
Institute of Pacific Re-  
lations  
American Council of  
Learned Societies  
Conference of Social  
Sciences  
International School of  
Geneva  
National Research Coun-  
cil  
Social Science Research  
Council  
Institute of International  
Education

Russian Zemstvos and  
Town Relief Commit-  
tees  
Council on Foreign Re-  
lations  
American Council on  
Education  
Economic Foundation  
London School of Eco-  
nomics & Political  
Science  
Peoples Institute of New  
York  
Spelman Fund of New  
York

Ivy Lee's process of creating a favorable sentiment for the recognition of Russia, as required by the Rockefeller-Soviet deal, involved fulfillment of another condition of the deal,—fostering the spread of Communism in the U.S. This required no break in the avowed policies of the Rockefeller Empire

and "philanthropies", as laid down by Rockefeller and Reverend Gates in the General Education Board Occasional Letter No. 1—totalitarianism. How perfect a totalitarian state was Communist Russia and how uncomplicated was the process of doing business with Moscow, was admirably clear. Ivy Lee dilates upon it in his book. He points out in the preface that Soviet Russia is a dictatorship controlled by a few men, which makes it possible to come to an understanding of, and with, the nation even in so brief a period as the ten days he spent in the country to qualify as an expert on its affairs and write his book. In fact, the Rockefeller support of Communist totalitarianism was the natural outcome of the confluence of two streams of development of totalitarian thought and activity. One was that of Bismarck and Germany. Bismarck had fostered Marxism, the recrudescence of the primitive remedy of need since the days of primordial man, as a device for promoting the vast-scale crime he contemplated, conquest of the world. The second confluent development was the equally vast-scale crime contemplated by Rockefeller and Reverend Gates through the use of the same device in the guise of religion and sham "benevolence" and "philanthropy".

The conversion of our educational system to Marxist propaganda, as in Germany where it had been launched originally by Bismarck through the German government and its universities, as "social science", had made considerable headway. Harvard University, where the influence of German Marxist propaganda had appeared earliest, prior to the end of the 19th century, had advanced so far in the conversion of education to unadulterated subversive propaganda that its class of 1927 alone, included three now notorious Reds: Frederick Vanderbilt Field, now in jail for contempt of court in connection with traitorous Communist activities, and Joseph Fels Barnes, both editors of the traitorous Amerasia magazine and members of the equally treasonous Institute of Pacific Relations, as well as policy-making members of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations; and Lawrence Duggan, former colleague of Nelson Rockefeller and Alger Hiss in the State Department, of Rockefeller's Institute of International Education and of his Council on Foreign Relations. Subsidized by the Rocke-

feller philanthropies, Professor Felix Frankfurter of Harvard made a cause celebre of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, one of the first popularly exploited, frankly Communist causes. The Rockefeller interests and their "philanthropies" found ready to hand a host of subversives bred by their own and Bismarck's program, and merely took over and merged the various schools of subversives into a vast treacherous machine for carrying out the purposes of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, under the leadership of their Council on Foreign Relations, that became in effect the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire.

In China at the same time, the Rockefeller interests were doing their utmost to further the objectives of their Axis partner, the Soviets, by intensively propagandizing Communism in China itself, supplementing the efforts of Radek's Chinese University in Moscow. The Rockefeller interests and "philanthropies" have controlled education in China since their initial activities about 1913 in connection with their quest for concessions for oil. The major part of some \$35,000,000 of Rockefeller "benevolences", that China received, flowed into propaganda that was called "education". The prize educational institution financed by the Rockefellers in China was the missionary Yenching University in Peiping, rightly regarded as the Harvard of China. It is a true counterpart of Harvard in its Marxist Communist character.

The president of Yenching U. was Dr. John Leighton Stuart, a staunch advocate of the policy of the State Department Communists of betraying the Chinese Nationalist Government by forcing Chiang Kai-shek to include Communists in his government in a "coalition" that so regularly precedes complete Kremlin control. He was recommended by Rockefeller to his State Department agents as American Ambassador to China, and was dutifully appointed by General Marshall. (Headlines, v. III, no. 2, p. 8) This act, as well as the entirety of Rockefeller-directed, sponsored and financed China activities, clearly indicates direct personal responsibility for the policy of turning over China to the Soviets in compliance with the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis accord.

Rockefeller's Yenching University staff is loaded

with Reds and pro-Communists, including the following:

Dr. Randolph Sailor, who frequently addresses pro-Red Chinese meetings arranged by Communist front organizations, and his wife, who has nothing but praise for the Communists.

Dr. Lucius Porter, who frankly favors the Chinese Communists and, in company with Mrs. Paul Robeson, was a keynote speaker at a Communist conference at the Hotel Brevoort in N. Y. C. called to demand recognition of the Chinese Communist Government and its seating at the United Nations.

Dr. William Dryden Phelps, who contributed to Soviet Russia Today a letter praising and supporting the Chinese Communists.

Donald G. Tewksbury, who is a frequent speaker at meetings favoring recognition of Chinese Communists, and is active in the Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, organized by Red Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

Dr. T. C. Chao, dean of the School of Religion, who heads the movement to "reform" Christianity in China and to ally the Christian Church with the Communist Government, in much the manner as was done, with Rockefeller support, by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Thomas A. Bisson, who was formerly editor of Amerasia and is a champion of the Chinese Communist cause. The College of Public Affairs of the University, that is liberally supported with Rockefeller funds, had on its faculty the following Reds:

Dr. George E. Taylor, who is co-author of the play, The Phoenix And The Dwarf, that glorified the Chinese Communists, and was employed in the U.S. State Department and the OWL

Michael Lindsay, British Communist, who became public-relations officer of the Chinese Communists at Yen-an.

Maxwell S. Stewart, who was formerly a teacher at the Moscow Institute, and an editor of the Moscow Daily News, and is a founder of the Communist Party front, Friends of the Chinese People, and a notorious Communist fronter. The Harvard-Yenching Foundation, that receives Rockefeller Foundation support, provided for the

following champions of the Red cause:

Owen Lattimore, who represented it in Peiping in 1930-31. John K. Fairbanks, who championed Lattimore in the McCarthy expose, and advocated the Chinese Communist cause. Theodore H. White, pro-Chinese Communist author of *Thunder Over China*.

There can be no serious question of the fact that Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations was a very effective espionage agency of the Soviet government, the only government officially an adherent of the organization, that served the Kremlin loyally and well, especially in China and India. Among the organizers of the Russian Council of the IPR was A. S. Swandze, brother-in-law of Joseph Stalin. Many persons, including Alexander Barmine, former brigadier general in the Soviet military intelligence service, Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the U.S. Communist Daily Worker, Elizabeth Bentley, former Communist spy, and Freda Utey, former British Communist author, who was employed in the Russian Council of the IPR itself, have attested to the service that the Institute and its editors, including Owen Lattimore, Philip C. Jessup, Thomas A. Bisson and others, have rendered the Soviets, and to the completely Communist character of the IPR. It is a matter of record that Sorge and his fellow spies of the IPR knew in the summer of 1941 that the Japanese planned to attack Pearl Harbor, but they were quite careful to withhold the fact from the American public so that their employers' plans would not be upset.

The officers and personnel of the IPR's dominant "American" Council have been most effective agents in carrying out the policies and conspiracies of the Kremlin in Asia. Prominent among them have been Alger Hiss, now in jail for perjury in connection with treason on behalf of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis (though his mentor and adviser, John Foster Dulles, top statesman of this Axis, is still dominant in the State Department as "Special Adviser" to— or boss of—the Secretary) ; Owen Lattimore, labelled "top Communist agent" by Senator Joseph McCarthy; and Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Ambassador at Large and top representative of the State Department, especially in Far Eastern affairs, now



appropriately appointed American delegate to the UN. All of these men have been ranking members of Rockefeller's Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations. To their number has been added, officially in the past year, though he has been their agent from the start, General George Catlett Marshall, formerly Chief of Staff and Secretary of State, and then anomalous Secretary of "Defense". Dean Acheson collaborates with them fully, and John Stewart Service," political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek from the State Department, was one of their number.

Freda Utley, in her *Last Chance In China* (p.193) has described how the top officers of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Lattimore and Carter, went to Moscow "for help and advice". She comments:

"To hear these Americans submit themselves to our (the Kremlin's) dictates on theory and policy was amusing, if not sad."

The traitorous officers of Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations had served the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis extraordinarily well. This was made perfectly clear in the testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee given by Mitsusada Yoshikawa, special investigations chief of the Japanese Attorney General's Office, and by Major General Charles A. Willoughby, Allied Intelligence Chief at Tokyo, attached to General MacArthur's staff, as reported in the *New York Times* in a special dispatch by John D. Morris on Aug. 9, 1951. Yoshikawa testified that Richard Sorge and his spy ring, comprising several members of the Institute of Pacific Relations, "acted in 'dual capacity', as spy and as active propagandist for a Japanese strike southward, so that Russia could withdraw defense troops from Siberia" and the Japanese military machine would be turned against the U.S.

Major General Willoughby testified that the collaborators of the executed Red spy, Sorge, from the ranks of Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations had been "hired in the (United) States and unloaded on Tokyo", or, in other words, specifically hired by the IPR and its bosses for their treason. These agents included the following:

Agnes Smedley, a notorious American Communist agent and propagandist, about whom Willoughby released a special intelligence report which the Communists in the State Department 223

disavowed, following an insolent threat to sue for libel, made by her. Yoshikawa also identified Smedley as a member of Sorge's spy ring.

Gunther Stein, a German Communist, Chungking correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor and London Daily Telegraph, who wrote regularly for the IPR's publications, Pacific Affairs, Far Eastern Survey, and Amerasia. He was arrested in France, November 14, 1950, for espionage. His writings, according to the testimony introduced into the records, were widely promulgated by the OWL

Kinkazu Saionji, the adopted grandson of a Japanese prince.

Horsumi Ozaki, No. 2 man in the Sorge spy ring, who was executed with him. With Saionji, Ozaki represented Japan at the Yosemite National Park conference of the IPR in 1936. In the same manner there had been planted by the IPR in General MacArthur's headquarters a number of its agents, including the following:

Thomas A. Bisson, Yenching U. pro-Communist associate of Owen Lattimore, who later became editor of Amerasia. He was identified by Dr. Karl Wittfogel, an erstwhile German Communist, before the Committee, as a Communist.

Miriam S. Farley, who wrote to her superiors in the IPR:

"I have been put to work doing the political section of MacArthur's monthly report. There will be a certain sporting interest in seeing how much I can get by with."

Andrew Grazdenzev.

This treachery suited the purpose of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis perfectly. In the first place it turned the Japanese from attacking their natural and vulnerable enemy, Russia, and from seizing the Russian oil fields. Directly after World War I, U.S. and Allied troops had been used in conjunction with White Russian forces to shut the Japanese out of Siberia at the instance of the same Standard Oil interests, as their avowed policy, that was once again served by the activities of their IPR espionage agents. Secondly, by precipitating the attack on Pearl Harbor, these plotters had brought about the war between the U.S. and Japan that they had sought, through their agent Henry L. Stimson with-

out success of President Hoover but with perfect success, of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. They succeeded in getting American troops to rescue the Standard Oil property in China that was being despoiled by the Japanese. They also insured the delivery of China and Asia to their Soviet ally, by eliminating Japan, the only power in the Orient that could block the way.

It might appear that in so doing the Rockefeller Empire would lose oil-concessions and reserves in the territories turned over to the Soviets. But there is considerable evidence that the long-standing a-greement on the subject of oil between the members of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis is the strongest bond that ties them together. The Kremlin took over the Standard Oil concessions from China, after it had been betrayed to the Chinese Communists by the activities of the IPR and other agents of the Rockefeller Empire, in and out of the State Department and the U.S. Government. The Kremlin specifically required that the terms of the concessions that it received from the Chinese should be absolutely identical with those given the Standard Oil companies. This makes it hard to escape the conclusion that the Kremlin was acting as an agent of the Rockefeller Empire in taking over the concessions, and that such action is one of the basic terms of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis accord.

At home, in the U.S., the Rockefeller Foundation took over from the General Education Board and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial the assignment of promoting Communism under the cover of "social science" and "humanities". The country's educational system, every important vehicle for transmission of information and eventually even the Federal Government itself became parts of a huge conspiracy of betrayal. Our schools, colleges and universities, especially those supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, became "schools for treason" that turned out an army of traitors who have not hesitated to betray our country at every possible opportunity. Each of the tens of thousands of graduates in the "social sciences", became an added pressure for a "managed", or Marxist, economy. For their training is designed to enable them to earn a living only in "managing" the lives and affairs of others! This implies elimination of Constitution and our republic. They are the most

powerful lobby and pressure group for a Marxist regime, which they camouflage with the name "New Deal" and "Fair Deal"; for only under such a regime can they earn a livelihood, and only under a frankly Communist and totalitarian regime can they hope to attain the full development and power for which their training was designed.

Ivy Lee and his employers turned their energies in earnest to "creating in the U.S. an atmosphere favorable to the recognition of Russia". This became the principal function of the Foundation, that always sails the course dictated by Rockefeller interests. Stalin could have no occasion to find fault with the Rockefeller Standard Oil group for failing to live up to the very letter of their agreement. With the support of Rockefeller-dominated "philanthropies", some of the most dangerous Communist fronts were set up for the subversion of the American "peasants". The more "educated" they were in the Rockefeller-supervised thought-control machine, the more readily they succumbed; which accounts for the far higher percentage of traitors exposed among the "educated" than among the rank and file. No accredited Communist agent or dangerous subversive failed to secure support from the foundations, no matter how remote the bearing on the Marxist cause.

No activity that serves Soviet Russia's interests has been regarded as too minor for Rockefeller support, no Communist agent beyond its pale. This is illustrated by the case of Hanns Eisler, brother of Gerhardt Eisler, top Communist agent in the U.S. until he jumped bail and fled the country to Germany, where he became a high Communist official in the Soviet zone and one of the chief antagonists of the American Occupation officials. When Hanns Eisler was ordered deported from the U.S. by immigration authorities as a Communist, at the expiration of his visa, obtained as a "visiting lecturer", Alva S. Johnson, director of the Marxist New School For Social Research, and Eleanor Roosevelt interceded with James L. Houghteling, Roosevelt cousin and Commissioner of Immigration, to stay Hanns Eisler's deportation indefinitely. The Rockefeller henchman arranged to have the Foundation provide for Eisler with a \$20,160 grant. The Rockefeller Foundation announced this grant in the 1940 report as follows:

## "NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

### "Music In Film Production

"The Foundation made a grant of \$20,160 to the New School for Social Research for experimental studies of music in film production during the two year period beginning February 1, 1940. These studies are under the direction of Dr. Hanns Eisler, a member of the School's faculty and a well-known composer of music for motion pictures. His studies will deal with the possibility of utilizing new types of musical material in film production .

"The work will culminate in the preparation and recording of different musical scores for various types of visual content. These recordings will be deposited in the Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art (Ed.: Rockefeller Museum) where they will be available to producers and students of the motion picture." The "new type of musical material" to which the report refers were the works of Communist composers of the breed of Eisler himself, composer of such edifying Communist popular songs as We Must Be Ready To Take Over, and of other "composers" who turn out the brand of sound effects dictated by Stalin and the Politburo as conducive to the cause of revolution and "proletarian" rule. A number of purposes are served by these activities, aside from compliance with the entente of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. First, they serve to pervert American taste and to enjoin submission and regimentation, even of taste, as part of the process of poisoning the "peasant" minds. Second, they flatter Communist "kultur" in the same manner as Nelson Rockefeller did Latin American through his Museum of Modern Art. Third, they provide a source of income for the Soviets to pay for their propaganda and their all-out war on us, through a steady stream of royalties paid to their licensing agency.

For the purpose of grooming their traitorous Communist agents for service in the U.S. Government and planting them in key posts, where they could work their treason as bureaucrats and masters of the American people, many Rockefeller-controlled agencies collaborated. Top Rockefeller agency, the



Communist-riddled Council on Foreign Relations, openly boasts, as stated in the chapter on that organization, in its annual reports, that it has planted innumerable agents in policy-making Federal posts, for which it trains them.

The Rockefeller Foundation allocated considerable sums to its heavily subsidized Council of Learned Societies for the specific purpose of compiling lists of "specialists" for appointment to various Government posts. Of these sums, \$31,000 was earmarked for assembling data and drawing up recommendations on personnel in the humanistic fields. As might be expected of the Rockefeller "philanthropies", the man selected to head this activity, Mortimer Graves, had a long, Red, pro-Communist record.

During the war it was common knowledge that Graves was responsible for planting in key, Far East policy positions in the Government large numbers of Reds, especially those from the Institute of Pacific Relations.

It was through agencies of these types that the Rockefeller Empire was able to build up the New Deal and Fair Deal Administrations as "Popular Front" Communist regimes that complied with their deal with Soviet Russia. Even during the period of the Korean War, their complete cooperation continues under the sham pretense of opposition to Communism, that has become the Party line since Communism has grown unpopular because of the Korean War.

The attainment of the ultimate goal sought by the totalitarian conspirators of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, their complete domination of the U.S. and ultimately of the world, all gained at the expense of the American taxpayer, has been the true purpose of the New and Fair Deals. Their treacherous and seemingly "crazy" pattern can be understood fully only when examined from this viewpoint. In a letter to Elihu Root, protesting his opposition to recognition of Russia, Ivy L. Lee stated:

"What I would like to see, however, is a condition brought about under which you, and men like you, would think it wise to accord such recognition". Lee recognized prevailing prosperity, especially among the workers, as one of the chief obstacles to

fulfillment of the conditions laid down by the Soviets. He expresses the idea succinctly in his interview with Radek on the topic of Bolshevik propaganda in the U.S.A., published in his *Present Day Russia* (p.123). He pointed out that Communist propaganda could not make headway against the high wages and the automobiles of the American workers; but better results could be expected if there were depression and trouble in the land.

It was not long before the conditions for which Lee wished, were brought about. The stock-market crash of 1929 was skillfully engineered by huge withdrawals of gold from the Treasury. The first shipment of gold, by the Chase National Bank to France, preceding the break, was reported to be \$500,000,000 in gold bars, withdrawn at the prevailing rate of \$20 an ounce. The Rockefeller-dominated banks reimported it in 1934 and redeemed it at \$35 an ounce after they had profited hugely from currency manipulation in France and England and had arranged its revaluation here.

The depression that was such a horror for the country and the capitalist world was an era that was tremendously profitable for the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, in many directions; and they did their utmost to prolong it and profit from it in the fullest measure. The misery and grinding poverty of the period, as Radek and Ivy Lee had foreseen, turned the unthinking to acceptance of the quack remedy of Marxism and its progressive slavery, that parades as "managed economy", and that was offered them by the Rockefeller-subsidized "social scientists". The relatively unknown consequences of Communism, equal poverty for all except the overlords, that were misrepresented to the people through every avenue of Rockefeller Red propaganda, through numerous agencies and "philanthropies" and later through the Government itself, lured the moronic mob. The mob lacked the intellectual capacity to discern that both the prevailing order and Communist totalitarianism are identical, both of them scarcity economies; that for the rank and file it merely meant jumping from the frying pan of depression and deflation into the fire of war and inflation. It became a simple matter to sell the "peasants" on recognition of the Soviets abroad and a "Popular Front", New Deal, "progressive" dictatorship at home.

All moves were planned well in advance by the conspirators. They made no effort to disguise the fact that "they planned it that way". Thus the Rockefeller Foundation report of 1935 announced the setting up of planning agencies designed to be taken over and incorporated into the Government. The report noted (p. 218) : "increased reliance upon the expert and technical adviser (in the field of international relations) by governmental authorities is the most significant development of the past decade. The Foundation has been in a position to make such services available in a number of instances, and there have been some notable results .."

Symbolic of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis is the juxtaposition of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the building that houses the Soviet UN delegation headed by Nelson Rockefeller's friend, Andrei Gromyko. They are located on opposite sides of the west corner of Park Avenue at 68th Street, New York City, a short distance from Rockefeller's home. On the southwest corner stands the Harold Pratt home, built by a scion of Rockefeller's partner. After his death, it was turned over to Rockefeller's Council by the widow, to avoid payment of taxes. On the second-floor front, facing 68th Street, is a large council room in which stands an immense horseshoe table covered with green cloth. On the far side of its center stands a huge armchair that serves in the capacity of a throne. It is there that are held the conferences that determine the fate of nations and the world; that plot and dictate the policies adopted by Washington and the State Department to Dean Acheson or anyone who happens to be the Empire's puppet Secretary of State, who sits at the foot of the table to receive his instructions. It was the scene of Alger Hiss' most glorious moments as premier of the Rockefeller Empire, before his office was transferred to the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary as jailbird No. 19137 for perjury in connection with his treasonous activities on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire, that placed him in a position from which all its wealth and power could not extricate him though the policies he advocated are carried on by others of his associates. No flag has ever been seen by us hanging in front of the building. This may symbolize its "internationalism". Or it may mean

that the Rockefeller Empire is not yet ready to break out its banner, which we humbly suggest very well might be the flying Pegasus flag of the Socony Vacuum Oil Co., or the Esso emblem.

Directly opposite the headquarters of the Rockefeller Empire, on the northwest corner, stands the mansion build by Percy Pyne, of the National City Bank. It was purchased, according to rumor, by Rockefeller interests and turned over to the UN Soviet delegation, to house Gromyko and his staff. It is constantly surrounded by dozens of cars bearing UN plates, provided at the expense of American taxpayers. Over the huge fireplace at the end of the immense reception hall, hangs a portrait of Lenin. The hall has been the scene of celebrations following the bloody retreat of American forces in Korea, and also after the dismissal of General MacArthur. On festive occasions the Red hammer-and-sickle flag flies from its flagpole; but never an American flag. That is one corner of the land where nothing patriotic or American is tolerated. It is the hub of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis.

#### LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL FUND APPROPRIATIONS

	1919	1920	1921	1922
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS—				
Baptist Home for the Aged		50,000		
Baptist Union of Western Canada	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
China Continuation Committee		112,000	4,731	
Interchurch World Movement		200,000		
New York City Baptist Mission Society	25,500			
North Baptist Convention, Gen'l Board of Promotion	12,500	800,000	450,000	300,000
North Baptist Laveen, Nat'l Com.	50,000	100,000		
Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Jubilee Fund		25,000	37,500	62,600
EDUCATION				
Emergency Fund for Near East Colleges				110,580
Peoples Institute of New York	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Women's Union Christian Colleges in the Orient				
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION			250,000	350,000
Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History				5,000
State Charities Aid Assn.			3,000	25,000
SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS				
A.I.C.P.	10,000		15,000	10,000
Boy Scouts of America	10,000	20,000	110,000	20,000
Commission on Interracial Cooperation				25,000
National Urban League	3,500	2,500	3,000	8,000
New York Urban League		2,500	3,500	4,000
Salvation Army	3,750	42,500	61,250	50,000
Silver Rav Assn.			13,469	8,918
Y.M.C.A. International Committee	65,000	116,973	103,024	50,000
PUBLIC HEALTH				
A.I.C.P.	2,973	151,298	45,533	48,189
Henry Street Settlement		50,000	25,000	25,000
New York Academy of Medicine				8,206
New York Tuberculosis Assn.			15,000	10,000
United Hospital Fund of New York City	5,000	25,666	37,500	15,000

## CHAPTER XII

### THE LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL

#### Rockefeller Speeds Marxist "Science" & Internationalism

To emphasize the synchronization of the reversal of the attitude of the Rockefeller Empire toward Soviet Russia, the origin of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, and the undercover speeding up of its support and dissemination of the Marxist, or so-called "social", sciences, consideration of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial has been deferred to this point.

It has been related how Rockefeller, in connection with the Colorado Fuel & Iron strike, undertook to rehabilitate himself in public opinion by engaging the Rockefeller Foundation in the field of labor relations to carry out his plans of regimentation of workers under the guidance of W. L. Mackenzie King; but that instead of allaying, it merely stirred up public resentment. In 1917, as a consequence, the Rockefeller Foundation dropped its "social science" plans. But this move was merely a temporary expedient to disarm suspicion. Rockefeller established the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial shortly thereafter. Its true purpose proved to be the carrying out of his labor relations and "social science" program. During the first years of its existence, the intent to use the Memorial to seduce and take over control of labor organization was masked by a "charity" front. During the years when the spotlight of publicity rested on it, the Memorial operated as a strictly "charitable" device and merely contributed to various organized charities that Rockefeller dominated or sought to take over. This pose of "charity" is well illustrated in the list of principal grants made by the Memorial in the years 1919-1922. (p. 231)

In 1923, when its activities were no longer front page news, the Memorial began to divert its funds to the support of Marxist and Communist causes, and the "social sciences." In 1923, it granted \$50,-000 for the support of the Russian Student Fund Inc., that was renewed annually until 1927. In



1924, \$85,940 was appropriated for fellowships in the "social sciences", \$115,000 for the London School of Economics and Political Science, \$490,000 for the Robert Brookings School of Economics and Government, and \$445,000 for the Social Science Research Council Inc. The diversion began in earnest in 1926, in which year the Memorial began its support of the newly formed Institute of Pacific Relations and of the Council On Foreign Relations, simultaneously with the consummation by the Standard Oil companies of their deals with Russia, when the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis got under way. How rapidly the grants for the "social science" propaganda subsidy grew can be seen in the table below, listing some of the more important ones, for the years 1923-1928.

LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL FUND  
APPROPRIATIONS

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Amer. Council on Education				7,500		
Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History				37,800		
Columbia University— Columbia Univ. Council for Research in the Social Sciences			181,500 75,000	63,000	20,000	
Columbia Univ. Teachers College			50,000			
Economic Foundation Fellowships in the Social Sciences: for Amer. Students		20,000	20,000			
for European Students Deutsche Hochschule fur Politik		65,940		50,000		
Hamburg Inst. of International Affairs			20,000			
Harvard University Inst. S. S. Rousseau of Geneva			15,000	140,000	290,000	15,000
Internatl. Migration Serv. International Philosophical Congress			55,000 7,500	30,000	30,000	23,000
Institute of Pacific Relations				10,000	45,000	110,000
Conference of Economics Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research Inc.					50,000	12,000 25,000
Dept. of Public Instruction of the Canton of Geneva						15,000
Economic Foundation London School of Economics and Political Science		115,000	155,000	25,000	25,000 875,000	125,000 100,000
Howard University Institute for Sozial und Staatswissenschaften Institute for Economics & History at Copenhagen						31,000 60,000 18,000
Institute of Internatl. Education						240,000
Natl. Negro Business League					15,000	

	1928	1924	1925		1927 65,000	1928
Natl. Institute of Public Administration						
Natl. Urban League	3,000	9,000	10,000	41,000		46,600
New York Urban League	6,000	5,000	5,000			
New York School of Social Work				125,000		
Northwestern University			10,000	95,000		
Notgemeinschaft des Deutschen Wissenschaft		62,500	16,500			10,000
Regents of the Uni. of State of N.Y.					30,000	50,500
Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics & Government		490,000				2,281,250
Russian Zemstvos and Towns Relief Com.	56,000	60,000	50,000	87,000	50,000	
Russian Student Fund Inc.					25,000	
Salvation Army	50,000	50,000				
Spelman Fund of N. Y. Social Science Research Council Inc.		445,500	65,000	219,500	1,834,500	10,000,000 166,000
Stanford University		62,500			260,000	
Y.M.C.A. College at Chicago						
United Hospital Fund of New York			15,000	15,000	80,000	
University of Ga., State College of Agriculture			12,000			
Univ. of Iowa, Child Research Station			118,600			
Univ. of Minnesota			250,000			716,000
Univ. of North Carolina		97,500	15,500	60,000	240,000	20,000
Univ. of North Carolina School of Public Wel-		30,000				
Univ. of Stockholm			75,000			
Univ. of Toronto			62,000			
Univ. of Virginia				187,500		
Vanderbilt University						
Yenching University				125,000	750,000	140,000

In 1928 the Memorial was merged with the Rockefeller Foundation completely, except for a grant of ten millions to establish the Spelman Fund, which has been described. The organizations supported or established with the Memorial funds became the key agencies, the social science centers, of the Rockefeller Empire's totalitarian conspiracy, as has been related in connection with the Rockefeller Foundation. So it was that the Foundation sneaked into the field of political propaganda, through the Memorial, in spite of the provisions of the law denying tax exemption to foundations thus engaged, circumventing enlightened public resentment; and it set about effectuating the Empire's deal with the Soviets.

The Marxist complexion of the Memorial's activities is clearly indicated by its substantial grants to Harold Laski's London School of Economics and Political Science. This was the haven of the Fabian Socialists and of Marxists ranging further to the left, including the Communists; and it was their principal forum and propaganda agency in the

English-speaking world. The initial grant made in 1924 was \$115,000. This was supplemented by an additional \$875,000 grant in 1927 and by another of \$100,000 in the following year. The total support of this hotbed of Communism and Socialism amounted to more than a million dollars by 1929. Since the staff of the school comprises the leaders of the British Labor Party, it is apparent the Rockefeller interests were buying control of the Laborites with the Memorial grants.

When the Memorial was merged with the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1928, the latter continued to support the School. The grants listed in the Foundation reports are as follows:

Laura Spelman Rockefeller	
	Memorial ..... \$1,090,000.00
1929	Building extension ..... 15,594.69
	Research Fund ..... 20,000.00
1930	Research Fund ..... 19,438.75
1932	Building ..... 55,806.81
	Research Fund ..... 21,054.69
1933	Research ..... 39,094.65
	Building ..... 241,351.99
1934	Research ..... 26,494.41
	Building ..... 33,274.04
1935	Departmental Development ..... 12,477.84
	Research ..... 9,082.50
1939	General Expense ..... 51,250.00
1949	General Expense ..... 50,900.00
	Total ..... \$1,685,820.37

By 1926, the Memorial was launched on an intensive program of fostering the Marxist "social sciences" in both the educational and political spheres throughout the world. It subsidized the Institute for International Studies at Geneva with \$100,000 in 1926; the Social Science Research Council with \$1,834,500 in 1927 and \$165,000 in 1928; the American Council of Learned Societies with \$15,000; the Fellowship Program of Social Sciences with \$250,000; and the Institute of International Education with \$240,000.

In charge of this phase of their activities the Rockefellers placed Beardsley Ruml, who had garnered his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, after a year with the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Following the merger of the Memorial with the Foundation Ruml was made Dean of the Social

Science Division of his master's University of Chicago and Professor of Education. In 1934, he became treasurer of R. H. Macy and Co. Inc. and in 1945 became chairman of its board of directors. He is a director of Muzak Corp. and of a number of thought-control enterprises controlled by Senator William B. Benton of the firm of Benton & Bowles, which has been closely identified with Rockefeller and New Deal activities. These include Encyclopedia Britannica Films and Encyclopedia Britan-nica Co. He is trustee of Rockefeller's Museum of Modern Art; director of the Rockefeller subsidized National Bureau of Economic Research that so strongly influences the policies of our government from behind the scenes; and director of the General American Investors Co. that is headed by Rockefeller's former son-in-law, David M. Milton. Both Ruml and Benton are members of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council On Foreign Relations, in which Alger Hiss and his associate, Owen Lattimore, play key roles.

Ruml is also the author of tax bills that are so helpful to his masters. He conceived the withholding device whereby the taxes are exacted from pay envelopes, which throws the onus of collection on the employer. Oil producers pay taxes on only a small fraction of their earnings; and they pay nothing on overseas earnings. From 1928 to 1933 Ruml was a trustee of the Rosenwald Fund, acting with its head, Embree, former vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation, during a period when the Rosenwald Fund became as notorious for its support of left wing and outright Communist organizations as is the Rockefeller Foundation. Ruml was associated with Hutchins, Benton, Shuster and Nie-buhr, all of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations, and with MacLeish in the "Commission On Freedom Of The Press." This Commission has advocated the adoption of complete thought control, by censorship of the press on behalf of the totalitarian conspirators. Ruml was a member of a group of Rockefeller associates, that seized upon atom-bomb hysteria as an excuse for a "Committee to Frame a World Constitution". Ruml and his Rockefeller subsidized associates, have been the guiding "geniuses" of the New Deal and Fair Deal. Their activities have been directly supervised, as in the United Nations, by the Rockefellers.

## CHAPTER XIII

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS "FOREIGN OFFICE" OF THE ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE The "Invisible Government" After the Rockefeller Empire had entered into its accord with Stalin and the Soviets, it required an agency that would not be suspect to serve in carrying out the terms of the Rockefeller Soviet pact, and to supplement and support the drive launched for it by Ivy Lee. For this purpose the Rockefeller interests selected the Council on Foreign Relations, an organization of which some of their group were members, notably, Ivy Lee, John Foster Dulles, Henry Harkness Flagler and the Pratts.

The Council on Foreign Relations was launched in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference. The Rockefeller Empire had emerged tremendously wealthier and more powerful from the war which had been engineered and launched at a cost to us of tens of thousands of lives, hundreds of thousands of maimed and tens of billions of dollars of our wealth, and at even greater sacrifice to other lands. They had attained the objective for which had been incited the holocaust, control of the Near East and ownership of the Saudi Arabian concession. The situation was aptly summed up by Harold Nicholson in his book PEACE MAKING (p. 352-61) in passages cited by the director of the council in its twenty-fifth year report, as follows: "Friday May 30, (1919) A dinner ... to discuss formation ... of an Anglo-American Institute of Foreign Affairs. Bob Cecil supports it. He said 'There is no single person in this room who is not disappointed with the terms we have drafted. Yet England and America have got all they want and more; far more. Our disappointment is an excellent symptom; let us perpetuate it.' "

The report tells the following story of the origin of the Council:

"In Spring 1919, a group of men at the Peace Conference in Paris concluded that facilities were badly needed in their respective countries for the continuous study of international relations.



"Conversations between Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Col. E. M. House, Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge, Whitney H. Shepardson, Dr. James T. Shotwell and others of the American delegation, and British officials such as Sir Robert Cecil, Lionel Curtis, Sir Valentine Chirol, Lord Eustace Percy and Harold Temperley, led to a dinner meeting at the Majestic Hotel, Paris, on May 30, 1919.

"It was formally agreed that an organization should be created for the study of international affairs. The first two resolutions set forth the proposed form and substance of the undertaking:

"RESOLVED

"That those present undertake to form an Institute entitled The Institute of International Affairs Founded at Paris in 1919 comprised at the outset of two branches, one in the United Kingdom and one in the U.S.

"That the purpose of this Institute should be to keep its members in touch with the international situation and enable them to study the relation between national politics and the interests of society as a whole.'

". . . it seemed unwise to set up a single institute with branches. One group therefore established the British (now Royal) Institute of International Affairs, London; and the other group, returning to the U.S., merged with an informal body already in existence (Union Club), which was known as the Council on Foreign Relations. The Council had been organized in 1918 in New York City and welcomed on a number of occasions, distinguished foreigners coming to America in connection with the conduct of the war.

"The purposes of the Council are set forth as follows:

"to afford a continuous conference on international questions affecting the U.S. by bringing together experts in statecraft, finance, industry, education and science.

"to create and stimulate international thought among the people of the U.S., and to this end,

"to co-operate with the government of the U.S. and with international agencies coordinating international activities by eliminating, in so far as possible, duplication of effort, to create new bodies and to employ such other and further 238

means as from time to time may seem wise and proper." (The Council on Foreign Relations. A Record of 25 Years.)

The report describes the Council's financing as follows: (id. pp. 60-1)

"... no endowment. .. Derives financial support from four sources:

1. Dues and contributions \$1,698,400
2. Proceeds from sale of publications 1,287,850
3. Grants from Foundations for research 1,134,700
4. Interest on investments 172,650"

Approximately one third of the income of the Council was derived from foundations, all of it devoted to "research". With the exception of approximately \$200,000 obtained from the Rockefeller dominated Carnegie foundations, all of these grants were derived from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Rockefeller Foundation in the form of a steady annual stream of grants, as follows:

1927	Laura Spelman Memorial	\$150,000
1929	Research American Foreign policy	30,000
1930	" " " "	30,000
1931	" " " "	30,000
1932	" " " "	30,000
1933	" " " "	25,000
1934	" " " "	25,000
1935	" " " "	25,000
1936		30,000
1938		99,000
1939		44,500
1940		73,375
1941		57,000
1942	War & Peace Studies	70,700
1943	" " "	60,800
1944		74,908.90
1945		60,000
1946	Preparation of History of World War II (to prevent debunking)	139,000
1947		60,000
1949	Study of problems of aid to Europe	50,000
Total		\$1,164,283.90

It is notable that the Laura Spelman Rockefeller

Memorial grant followed hard on the heels of the Rockefeller Stalin pact, and that the subsequent support assumed the form of annual grants instead of endowment. Obviously, annual grants provide a more direct and continuous method of control of a subsidiary organization than does endowment. Thus did the Rockefeller interests gain and hold domination over the organization that they proceeded to make their top political agency, their Foreign Office, without creating any suspicion of this situation. For such an agency is far more effective if it is regarded as independent. The Rockefeller interests, therefore, avoided publicizing their control of the Council. On the other hand, the Rockefellers deviated from their practise of requiring contributions from others as the price of their support. They did not wish to share their control of the Council with others. The Council, like its subsidiary Institute of Pacific Relations, is peculiarly a Rockefeller agency.

Membership in the Council on Foreign Relations has been attainable from the start, only by invitation. Originally it had included leaders of American industry, commerce, banking, politics and the press, as can be seen in the 1925 membership list. In 1925, the membership was weighted in favor of internationalism. It contained a sprinkling of Marxist "liberals", such as Bruce Bliven, Walter Lippmann and Simeon Strunsky, of the leftist press; bankers of the same leaning, such as the Kuhn Loeb group who were identified with the Rockefeller interests, and acted for them, including Otto Kahn, Mortimer L. Schiff, Felix M. Warburg and Paul M. Warburg, and William Averell Harriman of Brown Bros. Harriman Co., as well as more conservative and American Walter E. Frew; and the J. P. Morgan & Co. crowd, sitting on both sides of the fence, with "liberal" Thos. W. Lamont, R. C. Leffingwell, Dwight W. Morrow, Edward R. Stettinius and the Davisons, side by side with Albert H. Wiggin, George B. Baker and Herbert H. Lehman. The Wilsonian Democrats were represented by Col. Edward M. House, the agent for the powers behind the throne in the Wilson regime, John W. Davis, Wall Street and Rockefeller attorney who was defeated presidential candidate, James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany; and the Republican regime by Ogden L. Mills, Secretary of the Treas-

ury, Elihu Root, Secretary of State in the T. Roosevelt regime, Henry W. Taft and George W. Wick-ersham, U.S. Attorney General in the Taft regime. The legal fraternity and the bench were represented by the Chadbournes, Frederick R. Coudert, Paul D. Cravath, Judge Learned Hand, and Archibald G. Thacher; Wall Street, by Jules B. Bache, Clarence Dillon, Samuel Goldman and Sam A. Lewisohn and E. R. A. Seligman; trade and industry by George Blumenthal, Newcomb Carlton, president of Western Union, T. Coleman DuPont, leftish Edward A. Filene, Arthur Curtiss James, the Strauses and the Strausses, Gerard Swope, Myron C. Taylor, Wm. H. Woodin and Owen D. Young. The Rockefellers were represented directly by their publicity man Ivy L. Lee, their kinsman John Foster Dulles, and the Standard Oil Co. by Henry Harkness Flagler and the Pratts. Such an organization could prove to be an invaluable front.

With assumption of control of the Council by the Rockefellers, the character of the membership changed sharply and strangely.

Communist agents, pro-Communist proteges of the Rockefeller interests, Reds of all complexions, "liberals" and frank, subversive high priests of the Marxist "social sciences", and New Dealers swelled the membership list, assumed key roles in the Council's activities and filled its conferences and publications with pro-Communist propaganda and the Party "line". The ringleaders of the Rockefeller financed Communist espionage agency, the Institute of Pacific Relations, including its former, Soviet-decorated Secretary, Edward Clark Carter, Philip C. Jessup, and the editors of its publications, including the notorious Amerasia magazine, Owen Lattimore, William W. Lockwood, Joseph Barnes and self-proclaimed Communist "leader", Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who was justly retired to a Federal penitentiary for his activities, became the leading spirits of the Council and filled its forums and its publication, Foreign Affairs, with their propaganda.

It was Alger Hiss, however, who became the outstanding member and leading spirit in the Council on Foreign Relations. His role was virtually that of Prime Minister of the Rockefeller Empire and the head of its Foreign Office. His services to the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis earned him the accolade of

both the Rockefellers and Stalin. With it went, ex officio, the policy making role of the U.S. State Department in the Roosevelt regime, the power to dictate the foreign policy of the U.S. (a mere subsidiary of the Rockefeller Empire) and, with the approval of Stalin, the authorship of the Yalta pacts and the United Nations charter.

The rabidly pro-Communist members of the State Department and of other Government services are honored for their distinguished services to the Rockefeller Empire and the Axis, by membership in the Council. Outstanding among these are Dean Acheson, the late Edward Stettinius, Philip C. Jessup, W. Averell Harriman, Ralph J. Bunche, Senator William B. Benton, Justice Felix Frankfurter and many others. These take their place with the Amerasia galaxy, beside the Rockefellers, Nelson A., John D. 3d and David, and such luminaries as Marshall Field, Harold Stassen and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, as indoctrinators of the Council's membership and dictators of its policies.

In effect the Council on Foreign Relations has become an assembly of the top Rockefeller agents, associates, and collaborators in business, industry, banking, politics and other less creditable activities, who have served the Empire or the Axis or both, well and loyally. It bears the same relation to the Rockefeller Empire as do the higher orders of knighthood to the British Empire—an accolade for distinguished service. Its membership, by invitation, can be regarded as equivalent to decoration.

Many of the members of the Council were claimed openly as their agents by the Rockefellers in the publicity that they released through William S. Dutton to Collier's in the issue of April 28, 1951, (p. 78) as a build-up. Among these are: Karl T. Compton, Robert G. Sproul, Harold W. Dodds, Owen D. Young, Walter S. Gifford, former Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, former Ambassador to Great Britain, Lewis W. Douglas, John Foster Dulles, Dr. Thomas Parran, U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy, Douglas S. Freeman and Times publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger.

It is obviously the function of the Rockefeller dominated Council to establish contact of the radical and subversive elements with the State Department and with the highest officials for the purpose of indoctrinating them, influencing their policies in the



totalitarian sense required by the objectives of the Rockefeller Empire, and gaining entry into the government to directly further those objectives. This scheme met with complete success.

Pretense is made of study and research in all phases of international relations that especially interested the Rockefeller Empire. They were undertaken with Rockefeller grants. The leaders of the research were generally puppets who could be depended upon to guide the "study" and "research" to the desired and predetermined conclusion, and at the same time to brief the membership and the participating public officials in the manner desired by their sponsors. Foreign Relations Committees in as many as twenty-four cities, also subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation, were used in the same manner to indoctrinate and brief local agents and unsuspecting accomplices. The Council, with its Committees and allied and subsidiary organizations thus constituted a gigantic lobby and pressure group serving to influence and warp the nation's policies. It is a lobby, however, that boasts that Secretary of State Cordell Hull himself and other high government officials participated in its activities; that holds in its membership Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

It vaunts the fact that top government officials come to it for "guidance and advice". And it relates in its Annual Report of the Executive Director, 1949-1950 (pp. 40-41): "At 10 :a.m. on June 9, some thirty-five men took their places at the horse-shoe table in the large meeting room of the Council . . . During the morning, afternoon and evening, they devoted themselves to consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of bipartisan collaboration in American foreign policy. To provide expert testimony at their daytime discussions they had as guests Ernest A. Gross, Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations, and former Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations; Benjamin Cohen, former Presidential Assistant at the White House; Francis O. Wilcox, Chief of Staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee . . . "At their dinner session they were joined by a score of Council members for an informal 'seminar' on the conference theme (bipartisan

collaboration) with the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, serving as discussion leader. Honorable Thomas K. Finletter, Secretary of the Air Force, presided."

It is a lobby that stands above the law and actually boasts of its lobbying activities with impunity. It boasts about its shady lobbying tricks and of its control of the foreign policy of the United States, in its annual reports. Thus in his annual report for 1948-1949, its executive director crows (p. 36) :

"The front page of the New York Times on February 16, 1949, carried the familiar index: 'WORLD NEWS SUMMARIZED'. One of its items read as follows: 'Sixty percent of "leading citizens" independently polled felt that the country had a 'moral commitment to give help to the free nations of Europe.'

"Who were those 'leading citizens'? Who sought their views and for what purpose?

"Answers to these and other questions were found in the 'Times' accompanying dispatch. It was a story that figured on the front pages here and abroad, the recapitulation of the findings of a Council (on Foreign Relations) publication, 'Military Cooperation with Western Europe'!

"In October, 1948, the Council had begun work on an inquiry addressed to the members of the twenty-two Foreign Relations Committees. Previous inquiries, resulting in printed reports 'American Policy Toward Germany' and 'The Marshall Plan As An American Policy', had been widely circulated and had received favorable comment.

"For its new study, the Council again wanted to sound out Committee members on an important problem of American foreign policy. The issue of American military aid for Western Europe was selected, and the resulting survey set forth the views of Committee members on the relation of the United States to the Brussels Treaty Powers and to other European nations, the implementation of the Vandenberg Resolution, and on the nature and extent of American military aid. FROM PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL SOURCES THE COUNCIL CONTINUES TO ACQUIRE EVIDENCE OF THE REACH AND USEFULNESS OF THESE INQUIRIES."

The Council further brags, in the report of its

executive director for the year 1949-1950, of its success in infiltrating our government with its members and agents, as follows (pp. 39-40) :

"The primary purpose of Council discussion groups is to keep members informed of the course of events in the field in which they are particularly interested, and to give them an opportunity to deepen their knowledge. But very often the groups serve, as well, as training ground for members called upon to serve the government in important positions. SUCH INSTANCES ARE TOO NUMEROUS TO RECORD HERE, but members who have recently undertaken official posts include: Thomas K. Finletter, a director of the Council who has been active in various discussion groups and who became Secretary of the Air Force on April 14, 1950; Philip C. Jessup, a former Group Chairman, who was named Senior Adviser to the Secretary of State on March 9, 1950; Charles M. Spofford, for two years Chairman of the Council's group on Western Europe, who was appointed Deputy U.S. Representative on the North Atlantic Treaty Council on June 22, 1950; and George N. Shuster, a member of the Committee on Studies, who became State Commissioner for Bavaria on April 17, 1950." The director was over-modest in stating the distinction and qualifications of the distinguished, or shall one say notorious, members of Council appointed to these posts.

The executive director of the Council was also guilty of understatement when he wrote: "Such instances (of Council members being appointed to high government positions) are too numerous to record here." So consistently have high, policy-making positions in the government been filled from the ranks of Rockefeller's Council that it can be called the invisible government of the United States. This is strikingly illustrated by the Office of Price Stabilization. Its original head was Alan Valentine, a Rockefeller Foundation subsidized professor and non-resident member of Rockefeller's Council. When he was ousted in response to public dissatisfaction with inaction of his office, Washington went no further than Eric Johnston, a resident member of the Council, for his replacement.

Within the months preceding the publication of 245

this book, four policy-making appointments were made by Truman: General Dwight D. Eisenhower, as head of SHAPE, Robert A. Lovett, as Secretary of Defense, Edwin A. Locke Jr., as Administrator for the Point 4 program in the Near East, and George F. Kennan as interim Ambassador to Russia. All of them with the exception of Lovett are members of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. Lovett is a Trustee of the paramount agency, the Rockefeller Foundation. Kennan was president of the East European Fund of the Ford Foundation, that also is dominated by the Rockefeller interests.

The membership of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations interlock it with the control of every important "philanthropic" foundation, and a host of Rockefeller agencies and fronts that serve as a huge propaganda agency and lobby that promote the cause of the Rockefeller Empire and the Axis. Though the same group of their agents, members of the CFR, constitute the core of all of these organizations, their controlled press represents their propaganda as the considered views of the nation at large. On April 19, 1951, for example, their official gazette, the New York Times, reported under the headline Survey Confirms Policy On Soviet, that 765 prominent citizens (all members of local Committees on Foreign Relations subsidiary to the CFR and financed by the Rockefeller interests) in twenty-four of the nation's largest cities "approved the broad policy of 'containment' of Soviet Russia, even at the risk of war with that nation" and urged that "we should not change our attitude on issues abroad, just to lessen our commitments . . . essential to the security of America as to other free nations." This report was "edited", according to the Times, by Joseph Barber, R. C. Leffingwell, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, John W. Davis, Lewis W. Douglas, Thomas K. Finletter, W. Averell Harriman, Philip D. Reed and Myron C. Taylor, for the CFR.

William Fulton, in a series of articles in the Chicago Tribune in January, 1951, described how the multitude of organizations headed by the Council on Foreign Relations, including the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, the English Speaking Union, the Foreign Policy Association, the American Association for the United Nations, Freedom House, the Institute of Pacific Relations

and a host of others, cooperate through their interlocking directorates and supplement each other's "internationalist" propaganda. The Washington Times Herald, another newspaper of the patriotic, McCormick chain commented editorially on Fulton's series in its issue of January 10, 1951, as follows:

"These organizations cultivate a pious pretense of existing to 'study' foreign relations. This function is easily stretched into advocacy of the Administration's foreign policy in detail and in general. These old-line interventionist agencies are backed up from time to time by newly created propaganda fronts when it is thought that additional heat must be generated to put over some particular world-saving enterprise. The Committee To Defend America By Aiding The Allies was typical of this sort of activity when the effort was under way to put the United States into World War II.

"The Administration's present hysteria concerning Russia has led to the formation of two new committees, one called the Committee On The Present Danger and the other The Crisis Committee. The formula is to gather together a group of windbags who have publicity value through corporate, banking, legal or academic connections and to assail the public with manifestos . . .

"The efforts of these propaganda media are to raise sufficient noise so that legitimate public opinion will be blanketed by highly organized clamor from the other direction. A relatively few people, speaking through a considerable number of microphones, can create a fictitious impression that there is a 'public demand' for policies which lack appeal to the great body of people, who have no such convenient propaganda organs to make their desires heard.

"Some of the cruder smear jobs are left to letterhead organizations which specialize in character assassination at a price, while volunteers can always be counted on to step forward from among the professional union bosses to do the same job ...

" ... If misery and ruin of the Republic were the avowed objectives of these ENEMIES WITHIN THE GATES, they could not have adopted 247



doctrines and methods better calculated to achieve that disloyal purpose . . ."

On December 9, 1950, courageous, patriotic and American Chicago Tribune, one of the few newspapers that has dared attack and expose the Council on Foreign Relations (though it has omitted to point out its Rockefeller control) in an editorial entitled BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS, replied to a release made by the Council locally through its Chicago subsidiary, that sought to throw the blame on their opponents for the situation revealed by General MacArthur's statement that in Korea "we face an entirely new war", as follows:

"There is not a word in all this to suggest that what has happened in Korea is the direct consequence of a line of policy (often spoken of as internationalism or interventionism) which has had the support of the Council on Foreign Relations . . .

"Thanks to these policies, 300,000 American boys lost their lives in the 1941-45 war and 5,600 more have been listed as killed thus far in Korea. All that the members of the Council can show in Europe in return for the sacrifices is the substitution of Russian for German tyranny and menace; and all that has happened in Asia is the substitution of Russian domination of all of China for Japanese domination of a part of it.

"... The decision to send Americans to fight in Korea was taken ... by Harry S. Truman pursuing a policy of intervention strongly favored in principle by most of the members of the Council.

"The members of the Council are persons of much more than average influence in the community. They have used the prestige that their wealth, their social position, and their education have given them to lead their country toward bankruptcy and military debacle. They should look at their hands. There is blood on them—the dried blood of the last war and the fresh blood of the present one." A more true, more eloquent and more patriotically American editorial it would be hard to find. It supplements the equally plain-spoken statement in the same tenor made by Senator Harry Shippe Truman in 1942 in regard to the activities of another key Rockefeller agency: "YES IT IS TREASON".

Abbink, John Ackerman, Carl  
W. Adams, Charles E. Adler,  
Maj. Gen.

Julius Ochs Agar, Herbert  
Albrecht-Carrie, Rene Aldrich,  
Winthrop W. Allen, Douglas  
Hedden Allen, Frederick L.  
Alley, James B. Altschul,  
Arthur G. Altschul, Frank  
Anderson, Arthur M. Angell,  
James W. Armstrong,  
Hamilton Fish Atkin, I. C.  
Raymond Auld, Bromwell  
Backer, George Bakhtmeteff,  
Boris A. Baldwin, Hanson W.  
Ballantine, Arthur A. Barber,  
Joseph Barghoorn, Frederick C.  
Barkin, Solomon Barnard,  
Chester I. Barnes, Joseph  
Barnouw, Adriaan J. Barrett,  
Edward W. Bastedo, Philip  
Beat, Gerald F. Bechtel, Edwin  
de T. Becker, Neal Dow  
Beckhart, Benjamin H. Behn,  
Sosthenes Bell, Elliott V.  
Benton, William B. Berle,  
Adolf A. Beukema, Col.  
Herman Bidwell, Percy W.  
Bienstock, Abraham L.  
Bierwirth, John E. Bilkey, H.  
Edward Blair, Floyd G.  
Bogdan, Norbert A. Bogie,  
Mord M. Bonsai, Dudley B.  
Boomer, Robert de Forest  
Booth, Willis H. Braden,  
Spruille Bradley, Albert  
Bradley, Phillips Brady,  
William G., Jr. Braxton, Carter  
M. Brett, George P., Jr.  
Brophy, Gerald B. Brown,  
Franklin Q. Brown, Walter L.  
Brownell, George A. Bruce,  
James Brundage, Percival F.  
Bryan, Frederick P. Bryson,  
Lyman Bullock, Hugh Bunche,  
Ralph J. Bundy, McGeorge  
Bunker, Arthur H. Bunker,  
Ellsworth Burden, William A.  
M. Burgess, W. Randolph  
Burlingame, Dr. C. Charles  
Burlingham, Charles C.  
Buttenwieser, Benjamin J.  
Cain, Charles, Jr. Caldwell,  
Robert J. Campbell, H.  
Donald Campbell, John C.  
Canby, Henry Seidel

Canfield, Cass Canfield,  
Franklin O. Carmichael, Oliver  
C. Carroll, Mitchell B.  
Carson, Ralph M. Carter,  
Arthur H. Carter, Edward C.  
Carter, William D.  
Chadbourne, William M.  
Chamberlain, Joseph P.  
Chanler, L. Stuyvesant, Jr.  
Chanler, William S. Chaplin,  
Howard M. Chapman, John F.  
Chase, Harry Woodburn Chase,  
W. Howard Cheney, Ward  
Childs, Richard S. Childs,  
Thomas W. Chinlund, Edwin  
F. Clark, Alfred C. Clark,  
Evans Clark, Stephen C.  
Cohn, Dr. Alfred E. Cole,  
Charles W. Collado, Emilio G.  
Collier, Barron, Jr. Cook,  
Alfred A. Cooper, Franklin S.  
Cooper, John C, Jr. Cousins,  
Norman Cowles, Gardner  
Crane, Jay E.  
Crispell, Reuben B. Crocker,  
Stuart M. Cromwell, Lincoln  
Crossman, Edgar G. CURRIE,  
LAUCHLIN Curtis, John L.  
Darlington, Charles F. Darrell,  
Norris Davis, Francis B., Jr.  
Davis, John W. Davis,  
Malcolm W. Davis, Norman  
P. Davis, Pierpont V. Davison,  
George W. Davison, H. P.  
Davison, W. Phillips Dean,  
Arthur H. Debevoise, Eli  
Whitney Debevoise, Thomas  
M. De Krafft, William Delano,  
William Adams De Vegh,  
Imrie De Vries, Henry P.  
Dewey, Chester R. Dexter,  
Byron Dickinson, John  
Diebold, William, Jr. Dillon,  
C. Douglas Dillon, Clarence  
Dodge, Cleveland E.  
Dolbeare, Frederic R. Dollard,  
Charles Donovan, Hedley  
Donovan, William J. Dorr,  
Goldthwaite H. Dorr, John Van  
N. Dorwin, Oscar John  
Douglas, Lewis W. Douglas,  
Percy L. Draper, William H.,  
Jr. Drum, Lt. Gen. Hugh A.  
Dubinsky, David Duce, James  
Terry Duggan, Stephen Dulles,  
Allen W.

Dulles, John Foster Dunn,  
Arthur Dwight, Richard E.  
Eagleton, Clyde Eaton,  
Frederick M. Eder, Phanor J.  
Edey, Maitland A.  
Eichelberger, Clark M.  
EISENHOWER,  
GEN. DWIGHT D. Eliot,  
Maj. George Fielding  
Elliott, A. Randle Elliott, L.  
W. Elting, Victor Emeny,  
Brooks Emmet, Christopher  
Enstrom, William N.  
Evans, Roger F. Eveleth,  
George S., Jr. Fairless,  
Benjamin F. Farley, Edward  
P. Faust, Walter L. Feely,  
Edward F. Field, Franklin  
Field, Frederick V. Field,  
Marshall Field, William  
Osgood, Jr. Fife, Robert  
Herndon Finkelstein,  
Lawrence S. Finletter,  
Thomas K. Fischer, John  
S. Fisher, Henry J. Flager,  
Harry Harkness Fletcher,  
Henry Florinsky, Michael  
Folks, Homer Foote, Wilder  
Ford, Nevil Fosdick,  
Raymond B. Foster, Austin  
T. Fox, Abijah  
Franklin, George S., Jr.  
Fraser, Alexander  
Freudenthal, David M.  
Friedman, Elisha M. Friele,  
Berent Friendly, Henry J.  
Fry, Varian Gallatin, James  
P. Gamble, Sidney D.  
Gannett, Lewis Gardner, John  
W. Garside, Charles Gaston,  
George A. Gates, Artemus  
L. Gates, Samuel E. Gaud,  
William S., Jr. Gavigan,  
William M. Gay, Edward  
R. Gerard, James W. Gibson,  
Hugh Gifford, Walter S.  
Gilchrist, Huntington  
Gillespie, S. Hazard, Jr.  
Goodrich, Carter Goodrich  
Leland M. Gordon, Albert H.  
Grant, Maj. Gen. U. S. 3rd  
Gray, William Steel, Jr.  
Grazier Joseph A.  
Greenwood Heman Gregg,  
E. S. Grimm, Peter Grover,  
Allen Guggenheim, Harry F.  
Guggenheim, Solomon R.  
Guinzberg, Harold K.

Gunther, John Gurfein,  
 Murray I. Hamilton,  
 Thomas J. Hammond, Paul  
 Hancock, John M. Harding,  
 Charles L. Harmon, Francis  
 S. Harper, Harry H., Jr.  
 Harriman, E. Roland  
 Harriman, W. Averell  
 Harrison, George L.  
 Harrison, Wallace K.  
 Haskell, Broderick Haskell,  
 John Haskell, Joseph F.  
 Haskins, Caryl P. Hasler,  
 Frederick E. Hayes, Alfred  
 Hayes, Carlton J. H.  
 Hazard, John N. Heilperin,  
 Michael A. Heineman,  
 Dannie H. Helm, Harold H.  
 Henderson, Alexander I.  
 Herod, William R. Herring,  
 Pendleton Hess, Jerome S.  
 Hill, John A. Hiss, Alger  
 Hochschild, Harold K.  
 Hochschild, Walter Holland,  
 William L. Homer, Sidney, Jr.  
 Hoskins, Harold B. Houghton,  
 Arthur A., Jr. Houston,  
 Herbert S. Howard, Graeme  
 K. Hughes, John C. Hume,  
 Dr. Edward H. Hunt, James  
 Ramsay, Jr. Hunt, Lawrence  
 Hunt, Richard C. Hunter,  
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 H. Hyde, Charles Cheney  
 Hyde, Henry B. Ide, Capt.  
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 Jackson, William E. Jackson,  
 William H. Jaretzki, Alfred,  
 Jr. Jay, Nelson Dean  
 Jennings, B. Brewster Jessup,  
 John K. Jessup, Philip C.  
 Johnson, Edward F. Johnson,  
 Joseph E. Johnson, Robert L.  
 Johnston, Eric Johnston,  
 Henry R. Josephs, Devereux  
 C. Kane, R. Keith Kelley,  
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 C. Kerr, Walter B., Jr.  
 Kettaneh, F. A. Kies,  
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 Kingsbury, Dr. John A.  
 Kinkaid, Adm. Thomas C.  
 Kirk, Grayson L. Klots, Allen  
 T. Knoke, L. Werner  
 Knowles, John Ellis Kuhn,  
 Arthur K. Lada-Mocarski, V.  
 La Farge, Francis W.  
 Lamont, Thomas S.  
 Lancaster, William W.

Lane, Arthur Bliss Lane,  
 Clayton Langsam, Walter  
 Consuelo Larmon, Sigurd S.  
 LaRoche, Chester Larson, Jens  
 Frederick Lasker, Albert D. Lee,  
 Elliott H. Leffingwell, R. C.  
 Lehman, Herbert H. Lehman,  
 Robert Lehn, Frederick D.  
 Leiper, Rev. Henry S. Leslie,  
 John C. Lesueur, Larry  
 Lewisohn, Frank Lewisohn,  
 Sam A. Lightner, M. C. Linder,  
 Harold F. Lindquist, Warren T.  
 Lindsay, Franklin A. Lippmann,  
 Walter Lissitzyn, Oliver J.  
 Locke, Edwin A., Jr. Lockwood,  
 John E. Lockwood, Luke B.  
 Lockwood, William A. Loeb,  
 John L. Loening, Grover Logan,  
 Sheridan A. Lord, George de  
 Forest Lubin, Isador Luce,  
 Henry R. Luitweiler, J. C.  
 MacDuffie, Marshall  
 MacIntyre, Malcolm A.  
 MacKay, James A. MacVeagh,  
 Ewen C. Maffry, August  
 Maguire, Walter N. Mallory,  
 Walter H. Manship, Paul  
 Markel, Lester Mathews, Hiram  
 A. Matthews, Thomas S.  
 Maximov, Andre May, George  
 M. May, Stacy Mayer, Gerald  
 M. McAuliffe, John McCain,  
 Charles S. McCance, Thomas  
 McClov, John J. McCollum, L.  
 F. McCoy, Maj. Gen. Frank R.  
 McDonald, James G. McGraw,  
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 McKeever, Porter McKim,  
 Robert J. McKittrick, Thomas  
 H. McLaughlin, Donald H.  
 McLean, Donald H., Jr. McNutt,  
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 Megaro, Gaudens Merz, Charles  
 Meyer, Clarence E. Meyer,  
 Cord, Jr. Meyer, Eugene  
 Milbank, Albert G. Millis,  
 Walter Mills, George S. Mills,  
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 Morgan, Henry S.

Morgan, Junius S.  
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 Morris, Ray  
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 Munroe, Vernon, Jr.  
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 Nagle, Alexander C.  
 Nebolsine, George  
 Nevins, Allan  
 Nicely, James M.  
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 Noyes, Charles Phelps, II  
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 O'Brien, Justin  
 Ogburn, Charlton  
 Ogden, Alfred  
 Olds, Irving Sands  
 Orchard, John E.  
 Osborn, Frederick  
 Osborn, William H.  
 Osborne, Lithgow  
 Packard, Arthur W.  
 Page, Arthur W.  
 Paine, Peter S.  
 Paine, Ralph D., Jr.  
 Paley, William S.  
 Parker, Philo W.  
 Parsons, Geoffrey Patchin,  
 Robert H. Patterson, Robert  
 P. Payson, Charles Shipman  
 Peardon, Thomas P. Peaslee,  
 Amos J. Pepper, Nathaniel  
 Pfeiffer, Curt G. Phillips,  
 Joseph B. Pierson, Warren  
 Lee Pike, H. Harvey  
 Plimpton, Francis T. P.  
 Poole, DeWitt C.  
 Poor, Henry V. Pope,  
 Frederick Potter, Warwick  
 Powell, Robert I. Powers,  
 Joshua B. Powers, Thomas  
 F. Pratt, H. Irving, Jr.  
 Pratt, Rear Adm. Wm. V.  
 Pulling, Edward Rabi, Isidor  
 I. Ransom, William L.  
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 Rich, Raymond T.  
 Richardson, Dorsey  
 Richardson, Gen. R. C., Jr.  
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 P. Robbins,  
 Very Rev. Howard C.  
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 ROCKEFELLER, DAVID

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Rogers, Lindsay Roosevelt,  
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Shepherd, Howard C. Sherman,  
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M. Sproul, Allan Stall forth,  
Federico Stanley, Harold  
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Siegfried Stevenson, T.  
Kennedy Stewart, Rev.  
George Stewart, Robert  
McLean Stimson, Henry L.  
Stone, Shepard Stowe,  
Leland Stowell, L. C. Straus,  
Jack I. Straus, Ralph I. Straus,  
Robert K. Strauss, Lewis L.  
Strelow, William R.  
Sulzberger, Arthur Hays  
Sweetser, Arthur Swingle,  
William S. Swope, Gerard  
Swope, Gerard, Jr. Swope,  
Herbert Bayard Tannenbaum,  
Frank Taylor, A. Wellington  
Taylor, Myron C. Thacher,  
Archibald G. Thacher, Thomas  
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Robert H. Thayer, Walter N.  
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H. Gregory Thornburg, Max  
W. Tibby, John Tinker,  
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Wilson, Philip Danforth  
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Wood, Bryce Wood,  
Willis Delano Woodruff,  
Harry A. Woodward.  
Rear Adm. Clark H.  
Woolley, Clarence M.  
Woolley, Knight Wright,  
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Lisle, Jr. Ball, George W.  
Bass, Robert Perkins Bauer,  
Harry J. Baumer,  
Lt. Col. William H.  
Baxter, James P., 3rd Belin,  
F. Lamot Bell, Laird  
Bennett, Martin Toscan  
Betts, Col. Thomas J.  
Bingham, Barry Black, Lt.  
Col. Edwin F. Blakeslee,  
George H. Bliss, Robert  
Woods Boothby, Albert C.  
Borchard, Edwin M.  
Bowers, Claude G.

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K. E. Bullis, Harry A.  
Bullitt, William C. Bundy,  
Harvey Byrne, James  
MacGregor Cabot, Henry B.  
Caldwell, Robert G. Case,  
Everett N. Chafee, Zechariah,  
Jr. Chapin, Selden Chatfield-  
Taylor, Wayne Cherrington,  
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Childs, Marquis Clayton, W.  
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Taylor Collyer, John L.  
Compton, Karl T. Conant,  
James B.

Conrad, Gen. Bryan  
Coolidge, T. Jefferson  
Copeland,  
Lammot Du Pont  
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Homer D. Culbertson,  
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Clive Dennett, Tyler  
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Bayard Donham, W. B.  
Drummond, J. Roscoe  
Dunn, Frederick S. Dye,  
Alexander V.

Earle, Edward M. Eddy,  
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 Elliston, Herbert B. Emerson,  
 E. A. Fairbank, John King Fay,  
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 Ferguson, John H. Field,  
 Marshall, Jr. Field, Robert M.  
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 J. Flanders, Ralph E. Fleming,  
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 Stanton Ford, Thomas K. Fox,  
 William T. R.  
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 Giffin, Col. Sidney F. Gleason,  
 S. Everett Goldenweiser,  
 Emanuel A. Grace, Engene G.  
 Graham, Philip L. Grant,  
 William W. Grant-Smith, U.  
 Gray, William Latimer Green,  
 Joseph C. Greene, Jerome D.  
 Grew, Joseph C. Griswold A.  
 Withney Hall, Melvin Hamlin,  
 Chauncey J. Hansell, Brig.  
 Gen. H. S. Hansen, Alvin H.  
 Haring, C. H. Harrison, Leland  
 Harsch, Joseph C. Hartney, W.  
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 Adm. Arthur J. Herskovits,  
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 Hill, George Watts Hofer,  
 Philip Hoffman, Paul G.  
 Holborn, Hajo Holmes, Julius  
 C. Hoover, Calvin B. Hoover,  
 Herbert Hopkins, Ernest M.  
 Hopper, Bruce C. Hornbeck,  
 Stanley K. Hoskins, Halford L.  
 Howe, Walter Bruce Hudson,  
 Manley O. Hunt, Bishop  
 Carleton Hutchinson, B. E.

Inglis, James  
 Johnson, Herschel V. Johnson,  
 Nelson T. Kennan, George F.  
 Kenneil, Walter B.  
 Kindleberger, Charles P. King,  
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 OWEN Lawrence, David  
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 E. Leith, Charles K.  
 Lemnitzer, Maj. Gen. L. L.  
 Lichtenstein, Walter  
 Lilienthal, David E. Lincoln,  
 Col. G. A. Lingelbach,  
 William E. Lockwood,  
 William W. Loomis, Robert  
 H. MacMurray, J. V. A.  
 MacVeagh, Lincoln Maddox,  
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 Gen. John Malin, Patrick  
 Murphy Marbury, William L.  
 Martin, William McC. Jr.  
 Mason, Edward S. Mayer,  
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 William C. McFarland, Ross  
 A. McGuire, Constantine E.  
 McKee, Frederick C. McLaren,  
 Walter W. Messersmith,  
 George S. Miller, Edward G.,  
 Jr. Miller, Francis P. Miller,  
 Hunter Moore, Hugh Morgan,  
 George A. Mumford, Lewis  
 Munro, Dana G. Myers,  
 Denys P. Nason, John W.  
 Nitze, Paul H. Nollen, Gerard  
 S. Nover, Barnet Oakes,  
 George W. Ogg, Frederic A.  
 Oldham,  
 Rt. Rev. G. Ashton  
 Oppenheimer, J. Robert  
 Pantzer, Kurt F. Pasvolsky,  
 Leo Patterson, Ernest Minor  
 Perkins, Milo Petersen,  
 Howard C. Phenix, Spencer  
 Phillips, Wallace B. Phillips,  
 William Pierrepont, Seth Low  
 Pogue, L. Welch Poland,  
 William B. Poletti, Charles

Read, Conyers Rhoads,  
 Charles J. Riefler,  
 Winfield W. Robertson,  
 Andrew W. Rosenwald,  
 Lessing J. Ross, Michael  
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr.  
 Schmitt, Bernadotte E.  
 Scott, William Ryland  
 Scroggs, William O.  
 Seymour, Charles Sharpe,  
 Henry D. Shaw, G.  
 Howland Sheean, Vincent  
 Sheets, Harold F. Sidlo,  
 Thomas L. Sills, Kenneth  
 C. M. Smith, H.  
 Alexander Smyth, Henry  
 D. Sontag, Raymond J.  
 Spaatz, Gen. Carl  
 Sprague, O. M. W. Sproul,  
 Robert G. Sprout, Harold  
 Staley, Eugene Stassen,  
 Harold E. Steinhardt,  
 Laurence A. Sterling, J. E.  
 Wallace Stettinius,  
 Edward R., Jr. Stevens,  
 Harley Stillman, Chauncey  
 Stine, Oscar C. Strausz-  
 Hupe, Robert Swihart,  
 James W. Switz, Theodore  
 M. Taylor, Maj. Gen.  
 Maxwell Thomson, James  
 L. Tuck, William Hallam  
 Tyler, William R. Uppgren,  
 Arthur R. Utley, Clifton M.  
 Valentine, Alan Van Cleve,  
 Thomas C. Van Slyck,  
 DeForest Viner, Jacob  
 Wadsworth, Eliot Walsh,  
 Rev. Edmund A. Wanger,  
 Walter Weeks, Edward  
 Welles, Sumner Welles,  
 Herman B. Whipple, Col.  
 William Whitaker, Arthur  
 P. White, Francis White,  
 John Campbell Wilcox,  
 Clair Wild, Payson S., Jr.,  
 Wilde, Frazer B. Wiley,  
 John C. Williams, Robert  
 W. Wilmerding, Lucius, Jr.  
 Wilson, Edwin B. Wilson,  
 George Grafton Wisner,  
 Frank G. Wolfers, Arnold  
 Woolbert Robert Gale  
 Wright, Quincy Wright,  
 Theodore P. Wriston,  
 Henry M. Yarnell, Rear  
 Adm. Hary



## CHAPTER XIV

### SOME ROCKEFELLER CFR STARS

#### And State Department Agents

"I will not turn my back on Hiss. . ."

Secretary of State Dean Acheson's Loyalty Pledge

Lack of space precludes the possibility of even listing the endless array of agents of the Rockefeller Empire and of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis in Government posts. Therefore only a few of the most outstanding of them can be given in any detail.

#### ALGER HISS

Alger Hiss was born in Baltimore, Md., November 11, 1904. He was graduated in 1926 from Johns Hopkins with an A.B. degree and obtained his legal education in that outstanding school for treason, Rockefeller-subsidized Harvard Law School; he received his LL.B. in 1929 as a classmate of that "bleeding heart", callously self-confessed Communist, Lee Pressman. As in the case of so many of the subversive or traitorous Harvard products, he was placed by his subversive propagandist teachers, including Felix Frankfurter, in the post of secretary to Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Hiss then was employed by the firms of Choate, Hall & Stewart in Boston, and Cotton & Franklin in New York City. In 1932 Hiss joined the International Juridical Association, a legal seminary for the Communist Party's International Labor Defense, headed at that time by Mrs. Carol Weiss, later attorney for Gerhart Eisler and other top Communists. In 1933 Hiss was lured to Washington to participate in the New Deal Popular Front government, built up by the cunning activities of Rockefeller's Ivy Ledbetter Lee, with all of the wealth and power of the Rockefeller enterprises and "philanthropies" behind him. In Washington, Hiss joined the many agents that had been produced in the schools and universities of the country by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation through the "social sciences" that were nothing more or less than straight Marxist propaganda twisted to serve the purposes of the totalitarian conspirators. Among these agents were Lee Pressman, who was primarily responsible for inducing

Hiss to enter government service, Tommy Corcoran, Jerome Frank, Nathan Witt, Gardner Jackson, Charles Kramer, John Abt, Gregory Silvermaster and Hal Ware.

Already a left-wing Marxist, Hiss promptly found his way into a Communist cell set up in the government by Hal Ware, an agent of the Comintern. Hiss rapidly came to the fore in the Roosevelt Popular Front. While serving as Assistant General Counsel of Wallace's Agricultural Adjustment Administration, 1933-35, he was simultaneously planted and served as legal assistant to the special Senate Committee investigating the munitions industry in 1934-35. This assignment was obtained for him by Gardner Jackson. When the Communist cell in the Department of Agriculture was ousted for political expediency, Hiss alone was left behind by arrangement of Lee Pressman, as a "feeder and pipeline". This earned for him the reputation of being a renegade Communist among the uninformed members of his cell and in the Party, which undoubtedly paved the way for his eventual denouncement and conviction.

From the AAA, Hiss was transferred, at the request of Solicitor General (later Supreme Court Justice) Stanley Reed, to the Department of Justice; and in 1936 he was invited by Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre, son-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson, one of Hiss' law professors at Harvard, to come over to the State Department as Sayre's assistant. By this time Hiss was deeply involved in espionage, as was amply attested by witnesses at his later trials. In 1939, Hiss was promoted in the State Department to the post of assistant adviser on political relations.

This promotion came at about the time that Whittaker Chambers, former Communist underground courier, and Isaac Don Levine exposed Hiss as a Communist spy. The exposure was made indirectly to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt through many channels, including Marvin H. McIntyre, Presidential secretary. McIntyre was so well aware of the Popular Front character of the Roosevelt regime that he refused to transmit the information to Roosevelt. He amusedly suggested that it be given to the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of State Department security and personal adviser to the President, Adolph A. Berle. When Berle

passed this gratuitous information to the President, the fact was so well known to him that instead of being alarmed at the presence of Communist spies and agents in the State Department at the critical period of the Hitler-Stalin alliance, Roosevelt told Berle "to go jump in the lake, only in coarser language". (Seeds of Treason, Toledano & Lasky, p. 83).

Likewise, William C. Bullitt, former Ambassador to Soviet Russia, undertook to inform Roosevelt of the dangerous Communist espionage ring in the State Department. Roosevelt was so well aware of the situation that he "laughed and told him not to worry". Walter Winchell, who, in view of his vaunted intelligence service, was naive indeed, to believe that the President was not aware of the Communist character of his Popular Front "New Deal" and the oily deal that had provided for its set-up, met with a similar brush-off when he undertook to warn Roosevelt of the dangerous espionage.

President Roosevelt was fully aware of the Communist character of his entourage, that had been dictated by the Rockefeller agents of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. The leaders of the fake opposition were equally aware of it. Senator Warren Austin and Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the latter a perennial Rockefeller puppet candidate, were both informed of the situation but refused to act to expose the traitors.

In 1941, pro-Communist Dean Acheson, then newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State, was warned by the Department's security officer, Adolph A. Berle, about the known Communist connections of Donald Hiss, brother of Alger, a member of the Acheson firm, requested by Acheson as his assistant; and he had been informed of Alger's connection with the Hal Ware cell. But it is obvious that he approved of it.

John Foster Dulles, Rockefeller's kinsman and State Department boss, Hiss informed the Senate investigating committee, had been his adviser and mentor throughout his Communist career. Hiss was rewarded for his treacherous work in support of the Communist cause and Rockefellerism by rapid promotion to key posts in the Department that handled matters vital to the success of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. In 1944, Hiss was rapidly promoted, first to the post of Special Assistant to

the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, so vital for Lenin's plot for world conquest by Communism through control of Asia and China; then he was made Special Assistant to the Director, and Deputy Director, of the Office of Special Political Affairs, and executive secretary to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. This prepared the way for his "mission for Moscow" as adviser to Secretary of State Stettinius and President Roosevelt, or his double, at the Yalta Conference in the sell-out of Asia to Stalin in return for Saudi Arabian oil for the Rockefeller Empire.

With the approval of both parties of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, Hiss was chosen Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, where concrete form was given to the sell-out initiated at Yalta. At San Francisco, he worked directly under the eyes of Nelson Rockefeller and John Foster Dulles, representing the Rockefeller Empire as he placed the mechanism of world domination in the hands of his masters and betrayed the destinies of the U.S. into their hands. To make sure that the people of the U.S. would have no voice in deciding their fate, he wrote into the rules of the UN a provision that gave its Secretary General absolute power to appoint all UN employees from the peoples of the member nations, thus robbing our nation of what little protection a loyal body of representatives might afford.

Never at any time during his career in the State Department was there any doubt of Hiss' notoriety as a Communist. The FBI had a complete dossier on his Communist activities and all his superiors in the Department had been put on notice of his affiliation with the Party. Confirmation of this came even from abroad in the form of the confessions of Igor Gouzenko, Soviet code clerk in the Ottawa office of Col. Nikolai Zabotin, Soviet military attache to Canada, and in statements made directly to an FBI operative, to the effect that the Soviets had an espionage agent in 1945, who was an Assistant Secretary of State of the U.S. A fifty-one page report of these findings was submitted to President Truman and amusedly circulated among the agents and queers of the State Department by its "security" officers. The State Department traitors were so arrogantly confident of their con-

trol that they made no effort to suppress the report.

During this time, Alger Hiss was one of the key members and indoctrinators of Rockefeller's Foreign Office, the Council On Foreign Relations, virtual Premier of the Rockefeller Empire and key man of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. For his service to that Axis, he was rewarded by John Foster Dulles, David Rockefeller and their associates with the position of president of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, which was made a special berth for him in 1947 by the provision of a \$20,000 annual salary and a large expense account. At that very time he was under investigation by the FBI and under fire in the State Department. Probably it was hoped that in this manner his prestige would be so enhanced that he would be placed beyond the reach of the U.S. authorities, even though he was marked by the Communist Party for one of its periodic purges. Confidently, John Foster Dulles brushed aside the charges of Larry S. Davidow and Alfred Kohlberg of Hiss' "probable Communist record". The conspirators might have carried the day with perfect effrontery, if Hiss had not perjured himself. For ironically, Hiss was convicted for perjury, not for treason.

Frantic efforts were made by the conspirators to save their key man. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent by the Empire in his defense. His attorney in the first trial, Lloyd Paul Stryker, is reported to have been paid more than \$100,000 as a retainer. John Foster Dulles and Supreme Court Justices Felix Frankfurter and Stanley Reed appeared as character witnesses for him in the first trial, when it appeared that the prosecution could not muster adequate proof. However, discretion became the better part of valor when it became apparent in the second trial that the charges could be sustained, and it was manifestly unwise for Dulles and his Rockefeller Imperial bosses to become too closely identified with a perjured traitor; and Dulles modified his original testimony.

At the time of his conviction Alger Hiss was still top man in Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations and Institute of Pacific Relations, president, on leave, of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, member and director of the executive committee of the Association For The United Nations, chairman of the executive committee of



the Citizens Committee For Reciprocal World Trade, and trustee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the World Peace Foundation. In those capacities he was intimately associated with Nelson A. Rockefeller, David Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller 3rd., Owen Lattimore, Philip Jessup, Thomas K. Fin-letter and many other "notables", whose names were carefully kept out of the trial.

The source of the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent in the legal defense of Hiss, in the employment of the same wiretappers who were later employed by Clendening Ryan on behalf of Winthrop Rockefeller's "Fusion" candidacy in New York City and on the successive appeals made by Hiss, need not be asked. It is quite apparent that the bosses whom he served so well with his treason, could not afford to let him down. His services were needed in carrying out their plans. His enforced "retirement" as Jailbird No. 19137 in the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, however, has not defeated those plans. His assistant in the State Department, Joseph E. Johnson, a member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations who had resigned when a leak to Russia of top secret information was traced to the Division of International Security Affairs, is carrying on in his place as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD** Frederick Vanderbilt Field is another highly significant cog in the Rockefeller Red organization, has played a useful role as an agent of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis Far Eastern conspiracy. Like Alger Hiss, he is now a martyr of Rockefellerism, temporarily "retired" to a jail cell, not for treason against the U.S. but for contempt of court for refusing to reveal the obvious source of the collateral furnished by the Civil Rights Congress as bail for four, fugitive, convicted, top Communist agents.

Field is a star product of Bismarck's Marxist propaganda drive merged with Rockefeller "educational philanthropies". He graduated from Harvard, a muddled Marxist, in the class of 1927, with two other Rockefeller Red stars, who followed the same career, Laurence Duggan and Joseph Barnes. Duggan paid the death penalty for his "deviation", after testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee on the Rockefeller sponsorship

and direction of the Red Institute of International Education, of which he was director, by a mysterious plunge from his sixteenth story office window. Barnes accompanied Field when he went to extend his Marxist muddling under Harold Laski at the Rockefeller subsidized London School of Economics and Political Science. Barnes later married Field's first wife.

On their return from Europe, both Field and Barnes found employment promptly with the Rockefeller Soviet Axis Institute of Pacific Relations. They had been prepared for their jobs by their training in the Rockefeller subsidized schools, under Felix Frankfurter and Harold Laski, and fitted perfectly. Field boasted:

"My job there (the IPR) was something I am proud of; it was actually a job on which I could have supported my family on my own." Rockefeller agents are well paid. Not needing the salary, Field returned it, \$100,000 in all, to the IPR. The job carried with it membership and dominance in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

In the following year he married and took his honeymoon on an extended trip to Europe and Russia, as secretary to the American delegation to the Kyoto conference of the IPR. He went in company with John D. Rockefeller 3d who was secretary to James G. MacDonald, chairman of Rockefeller's Foreign Policy Association, one of the members of the delegation. In the atmosphere of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, all of Field's muddling cleared up, and he adopted the power pattern of Communism and the Axis as his creed. In his executive post and his editorial activities in the IPR, at the side of John D. 3rd and Owen Lattimore, Field became one of the key Rockefeller Empire Far Eastern agents, doubly valuable because of his acceptance by the Communists.

Field followed closely each bend in the Communist Party "line", supported many Communist organizations, and served as emissary for Communist spy, Whittaker Chambers. Jointly with the Kremlin, he financed through his American People's Fund the Jefferson School of Social Science, the official Communist Party "school for traitors" in New York City. With Owen Lattimore and other Rockefeller subsidized members of the editorial staff of the IPR publications, he organized Amer-

asia, and published from the IPR office that Communist, espionage publication "front". During the period of the Hitler Stalin Pact, he resigned his staff position in the IPR and organized the American Peace Mobilization, to agitate against American entry into the war. He picketed the White House until, immediately after Hitler's invasion of Russia, he made an about face to follow the Party "line" and stridently propagandized for our entry into the war as a champion of the Soviets. Though he resigned as trustee of the IPR in 1947, he still continues to implement its Far Eastern policy as a key member of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations. It is not difficult to discern whom he protected when he refused to name the contributors to the Civil Rights Congress bail fund for the top Communist conspirators and traitors.

### OWEN LATTIMORE

Owen Lattimore, an English-schooled Tientsin newspaper man who, according to affidavits in the hands of the FBI, led several pro-Communist student uprisings there, was launched on his career with the support of the Rockefeller dominated, Red Social Science Research Bureau, Harvard-Yenching Institute and J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. He devoted himself to the cause of the Soviets in Mongolia and other sections. He was then brought back to spearhead the Far Eastern activities of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis thru the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Council on Foreign Relations. He was a member of the Red cell that operated the IPR for the Axis according to Budenz, and became editor of its Pacific Relations, and founding editor of its Soviet espionage front, Amerasia. In effect he became the undersecretary of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire on Eastern Affairs, and one of the top indoctrinators of their agents in the CFR, the IPR and the State Department. His numerous publications consistently pursued the line of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis, or led it.

Budenz testified Lattimore was assigned by the Politburo to misrepresenting the Chinese Communists as "agrarians" who had no interest in Marxism, and to other key assignments. These involved appointment to ostensibly minor official State Department posts, including: Roosevelt-appointed per-

sonal advisor to Chiang Kai-shek in which post he was in excellent position to accomplish the betrayal of China to the Communists; Deputy Director of Pacific Operations of the Office of War Information, where he furthered the cause of the Chinese Communists by packing his division with Communist Chinese personnel from the New China Daily News; "adviser" to Vice-President Henry A. Wallace on his mission to China; and UN Point 4 representative to Afghanistan.

Lattimore's interest in Tibet, involving the entertainment of a Lama in his Baltimore home, was followed shortly by betrayal of Tibet to the Chinese Communists. It will be interesting to watch what his interest in Afghanistan, coupled with the sending of Standard Oil experts there, will evolve.

As is usual for Rockefeller Soviet agents, Lattimore was planted in a university post in the Walter Hines Page School of Diplomacy, at Johns Hopkins, where he indoctrinated, or "trained", embryo diplomats for R. S. Axis assignments in the State Department. With his star pupil, John Stewart Service, according to affidavits produced by Sen. McCarthy, Lattimore was accomplice in the Amer-asia espionage case that involved the theft from the State Department and other Government offices, of seventeen hundred secret documents (for transmission to Communist agents) that jeopardized the secrecy of our codes and endangered the lives of tens of thousands of GIs. As is so often the case of Rockefeller-protected agents, neither Lattimore nor Service were even indicted for the crime. Instead, Service was promoted immediately after his arraignment, and Joseph Grew, the State Department official who demanded the prosecution of the malefactors, was ousted. Six years later after numerous phoney "investigations", as a result of aroused public sentiment, Service was discharged in December, 1951, as a "security risk".

As an officer of the IPR, Lattimore made Red "pilgrimages": to Moscow, in 1937, with Stalin-decorated Edward C. Carter, where they "were obviously receiving instruction from the Soviet Government regarding the line which the Institute ought to follow"; and to Chinese Communist headquarters at Yenan, in 1937, in the company of the Red fellow editors of Amerasia, where "they were greeted by Communist spy, Agnes Smedley" of the

Richard Sorge ring. And he was addressee subsequently of correspondence directly from Red spy Sorge, whose ring operated out of the IPR in precipitating the Pearl Harbor attack.

In view of his record, it is difficult to understand what objection Lattimore could offer to Sen. McCarthy's charge that he was a top "Soviet agent", unless it is now the Communist Party line for its agents to deny their affiliation. Certainly no avowed Soviet agent could have served the Communists to better advantage.

When Sen. McCarthy's charges finally did come to a hearing before the packed Tydings Committee, tremendous pressure was brought to bear to protect Lattimore from exposure. None of the above stated record and other data which McCarthy turned over to the Committee and to the FBI to prove that Lattimore "was or had been a Communist" was permitted in evidence. At no point was there brought out the intimate association of Lattimore with Alger Hiss, with the Amerasia, crowd, including Philip J. Jaffe and Frederick V. Field, or his membership and influence in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and Institute of Pacific Relations. Instead he was permitted by Tydings to use all his vast skill in the peculiarly Communist art of "smearing" and befuddling with dialectics, against his accuser, McCarthy, and to convert the hearings to placing the latter on trial instead of himself answering the serious and well substantiated charges brought against him. The substance of his meagre reply to the charges was the same as that always advanced when one of the agents of the Rockefeller Empire comes under fire: the cry of "witch hunt", "guilt by association" and "smear".

All of the wealth and influence of the Rockefeller Empire and its Council on Foreign Relations, with their control of the press and all other avenues of communication and publication were brought to bear to protect Lattimore and to discredit McCarthy.

### GENERAL DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Dwight David Eisenhower was born at Denni-son, Texas, October 14, 1890. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy with a B.S. degree in 1915 and served as a lieutenant colonel in the Tank Corps, in World War I. He graduated successively from the Army Tank School, in 1921; the Command and General Staff School, in 1926; from the War



College, in 1929; and from the Army Industrial School, in 1932. On June 24, 1942, through influence the source of which is now apparent, he was jumped many points by President Roosevelt and made his "yes-man", "Commanding" General in the European Theatre of Operations. On November 8, 1942 he became Allied Commander-in-Chief in North Africa; and on December 31, 1943, he was appointed Commanding General of Allied Forces in the European Theatre of Operations. In 1945 he became Commander of U.S. Forces in Germany.

Eisenhower consented to the encirclement of his command by potentially hostile Russian forces in Berlin, where they could be trapped and held as hostages at the will of the Soviets. It is hard to understand any loyal officer so betraying his command.

Inactivated, Eisenhower, like other Rockefeller political hacks, was retired to the presidency of a university, Columbia. There he did nothing to clean out the Communists on the faculty that make it a hotbed of subversion. Instead, he chose, in 1949, to associate with the exposed Communist agents and traitors of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. There is truth in the adage: "A man is known by the company that he chooses".

Eisenhower was the natural choice of the Rockefeller interests to head their UN forces in Europe to carry out their program. A loyal American would not be a party to withholding idle reinforcements and supplies, by shipment to Europe, from troops under fire in Korea.

Eisenhower is being groomed as the conspirators' "bipartisan", or Fusion, presidential candidate in their move to rob the nation of any voice in the Government and to set up a military dictatorship, as forecast in their "Hopley Plan", a prelude to their final "1984" program.

As early as June 7, 1947, Drew Pearson announced that Eisenhower conferred with Paley, of Columbia Broadcasting Co., Watson, of International Business Machines and John D. Rockefeller Jr., in regard to the Presidential nomination in 1948. I pointed out in my *Strange Death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (p. 310) :

"This confirms the indication of his appointment, with the support of the General Education (Board) to the post of president of Columbia University—

that he is planned as an entry from the Rockefeller stables in the Presidential Sweepstakes."

Though Eisenhower creditably, or possibly as a disarming maneuver, pointed out the menace to a republic of a military man as President, it might be expected that he will take his orders from his Rockefeller bosses and subversive agents, and accept the nomination, to rob the nation of any choice other than acceptance of Rockefellerism.

DEAN GOODERHAM ACHESON "... betrayer of America . ." (Sen. Jenner)

Dean Gooderham Acheson, after serving as secretary to Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, following training at Harvard under Felix Frankfurter, was sponsored by Sen. Millard Tydings (son-in-law of pro-Communist Rockefeller henchman, Joseph E. Davies), for the post of Solicitor General, but was given by Roosevelt the Under-Secretary of the Treasury appointment in the Popular Front "New Deal". As set forth in the Congressional Record of May 16, 1933, p. 3483, Senator Couzens of Michigan opposed Acheson's confirmation on the ground that his firm had many clients, including the Standard Oil and Rockefeller interests, who would have income tax refund cases that would come up before him, and he questioned that Acheson could be impartial.

By way of rebuttal and defense of Acheson, Tyding revealed his ties with Communists, saying:

"It has not been said, but should be said that Mr. Acheson has represented the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It might be contended that because he represented modern Russia, that because the Soviets have been his clients, therefore he is a 'Red' or 'radical' or unfitted to hold the office to which he has been nominated."

Acheson, a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, belied Tydings' statement by becoming, in the eyes of the Soviets, according to a repentant spy courier, the ringleader of the Rockefeller Empire agents in the Department, acting on behalf of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis in the furtherance of the Lenin program for the Soviet conquest of China and Asia. He championed the Hisses—Donald who was his law partner, and Alger

who later became his superior in the Rockefeller Foreign Office—and disdained the advice of the Department's security officer Adolph Berle, that they were Communists and security risks. He surrounded himself with champions of Communism and Rock-efellerism. From Rockefeller's CFR and IPR, he drew Owen Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, Lauchlin Currie (named by Communist spy courier Elizabeth Bentley as "feeder" of confidential and top secret information directly from the White House, where he was assistant to Roosevelt) and Philip C. Jessup, Chairman of the Pacific Council of the IPR, champion of Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Alger Hiss, sponsor of the American Russian Institute and other Communist and front agencies and Acheson's "adviser" and Ambassador-at-large; and others of the same breed.

In 1950, Earl Browder formerly head of the Communist Party in the U.S. revealed in his testimony before the Tydings Committee, that he and his adjutant, Robert Minor, had been invited on October 12, 1942, to the State Department by Acheson to confer with him, Lauchlin Currie and others; and that he had been asked by them to render service as a State Department courier in the transmission to Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung through Madame Sun Yat Sen, of the information that they had changed the policy of the U. S. and would no longer support Chiang Kai-shek in his fight on the Communists, but that instead, they viewed the Chinese Communist cause with favor, and they intimated that support for it would be forthcoming. This was one of the first overt steps in the betrayal of American interests in China that is now costing us so heavily in lives and fortunes.

After the Amerasia case was "fixed", Grew who had forced its prosecution, was dismissed; and Acheson, whose associates were the guilty parties, was promoted. PM, the Communist propaganda sheet, exulted over Acheson's appointment:

"Now the State Department policy has a better appreciation of what the Soviet Union wants." It was true. Acheson, with the aid of his associates, Lattimore, Vincent, Hiss, Currie and others, hastened to deliver China and Japan to the Communists. In Japan, they were blocked by MacArthur in spite of their planting of Communist agents on his staff, where some of them still remain. This miscarriage

of their plans probably will be corrected, by the "peace" activities of the Rockefeller overlord of the State Department Reds, John Foster Dulles.

In bold pursuit of his policy of betrayal to the Rockefeller Soviet Axis, Acheson on June 19, 1946 urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to set up a ten-year "Lend-Lease" program for arming and supplying the Chinese Communist Army. Failing in this, he and his fellow conspirators undertook to circumvent Congress, and through General George Marshall, as their agent, to accomplish the supplying of the Communists and the betrayal of the Nationalists, as is related elsewhere. This is the purpose for which they suppressed General Wedemeyer's report. All the plans that Acheson originated in the State Department, "Lend-Lease", UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the Point 4 program, were designed for that same purpose. This was also the purpose of the shipment of a gift of a hundred million bushels of wheat to India for transshipment to her Soviet ally and Communist China. As a reward therefor, Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. (N. J.) has been given a virtual monopoly of the oil market in India, with the acquiescence of the Soviets, who will be supplied with their oil through that channel.

Acheson has never tired of serving the Rockefeller-Soviet cause. As Under-Secretary of State, he approved a loan to the Polish Communist government headed by David Rockefeller's teacher and friend, Oskar Lange. Acheson's law firm, Covington, Burling, Acheson & Shorb, whose partners Burling and Donald Hiss were registered as agents of Communist Poland, handled the loan.

Sen. McCarthy's exposure of treason and perversion in the State Department created an emergency for Acheson and his Red clique, that threatened their control of the Government. It was met by reversal of Acheson's announced policy of abandoning South Korea, that deliberately launched us on the Korean "police action". The Korean betrayal has firmly resaddled the conspirators in office. The tens of thousands of GIs lost in the process mean nothing to the sadistic plotters. The crushing taxation which it has served to excuse, hastens their attainment of a U.S. and world-wide dictatorship.

Acheson has matched Gen. George Marshall as the best Secretary of State and collaborator

that the Soviets and the Rockefeller Empire have ever had. He has persistently protected Soviet spies and agents; and his refusal to turn his back on his convicted superior, Alger Hiss, is now proverbial. For that reason the demands for his dismissal by Congress, by the nation and by the veterans organizations, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, are futile.

The American veteran has not yet awakened to the realization that he is regarded by the conspirators as "peasant" and mere cannon fodder to be expended in Rockefeller Crusades. Not even his vote gives him any weight in their consideration, so completely have they corrupted the electorate and engineered the theft of elections. He is a mere robot who has been disfranchised and is beneath their contempt. Consequently it is natural that his demand for Acheson's dismissal has gone as unheeded as the demand of large sections of the press and of the people at large. "Fixes" that involve the lives and wealth of the citizenry have assumed the status of unimportance, as contrasted with "fixes" of so-called "sport events", that have been whipped up to satisfy the public's entire capacity for indignation.

#### JOHN FOSTER DULLES

"For democracy is, of course, a luxury. It involves inefficiencies and weaknesses, and it is incompatible with the attainment of maximum national effort."

This statement, made by John Foster Dulles, (Rockefeller kinsman, married to Janet Pomeroy Avery, cousin of John D. Jr., Grand Vizier of the Rockefeller Empire, its "bipartisan" gift to the nation and Senior Statesman assigned to supervision of the State Department) before the Foreign Policy Association on March 18, 1930, aptly describes the totalitarian bent of his clan. Chairman of the Board of Rockefeller's Foundation, he has devoted his life to their service, as their top agent and counsel.

Starting at the top of the international diplomatic scale as secretary of the Hague Peace Conference, when a nineteen year old Princeton student, he consistently has represented the Empire in "top drawer" capacity. In the years following World War I, he became identified with their I. G. Far-benindustrie and German banking interests, from



the start. And from the start he participated in the dealings of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis.

His indiscriminately totalitarian bent and faithful adherence to the interests of the Rockefeller Empire are attested to by his organization and support of America First and his intense isolationism prior to Dunkirk and Hitler's invasion of Russia, and his pro-Communism. It is evinced in his book War, Peace, And Change published in 1940, in which he undertook to justify, on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire, the "expansion" of their Nazi and Fascist collaborators, and even of the Japanese.

This book by Dulles offers the public a word of caution in regard to his activities. In it he assumed a role that has been assigned to him repeatedly. He undertook to throw our country off guard by assuring us that there was no danger and no reason for alarm, at the very time the conspirators were planning an attack upon us. He wrote:

"There is no reason to believe that any totalitarian states separately or collectively, would attempt to attack the United States . . . Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war on us." Again in 1950, Dulles repeated the performance by appearing at Seoul to throw the South Koreans off guard by assuring them that there was no danger of an invasion from the north, at the very time that the conspirators had launched the invasion. Once again, in a special article written by him and distributed by the NEA Service, on Friday, December 14, 1951, that is an outline of one that is scheduled to appear in Foreign Affairs the official publication of Rockefeller's Foreign Office, the CFR, Dulles reassures us that we can stop the Russian Imperialism that his crowd have done so much to foster, by adopting some new methods that he proposes. Under the circumstances, a natural reaction is "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts!" and "Where are they planning to hit us next?"

Dulles is regarded as the Rockefeller Empire's dispenser of patronage and guardian of the subversive, pro-Communist cell in the State Department. The New York Times quoted Dulles on July 25, 1950, as acknowledging to a group of Republican Senators that he was well aware of the existence of a group of Communists in the State Department who

were working to betray China, and incidentally the U.S., to the Soviets. He said:

" . . I do admit that at one time there was a group that felt a dose of Communism would do some countries good." Alger Hiss informed the Senate Investigating Committee that his sponsor, adviser and mentor throughout his career had been John Foster Dulles. The entire Dulles family, including his brother Allen, his sister Eleanor, and Rhea Foster, have been extremely active in the Rockefeller Soviet Institute of Pacific Relations. Dulles and David Rockefeller, as Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace were acknowledged to have made Hiss president of that organization.

Despite all shows of conflict between the U.S. and the USSR that have been staged for the diversion of the "peasants", there has never been any rift in the lute of Rockefeller-Soviet relations, thanks to the "diplomacy" of Dulles. He has always been most punctilious in discussing with Soviet representatives all moves planned, and arranging for their collaboration. He makes no secret of it. This is startlingly demonstrated by the contemptuous report made by Dulles in his maiden address in the Senate (to which he had been appointed by Rockefeller puppet Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, to whom he dictated his "bipartisan" foreign policy, as supposed "adviser"), on July 12, 1949 (Congressional Record, p. 9276). Dulles stated that he had attended the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers, in company with Philip C. Jessup, as "adviser" to Dean Acheson; and that there he had discussed with Andrei Vishinsky, among others, the matter of a let-up of the "Cold War". It had been decided by them that such a let-up must not occur because it would not be wise on the ground that:

"Some fear that any relaxation of the East-West tension would bring a corresponding relaxation on the part of the American people, and therefore they needed to be artificially alarmed." On July 15, 1949, Sen. William E. Jenner, of Indiana, was reported by the N.Y. Times (7/16/49, p. 4, col. 3) to have

"... strongly and personally challenged Sen. Foster Dulles and called upon Sen. Dulles ... to rise and give an explanation of his remarks at 269

the Big 4 Foreign Ministers Conference in Paris that the U.S. public be kept artificially alarmed. The suggestion was rejected, and Sen. Dulles sat silent and smiling. Dulles later told reporters that it was suggested at the conference, but would not tell who offered the suggestion. He just chuckled and made no reply." Needless to say, the remark was merely a contemptuous restatement of the policy of the Rockefeller Empire, made by its agent, which Sen. Jenner aptly summed up as follows:

"In other words . . . they take the position: 'Tell the American people only what you want them to know; but lead them down the road to bankruptcy . . . Keep them living from crisis to crisis, from emergency to emergency.' " An emergency in 1950, the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury in connection with treason and the consequent intensification of the warranted distrust of Dean Acheson and his betrayal of China to the Communists, required some action. John Foster Dulles was put back into the State Department in official capacity as "bipartisan" and "Republican" to neutralize the criticism from Republican quarters. This was done under the most extraordinary circumstances.

On April 6, 1950, the New York Times, the official gazette of the Rockefeller Empire announced on page 1 that President Truman would appoint John Foster Dulles "as top policy adviser in the State Department probably with the rank of Ambassador at Large". Simultaneous announcement appeared on page 4 of the Times of Dulles' appointment as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of kinsman Rockefeller's Foundation. The vein of the reports indicated that John Foster Dulles had served the Rockefeller Empire so loyally since 1935 that he was being rewarded with a promotion in one of its subsidiaries, the State Department. A special dispatch to the New York Times made it clear, however, that the order for this promotion had come from powers above and behind the Government. It was apparent that President Truman, wintering at Key West, had not yet received his orders from his Rockefeller Empire bosses; for he denied any intention of appointing Dulles to the State Department, Ambassador at Large or any other appointment.

On the following day, Truman had received his orders, and the appointment of Dulles as Foreign Policy Adviser was announced by the State Department, not by Truman. Dulles' activities since that appointment make it quite clear that he, and not Acheson, is the boss of the State Department, acting in his capacity of top agent of the Rockefeller Empire and its Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations.

In line with his policy of keeping the nation "artificially alarmed", Dulles presented it with the wholly unwarranted Korean war that was deliberately precipitated by pre-arrangement and with full premeditation. It was no coincidence that John Foster Dulles, Foreign Policy Adviser of the State Department, was present in Seoul in his customary role of putting the South Koreans off guard with false assurances of "security", at the very time that the North Korean Communist and Chinese Communist Armies were invading South Korea. How little faith he had in his own treacherous assurances is indicated by the fact that he hurriedly fled by plane, without awaiting the Communist cohorts for whom he and his confederates, of the State Department and the Rockefeller Empire, had eased the way and "opened the gates". The Korean "police action" relieved the most dreaded "emergency" for the conspirators, their ousting.

The harmony that Dulles maintains with the Soviets for the Rockefeller Empire is further illustrated by the Japanese "peace" negotiations. Dulles, acting as a one man State Department, arranged a treaty of peace with Japan that will serve the purposes of the Empire. Before he left for Japan, the New York Times of January 15, 1951, reported that Dulles had conferred with Jacob A. Malik, Soviet delegate to the United Nations. Acting on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire, and completely mindful of the agreements of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, Dulles, according to the Times, sought to advise Russia that the object of his visit to Japan was wholly exploratory.

Despite loud and widely publicized threats of a fight on the treaty by the Soviets, to divert the "peasants", the Russian delegation made merely a token demonstration at its signing so as to prevent popular appreciation of how well satisfied they were with it. The Rockefeller Empire is equally

well satisfied with it, making the sentiment in the Rockefeller Soviet Axis unanimous. But we "peasants" might well ask ourselves, after this Dulles deal as after the others: "What disaster does it forebode for us?"

Dulles, son of a Watertown, New York, minister, has been one of the principal agents of the Rockefeller Empire on the religious front, and one of the "leaders" of the subversive Federal (alias National) Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S. (alias America). The totalitarian nature of this "leadership" was aptly described by George Dugan of the American Council of Christian Churches, a truly American organization, at its meeting in Philadelphia reported in the New York Times of October 30, 1948, that charged that John Foster Dulles: "Has been for fifteen years 'an effective tool of extremely radical and pacifist' church leaders associated with the Federal Council and World Council.

"These he labeled . . . 'cooperative fronts for world Socialism.'" In conclusion, Dugan and the Council vigorously attacked Dulles personally, as stated in the Times article:

"The Council also called on its adherents to oppose the appointment of John Foster Dulles to either the position of Secretary of State or representative of the United States in the United Nations."

Dulles, in collaboration with Alger Hiss and Nelson Rockefeller, was one of the active principals, representing the Rockefeller Empire in the creation of the United Nations. Dulles subscribes to any and every form of subversion of the sovereignty of the U.S., or its surrender to any foreign power or agency. It is understandable that the direct or indirect control of such powers and agencies by the Rockefeller Empire would naturally imply complete and absolute surrender of U.S. sovereignty to the Rockefeller Empire. In line with this policy, Dulles advocates and supports the "Union Now" scheme advocated by Streit and other British agents and Anglophiles. Originally it merely demanded return to England as a colony, and sought to make of George Washington a traitor and of Benedict Arnold a patriot. In its more recently evolved form it has propagandized, in addition, for an Atlantic Pact



as a device to attain its objectives. John Foster Dulles wrote a laudatory introduction for an exposition of the latter form, written by Justice Owen J. Roberts, John Schmidt and Clarence Streit, and published under the title of *The New Federalist* by Federal Union Inc. with the support of such patriots as Senator Estes Kefauver, J. William Fulbright, and Edward J. Thye, and Representatives James Wadsworth, Walter B. Judd, and Thomas E. Burke. Their names are listed in a full page advertisement of Federal Union Inc., its publication *Freedom & Union*, and *The New Federalist* that appeared in the *New York Times*, August 29, 1950. The advertisement has the effrontery to represent George Washington as advocating the plans of these schemers and propagandists for Union Now, a return of the U.S. to Britain as a colony.

The true character of the "Union Now" program was dramatically emphasized by a quotation read by Walter Trohan, of the *Chicago Tribune*, to Sen. Estes Kefauver, one of the conspirators' Presidential candidates, on the American Forum TV program on December 23, 1951, as follows:

"I am now led to devote my life to the reunion of the British Empire ..." It was written in 1780 by Benedict Arnold. Trohan slyly suggested that Kefauver's platform is identical with that of Benedict Arnold. And it is also the platform of all of the conspirators' puppet candidates.

All this makes one marvel at the strange people that undertake to represent true, patriotic Americans. With John Foster Dulles, a kinsman, attorney and agent of the Rockefeller Empire as the "bipartisan" dictator of the policies of our government, strange things have come about, and even stranger things can be expected.

As senior member of the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, that has played a stellar role in "dollar imperialism", Dulles, and his brother, have profited handsomely from these foreign entanglements.

The roles played in the Rockefeller Empire by the rest of the members of the CFR would make quite as interesting reading, but that will take another book.

## CHAPTER XV

### ROCKEFELLER'S INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Soviet Espionage & Propaganda Agency "Who controls Asia, controls the world."—LENIN

The Institute of Pacific Relations is a most vital propaganda agency for the Communist conspiracy of world conquest. One of the basic tenets expressed by Lenin was: "Who controls Asia, controls the world". For Asia holds more than half the population of the world and is rich in resources. Lenin's conspiracy is identical with that of Hitler's Professor Haushofer,—conquest of the world through domination of the Eurasian land mass.

The negotiation of the deal entered into by Standard Oil companies with the Communists for surplus Russian oil, which constitutes the charter of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, was under way in 1925-26. The virtually simultaneous organization of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) for the purpose of carrying out the most important and basic aspect of the Communist conspiracy, the conquest of Asia, under Rockefeller auspices and with the financing of the Rockefeller Foundation, might well have been an important element in the deal. For no one propaganda agency has contributed more to the success of Lenin's Asiatic conquest plot than has the IPR. When the House Committee listed the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations as subversive and Communist, it put the case most mildly.

The dependence of the IPR on Rockefeller is made clear by the appended list of grants to it which total more than \$2,000,000 over a period of 25 years.

As in the case of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Rockefeller interests insured subservience of the Institute of Pacific Relations to them by the device of annual grants, instead of endowment, that could be varied in accord with how well the Institute served them.

The IPR American Council was represented in 1927 at the signing of the constitution of the IPR by Ray Lyman Wilbur, then president of Leland Stanford University, later Cabinet officer under Hoover and member of Rockefeller's Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations. Associated

with him were Henry S. Pritchett, of the Carnegie Foundation for the Improvement of Teaching and member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Leo Wolman, Director of Research of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations; Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Rockefeller-subsidized Institute of International Education and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations; Edward Clark Carter, secretary of the Y.M.C.A., and of THE INQUIRY, later Director of the subversive Russian American Institute that has been labeled a direct agency of the Kremlin, decorated for his treacherous services for the Soviets with the Order of the Red Banner of Labor by Stalin in person, President of the Russian Relief, and secretary general of the IPR, and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. It was Carter who, with the full weight of Rockefeller influence behind him, acted to found the Institute at a Honolulu conference in 1925. But he was soon joined by other Imperial agents and dupes who served to disguise the subversive character of the enterprise.

In its 1930 Report (p.228) the Rockefeller Foundation acknowledged its key and dominant role in setting up the Institute:

"These (IPR) activities were first given substantial assistance through a grant by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial." Though Rockefellers launched the IPR, for obvious propaganda purposes they preferred to represent (R.F. 1930 Report, p. 252) that "It was established by the peoples of the Pacific area to promote cooperative study of their mutual relations and is an unofficial body centering its activities in biennial conferences. An International Secretariat is maintained at Honolulu to coordinate studies and researches undertaken by various national groups in preparation for the conferences. The governing body, called the Pacific Council, consists of one representative from each national organization or council. A monthly journal, Pacific Affairs, is published in addition to the proceedings of the conferences. Though the organization operates entirely in an unofficial capacity, it has become an effective mechanism for promoting 275

international understanding by competent and expert discussion." In its 1933 report (p. 263) Rockefeller expatiates further on the glories of his IPR, as follows: "The Institute of Pacific Relations seeks to advance international understanding, particularly in the Pacific area. Its work is carried out through the Pacific Council and through the national councils in the nine countries contributing to its general budget, namely the United States, Australia, Canada, China, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the Philippine Islands." Though the U.S.S.R. did not join the Institute until a later date, she was amply represented from the very start by Communists and fellow travellers who comprised the bulk of the membership of the American Council, of which the 1935 Rockefeller Foundation report boasts: (p. 222)

"It is the strongest of the national groups making up the membership of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and assumes the responsibility of leadership in financing the secretariat of the Institute and the biennial conference, and in stimulating research and publication. The American Council works closely with universities and other research and educational organizations." It is understandable, however, that the Rockefeller reports claim no credit for support of the notorious pro-Communist AMERASIA magazine, the editors of which were arrested on charges of wholesale misappropriation of secret government documents. As chief supporters of the American Council of the IPR the Rockefellers inevitably gave support to AMERASIA. For as Sen. Joseph McCarthy pointed out (C.R., March 30, 1950, p. 4453)

"... Far Eastern Survey, the publication of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations for a long time occupied offices adjoining the official offices of AMERASIA ; ... in order to get into one office, one went through the other—almost a sort of joint venture". As a matter of fact, AMERASIA occupied the offices of the Institute of Pacific Relations with its official publications, FAR EASTERN SURVEY and PACIFIC RELATIONS. The offices were located in

a row of brownstone buildings owned by Carter's Y.M.C.A., extending from 121 to 129 E. 52 Street, New York City, reputedly donated by the Rockefellers. The partitions and walls of the buildings had been knocked out so that they all communicated, in order to mask the identity of control, an act that is so characteristic of the Rockefeller propaganda setups. And to create an appearance of independence, the magazines used the different street numbers of the same building as their addresses.

"Joint ventures", quoting McCarthy, they were indeed. AMERASIA was in reality an unofficial publication of the IPR that served as a semi-official outlet for its Russian Council. Aside from enjoying the offices provided with Rockefeller funds, the magazines shared an array of Red editors and authors in common. In matters controversial, they were all written in the same vein, the policy of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS listed Frederick Vanderbilt Field as editor in 1933 and in 1934 Owen Lattimore became editor, with W. L. Holland, Bruno Lasker, F. N. Petroff of Moscow, Norman Cooper, Sidney, Arnold Toynbee of London, G de T Glazebrook of Toronto, Roger L. Levy of Paris, Samitato Uramotsi of Tokyo, J. H. Boeke of Holland and D. K. Lieu of Shanghai as associate editors. In December 1936, the foreign associate editors were dropped and Owen Lattimore became sole editor with Catherine Porter as managing editor. The frontispiece carried the notation:

"Articles in PACIFIC AFFAIRS do not represent views of either the Institute of Pacific Relations or the National Councils of which it is composed. The Editor of PACIFIC AFFAIRS is responsible for the selection of authors and the acceptance of articles." The address of the PACIFIC AFFAIRS editorial office is given as 129 East 52 Street, whereas that of AMERASIA was 125 East 52 Street. But the manuscripts of the editors of AMERASIA found their way into the office of PACIFIC AFFAIRS even before Lattimore took over exclusive control. Thus its pages were graced with articles from the pens of AMERASIA editors Lattimore, Field, Cyrus H. Peake, Ch'ao Ting-chi and Harriet Moore prior to 1936. The AMERASIA editors were also listed as staff members of the American Council of

IPR. But when Lattimore took over, the editors of AMERASIA really "went to town" in the pages of PACIFIC AFFAIRS and their articles occupied ever more space. Staff members of the American Council of the IPR and editors of AMERASIA, William W. Lockwood who at the same time was acting editor of FAR EASTERN SURVEY, David H. Popper who was also Research Assistant for the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, and Kate L. Mitchell swarmed in its pages. The marriage of AMERASIA and PACIFIC AFFAIRS was complete. The same AMERASIA editors managed to secure steady publication for their propaganda output in FAR EASTERN SURVEY even when their associate, William W. Lockwood, was not its acting editor. Eleanor Lattimore made the grade in 1948, and in 1943, Frederick Vanderbilt Field reported on the IPR's Mont Tremblant Conference. The difference in address did not constitute any barrier to an identity of ideology of the three publications of the IPR financed so liberally by Rockefeller.

Their "protection" would serve to explain the failure of the Department of Justice to prosecute the persons involved as spies and traitors in the AMERASIA case that was called by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI "a one hundred percent airtight case". (C.R. March 30, 1950, p. 4437)

Soviet Russia is the only government that is a member of Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations. Russia joined in 1931. George Sokolsky reported (N.Y. Journal American, 3/14/51): "It was announced that the Russian Council of the Institute had been formed, (at the time of the Hangchow-Shanghai conference of the IPR, held between October 2 and November 2, 1931) with Dr. Fedor N. Petrov as chairman. This is the beginning of active and direct Soviet participation in the affairs of the Institute of Pacific Relations". By curious chance the Rockefeller Foundation reports omit mention of this incident that made the Rockefellers the principal sponsor of another official Communist agency, the IPR. Nor do they boast of the fact that A. S. Swandze, brother-in-law of Joseph Stalin, was one of the organizers of the Russian Council.

In the report of the Banff Conference of the IPR, held August 14 to 26, 1933, which Russia did not



attend, the following explanation was offered: "... lack of recognition of the Soviet Government by the Government of Canada and the United States, and passport regulations that fall short of according visitors from the Soviet Union complete equality with representatives of other countries, prevented this proffered co-operation from materializing. The Pacific Council, in taking cognizance of this situation, not only expressed deep regret but determined to make sure that the time and place for the next conference, in 1935, should be chosen with full regard for the wishes of this important member group." (Journal American, April 10, 1951)

Laurance S. Rockefeller represented the family interests at the conference, as secretary of the American Council of the IPR, in company with Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Benjamin H. Kizer, Harriet Moore, Kate Mitchell and Owen Lattimore, editors of AMERASIA, and Joseph Barnes, Mrs. F. V. Field, Philip Jessup and Henry R. Luce. Newton D. Baker was chairman of the American Council. John D. Rockefeller 3d attended the Kyoto IPR conference as secretary to James G. MacDonald of Rockefeller's Foreign Policy Association.

Freda Utley, who was formerly a member of the British Communist Party, was employed by the Russian Council of the Institute of Foreign Relations in Moscow. She reported to Senator McCarthy (CR, 3/30/50, p. 4446) that she met Owen Lattimore in Moscow in 1936, when he was there in company of E. C. Carter as delegate of the IPR for the purpose of briefing by the Politburo. She stated that she was not admitted to the secret meetings between the Russian Communist leaders and the IPR delegates. But she stated that it was common knowledge at the Moscow Institute "that the Soviet government was paying a large sum as its contribution to the Institute of Pacific Relations".

The evidence of Freda Utley in regard to Lattimore and Carter was confirmed by another affidavit, as follows:

"I met and got to know Owen Lattimore in the spring of 1936 in Moscow when he and E. C. Carter were very obviously receiving instructions from the Soviet Government con-279

cerning the line which the Institute of Pacific Relations ought to follow". Under these circumstances it is scarcely surprising to find that the IPR served as agents, spies and agents provocateurs for its principal supporters, the Rockefeller Empire and Soviet Russia. Proverbially, "the man who pays the piper calls the tune". The Soviets called the tune mightily insistently, as is evidenced by the pilgrimage of Owen Lattimore, editor of IPR publications, and Roosevelt's and the New Deal State Department's "top authority on the Far East," to Chinese Communist headquarters in Yen-an. This was reported, quoting Senator McCarthy's report to Congress (C.R. 3/30/50, p. 4446), in

"... an article by Philip J. Jaffe entitled 'CHINESE COMMUNISTS TOLD ME' which appeared in the NEW MASSES of October 12, 1937. "In this article Jaffe gives considerable detail about his travels in China with T. A. Bisson and Owen Lattimore, giving details as to their stay at the Communist Foreign Office at Yen-an, and being greeted on their arrival at Communist headquarters by Agnes Smedley." This devotion of the IPR to the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, however, did not preclude its serving also as an espionage agency in other directions, especially when it served the interests of its masters. Correspondence of the IPR seized in the barn of E. C. Carter's country home at Lee, Mass., throws interesting light on such espionage. The records make it clear that the IPR was the center of a vast espionage ring, serving the interests of its masters, as they might vary, following each twist and turn of the Party line. Orders were issued disposing of a vast number of agents, from Owen Lattimore and Philip Jessup up and down the line. They indicate that the IPR played its part, in the network of Rockefeller agencies, in engineering the precipitation of World War II and our involvement in it.

Thus in a letter from E. C. Carter, secretary general of the IPR, to William W. Lockwood, one of the editors of Amerasia who was active in numerous Communist fronts, including the National People's Committee Against Hearst and the Amer-

ican Committee for International Studies, and Director of the Woodrow Wilson Institute, Princeton University, is a discussion of "basic work (by) many groups and individuals" in the international field that clearly is a combination of espionage and propaganda, which it is suggested could be enhanced by the following assignments:

"Bring over R. H. Tawney so that he may appraise, criticize and interpret the Corbett project, contribute to it and at the same time make a critique of the plans of other serious groups on this continent. "Bring Ushiba, Saionji or Yokota in order that we may have someone from the very insides of Japan closely in touch with current thought in the Japanese army, the bureaucracies and the universities. "Bring von Trott from Berlin to be associated with Corbett, Sansom, Tawney and others and hold him here until a week before America enters the war ..."

Saionji was a key member of Sorge's Red spy ring. These letters make it clear that Rockefeller's IPR controlled the spy ring that instigated the attack on Pearl Harbor, and that they knew in advance, to the very day, when it would occur and involve us in the war.

Von Trott is more adequately identified by Carter in a letter to Owen Lattimore on October 29, 1940, as one of their agents, as follows:

"Adam von Trott has found that the best way of advancing the interests of the IPR these difficult days in Germany has been to join the staff of the Foreign Office to promote Far Eastern studies. As a member of the Foreign Office, therefore, he is ineligible to be a member of the international secretariat and his name should be deleted from the last pages of Pacific Affairs." The treatment that Carter suggested extending to

Russia was entirely different:

"Send Harriet Moore to the USSR to go through all government party writing on postwar problems and supplement this by interviewing party and Politburo chiefs."

In the case of Russia it was not a matter of espionage-

age but conferring and receiving instructions and orders through a trusted war horse of the Party. The regard in which the Kremlin held the IPR espionage activities was related by a former Communist general on the basis of conversations in 1935-1936 with a top general in the Soviet intelligence, in an affidavit that Sen. Joseph McCarthy gave the FBI and Congress (CR, 3/30/51, p. 4445) : "The thing that particularly disturbed Russian intelligence was that they had difficulty in getting Russian agents into the Far East because of the suspicion of the Japanese and the Chinese at that time . . . the head of the Russian intelligence told . . . that they were having excellent success through the Institute of Pacific Relations, which the Soviet intelligence, through Communists in the United States, had taken over. In connection with this he particularly mentioned Owen Lattimore and another individual... The (latter) individual has not been connected with the State Department, but did spend some time with Lattimore in the OWI . . . "The former Red army general('s) . . . testimony will further be that in the course of visits to other European capitals, he had received approximately the same information about the IPR and also about Lattimore . . . " When it served the interests of its masters, the IPR did not hesitate to act for other foreign powers, as in the preparation of Japan for its attack on Pearl Harbor. It served the conspirators well by forcing the U.S. into World War II without a declaration of war by Congress. This story is well told in an article entitled IPR-TOKYO AXIS by Shep-pard Marley, that appeared in the December 1946 issue of PLAIN TALK and is quoted from the Congressional Record of March 30, 1950. (p. 4462) : "The Japan Council of the IPR served the interests of aggression. A dispatch of December 7, 1945, by Frank Kelley, then in Tokyo as correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, describes how in Japan the IPR was used as a front for imperialist purposes. Prince Fumimaro Konoye, who was Premier of Japan during much of the crucial period between the renewed war on China in 1937 and the attack upon Pearl Harbor 4 1/2 years 282

later, took a deep interest in his country's IPR chapter. He put his personal trusted aides into the key posts in the Japanese IPR, which was supported largely with funds contributed by the very industrialists who helped the militarists plan and carry out wars of aggression throughout the Pacific area. It was Konoye who had ordered the preparation of a report explaining Japan's need for expansion because of population pressure. This report was read to the IPR international conference of 1936, which was held in Yose-mite National Park, in California.

"The chief secretary of the Japan Council of the IPR, according to Mr. Kelley in the Herald Tribune, was Tomohiko Ushiba, Konoye's private secretary. Through Ushiba, Prince Konoye kept in touch with Edward C. Carter, then chief of the IPR's international secretariat, so that he could keep watch on American State Department policies. Far-Eastern experts, such as abound in the IPR, must surely have known that Prince Konoye was among the leading exponents of Japanese aggression for many years before Pearl Harbor. Yet there is no evidence that the Institute ever took any steps to prevent its use as a front for the dissemination of propaganda in the United States and for the gathering of inside political and military information about this country.

"Considering the semiofficial status which the IPR has acquired in the policy-making branches of the Federal Government, the Congress owes it to the country to investigate the history of the organization, its obscure foreign links, its unduly complex administrative set-up, and its alliances with pro-Soviet and pro-Communist elements both at home and abroad.

"The intricate nature of the administrative set-up of the Institute makes it ideal for control by a few well placed persons. Small wonder then that many of its leading and most prolific writers are dependable fellow travelers who faithfully follow the tortuous path Stalin sets—even if they have to slow down around the sharp turns of Soviet policy.

"The Institute's activity seldom reaches any large section of the public directly, and few persons know that it exists. It is doubtful if 1 out of 1,000 of the parents of boys who fought their way across the Pacific, from Guadalcanal to Okinawa, has ever heard of this organization. Yet in Government circles, including those where America's high policy in the Pacific is determined, the influence of the Institute of Pacific Relations has been enormous and is apparently growing.

"During the recent war, the Institute supplied many agencies with experts on the Far East. Four IPR staff members worked for the China section of the UNRRA. Three others did research for MacArthur's headquarters on Japanese reconstruction. William L. Holland was the head of the OWI in China. Owen Lattimore was President Roosevelt's gift to Chiang Kai-shek for a time and President Truman's special adviser to Mac-Arthur as well as Far Eastern head of OWI. The IPR supplied lesser lights to the OWI, OSS, and the State Department. Not all of these workers who joined Government agencies were Communists or fellow travelers. The IPR, however, frequently provided research specialists who were interested mainly in the furthering of Stalin's aims in the Far East.

"Many IPR trustees reached positions of considerable importance. In 1941, Lauchlin Currie was President Roosevelt's special emissary to China. William C. Johnstone worked on a special assignment for the State Department. George E. Taylor was director of the OWI's Far Eastern Section and later in the State Department's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. Benjamin Kizer, (former editor of AMER-ASIA) a Spokane lawyer, headed the UNRRA in China.

"The Institute's aid to the Government was not limited to supplying experts of varying degrees, for the Government bought 750,000 IPR pamphlets for soldiers in the Pacific and Asiatic theatres. Schools, too, have been influenced by IPR publications, especially the 284



series published jointly with the Webster Co. of St. Louis, designed for a 14-year-old reading level. In three and a half years this series sold over a million copies.

"Another way in which the IPR influences public opinion is through the newspapers and periodical press. As the IPR itself does not tire of saying, no one seems to know anything about the Far East. The harried editorial writer is immeasurably pleased, then, when he sees on his desk a neat publicity release and a copy of an article on some aspect of Chinese politics which he can now proceed to discuss.

"Like most associations into which the Communists and fellow travelers have moved, the IPR reveals certain inconsistencies and peculiarities of policy that can be explained only by the ideological affiliations of its most important figures.

"Operating more cleverly in IPR than in most groups they have entered, the Communists and their friends have been able to keep the reputation of this outfit pretty clean. But evidence of their work is easily noted when one takes the IPR material in bulk and breaks it down into two types—the controversial and noncontroversial. What has buffaloeed most readers of IPR books, pamphlets, and periodicals is that so much of the stuff is of a very scholarly nature, not at all on subjects that arouse the emotions any more readily than do articles on Chinese pottery. Yet in the last decade or so at least two out of every three articles in IPR's two journals—Pacific Affairs, quarterly, and Far Eastern Survey, biweekly—on such hot subjects as Chinese politics, the Soviet Union, and the general political situation in the Far East, with respect to those two countries and the United States, have been written by such staunch defenders of Stalin as T. A. Bisson, Owen Lattimore, Harriet Moore, Laurence Salisbury, and others not too numerous to mention in due time.

"It may be claimed that by selecting excerpts and quoting out of context any writer can be shown to believe almost anything. This is 285

frequently true. Yet the weight of the evidence that links the IPR to the Communist line is too great to pass off with such platitudes. The writings of the fellow travelers and outright Communists in IPR publications constitute only a small part of the total IPR material—but they constitute its most vital part, and they deal with the subjects that are most significant for American foreign policy, international relations, and public education." The key personnel of the American Council of the IPR who are represented as giving leadership to the entire organization, comprised what Louis F. Budenz exposed as a Communist cell. This cell constituted the backbone of AMERASIA, which in reality was one of the subsidiary publications of the IPR. This cell, according to Budenz, included Frederick Vanderbilt Field who, he stated, was to his knowledge a "Soviet espionage agent", and Owen Lattimore, both members of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. Lattimore, according to Budenz's testimony, was

"... commended (at a meeting of the American Politburo) by Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Earl Browder for the fact that he had been responsible for placing a number of Communist writers in the organs of the Institute of Pacific Relations of which he was then editor.

"In 1937 ... at a meeting called by Earl Browder, it was brought forward that we were now under instructions not to name the Chinese Communists as Red Communists, but we were to begin to represent them, as Browder said, as 'North Dakota Non-Par-tTsan Leaguers'. "Field was present at that meeting and made a report, at which he commended Mr. Lattimore's zeal in seeing that Communists were placed as writers in 'Pacific Affairs'. Mr. Browder also referred to that, and it was agreed that Mr. Lattimore should be given general direction for organizing the writers representing the Chinese Communists as agrarian reformers . . . "..."... at a regular meeting of the Politburo, at which Mr. Browder was present (in 1943) it was officially reported that Mr. 286

Lattimore, through Mr. Field, had received word from the apparatus that there was to be a change of line on Chiang Kai-shek. "It was decided that the line was to attack Chiang Kai-shek. As a matter of fact, an article was discussed to be put in one of the organs of the Institute of Pacific Relations—and it did so appear—by T. A. Bisson, declaring that Nationalist China was feudal China, and that Red China was democratic China." Other subversives and fellow travellers identified with the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and associated with Lattimore, Field, Carter, Bisson, all of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, include:

Alger Hiss, now in jail (instead of executed) where he ought to be joined by his sponsors and accomplices, convicted of perjury in connection with treason; and a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

Philip C. Jessup, who was chairman of the Pacific Council of the IPR in the years 1938-42, when the scheme was hatched for turning over China and Asia to the Soviets in accord with the purposes of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis; who as Senior Adviser to the Secretary of State and as Ambassador-at-Large has played a stellar role in carrying out the conspiracy; and who is a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

Lauchlin Currie, who as assistant and adviser to President Roosevelt, played the important role that has been recounted, has been named by ex-Communist spy courier Elizabeth Bentley as one of her sources of important espionage data; and who is a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, and employed as "adviser" to the Republic of Colombia.

Philip Jaffe, Lattimore's fellow editor of Amerasia, who pleaded guilty to charges regarding secret records and was fined a mere \$2500; uncle of the wife of one of China's top rank Communists, who was Lattimore's IPR confidential secretary; and himself labelled a Communist agent by Budenz.

Lt. Andrew Roth, a liaison officer at the 287

State Department from Naval Intelligence, who was associated with Jaffe in the AMER-ASIA case, but was never prosecuted therefor. Subsequently he was provided by the State Department with an American passport and went to Asia to engage in pro-Communist, anti-American propaganda.

John Stewart Service, pupil of Owen Lattimore, pro-Communist aid to General Stilwell, who in 1945 was ordered out by Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley; who on his return was arrested for complicity in the Amerasia affair anent secret documents together with Jaffe and Roth, but was never prosecuted therefor; who was subsequently assigned to a post of strategic value to the conspirators, State Department Foreign Service officer in India, merely to be recalled for a rehearing of his case, on the basis of charges made by Senator McCarthy, by the Loyalty Review Board in 1950, cleared by it once again, but relieved of his post in 1951 and finally ousted.

John Carter Vincent, State Department intimate of Dean Acheson, Lauchlin Currie and Owen Lattimore, who as head of the Interdepartmental Committee on Japan Policy, played his part in the conspiracy; who subsequently was appointed Ambassador to Switzerland but was relieved of his post in 1951 by Truman.

Laurence Duggan who was associated with Alger Hiss and Sumner Welles in the State Department and then became Director of the Rockefeller-subsidized propaganda agency, the Institute of International Education; who died, as have so many others associated in this conspiracy, in a highly suspicious plunge from the window of his sixteenth-floor office, after being questioned about his activities by the House Un-American Activities Committee; and who was a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

Agnes Smedley, author, who was accused of being a Soviet spy by General MacArthur's intelligence officers, denied the charges, but on her recent death in 1950, left her entire fortune to the Communist Party.

Harry Dexter White, top adviser to 288

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgen-thau, who like Duggan, died mysteriously after being questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The report of the Rockefeller Foundation for 1936 makes it clear that the role of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to serve as ringleader and master conspirator in Far Eastern activities for the large group of organizations, schools, colleges, universities and other institutions subsidized by it for the avowed purpose of creating a "new ('internationalist') social order" and world-wide "managed economy" required, by the Marx-inspired "social sciences". It reports a Foundation grant of \$30,000 for the purpose of setting up an AMERICAN CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, the function of which is to make the conspiracy and propaganda of the IPR a part and parcel of the activities of the balance of the agencies and lobbies maintained or supported by Rockefeller "philanthropy". The key agencies specified are the following:

Council on Foreign Relations

Social Science Research Council

Foreign Policy Association

American Council of Learned Societies

American Council on Intellectual Cooperation These organizations all interlock membership and officers with the IPR and dominate the wide array of Rockefeller controlled, subsidized or influenced agencies that serve as "internationalist" fronts. Indeed it would be difficult to say which had the wider array of fronts, the Rockefellers or the Soviets. And the difficulty is further enhanced because so many of both have been Rockefeller subsidized and controlled. They all serve as IPR "transmission belts", and many overlap.

The Institute of Pacific Relations propagandists have responded to exposure of the subversive character of the organization by protests alleging that they have cleaned house, eliminated the acknowledged subversives and changed their officers. Thus on March 23, 1951, the IPR released to the press a story that was published in the New York Times of that date about the election of new trustees. These included Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Sidney D. Gamble, president of the Princeton Yenching

Foundation; and J. E. Wallace Sterling, president of Leland Stanford University. Joseph E. Johnson was Alger Hiss's assistant and "alter ego" in the State Department.

This statement was obviously issued with tongue in cheek. For all of them are Rockefeller puppets and members of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations where they are indoctrinated by Owen Lattimore, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, T. A. Bisson, William W. Lockwood and others of the AMERASIA crew, who still preach the Rockefeller-Soviet-Axis program, and dominate the IPR and the entire web of Rockefeller propaganda agencies by remote control from the master agency, the Council. Furthermore two of them, Owen Lattimore, dignified with the post of Director of the Johns Hopkins School of International Relations, and William W. Lockwood, dignified with the post of Assistant Director of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs,—in which posts they have unique opportunities to implant their subversions and treachery in youngsters who are in training for State Department and Government posts,—are still members of the Board of Trustees of the IPR, as can be seen in the list of trustees published in the March 1950 issue of NEWS OF THE IPR. There is no public record of either one of these former editors of the pro-Soviet espionage and propaganda agency, AMERASIA, and associates of self-confessed spies and traitors, ever having renounced their earlier associations and convictions. The moral of the story seems to be that if you are a good Rockefeller Red you need fear no harm; but eventually you will be made a top educator and be given opportunity to subvert rising generations, train them for betrayal and lure them on to self destruction as victims of their own treason and mercenaries in Rockefeller Crusades.

ROCKEFELLER GRANTS TO  
THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

		Grants
1926	IPR	\$10,000
1927	IPR	110,000
Rockefeller Foundation		
1929	IPR Honolulu For general program.....	\$35,000
	IPR Honolulu For research in social sciences.....	20,000
1930	IPR Honolulu .....	250,000
	IPR Honolulu For research in social sciences .....	33,499.70
1931	IPR Honolulu For general program .....	80,000
	IPR Honolulu For research in social sciences .....	91,600.30



1932	IPR Honolulu General Program .....	20,000
	IPR Honolulu For research in social sciences .....	60,000
	IPR American Council .....	20,000
1933	IPR Honolulu For General program .....	80,000
	IPR Honolulu For research in social sciences .....	60,000
	IPR American Council International relations study .....	46,000
	IPR Banff Conference .....	20,000
1934	IPR American Council General expense.....	26,000
	IPR Honolulu Research, international relations .....	60,000
	IPR Russian Language Seminar, Harvard U.....	2,600
	IPR Russian Language Seminar, Columbia U.....	5,000
	IPR Chinese & Japanese Seminars, Columbia U.....	10,000
1936	IPR Honolulu General expense .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu Research, international relations .....	60,000
	IPR American Council, General expenses.....	26,000
1936	IPR Honolulu General expense .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu, Research, social sciences .....	25,000
	IPR American Council .....	17,500
	Russian Language Seminar, University of California ...	10,760
	Chinese Language Seminar, University of Chicago .....	26,000
1937	IPR American Council .....	15,000
	IPR Honolulu General and Research programs.....	45,000
	Chinese Language Seminar, Yale University .....	85,800
1988	IPR American Council .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu, General Expense and Research .....	40,000
	IPR International Secretariat, Study of Issues ....	12,791.27
	IPR Experiment in Intensive Teaching of Chinese....	6,500
1989	IPR American Council .....	15,000
	IPR International Secretariat .....	84,115.50
	IPR Honolulu .....	40,000
	IPR Translation of Chinese Source Material .....	6,950
1940	IPR American Council .....	15,000
	IPR International Secretariat .....	14,913.57
	IPR Honolulu, General expense.....	40,000
1941	IPR American Council .....	16,000
	IPR International Secretariat.Study of Issue in Far East	26,458.04
	IPR Honolulu, General expense and Research .....	48,000
1942	IPR American Council .....	15,000
	IPR International Secretariat .....	1,726.68
	IPR Honolulu .....	47,250
1948	IPR American Section .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	47,260
	IPR International Secretariat .....	1,726.68
	IPR Translation of Chinese Source Material .....	17,959.79
1944	IPR American Council .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	69,750
1945	IPR American Council .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	41,000
1946	IPR American Council.....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	41,000
1947	IPR American Council .....	16,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	41,000
	IPR Translation of Chinese History Source Material	12,497.48
1948	IPR American Council .....	15,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	41,000
1949	IPR American Council .....	10,000
	IPR Honolulu .....	80,000
	IPR General Budget .....	25,000
1960	IPR American Council General expenses .....	60,000
	IPR Honolulu General expenses.....	60,000
Total		\$2,167,433.88

It is quite fitting that General George Catlett Marshall, Secretary of Defense, should be a member of the Board of Trustees of the subversive Institute of Pacific Relations even though he has not made the grade of the Empire's top policy-making organization, the Council on Foreign Relations. For without the support of its bosses Marshall would never have obtained his promotion; and without his blind execution of their treacherous orders, they never could have fulfilled the Rockefeller-Soviet

Axis's agreement to deliver China to the Soviets.

The story of Marshall's promotion is well told by Walter Trohan in the March, 1951, issue of the AMERICAN MERCURY magazine.

"After the war Pershing made Marshall his aide-de-camp while Pershing was Chief of Staff.

"Up to the early thirties Marshall's career was one of slow but steady progress . . . Pershing, a retired but influential old dog of war had promised to have him made a brigadier general. But here Marshall met his first failure.

"True to his promise, Pershing called upon Douglas MacArthur, then Chief of Staff, and asked that his protege be made a general. MacArthur was ready to oblige, but insisted that the promotion go through regular channels. Pershing agreed, confident Marshall could clear the hurdles. Friendly examination of the Marshall record showed what his superiors regarded as insufficient time with troops. MacArthur proposed to remedy this by giving him command of the Eighth Regiment at Fort Screven, Ga., one of the finest regiments in the Army.

"Marshall was moved up from lieutenant-colonel to colonel, but his way to a general's stars appeared to be blocked forever when the Inspector General reported that under one year of Marshall's command the Eighth Regiment had dropped from one of the best regiments in the Army to one of the worst. MacArthur regretfully informed Pershing that the report made promotion impossible. To this day Marshall is uneasy in the presence of MacArthur.

"In 1936, after MacArthur had been succeeded by General Marlin Craig, Pershing tried again. But this time, knowing that the Army would never make Marshall a general, Pershing went directly to the White House. He persuaded Roosevelt to promote Marshall; and three years later when Roosevelt was looking for an agreeable Chief of Staff, he chose Marshall over twenty senior major generals and fourteen senior brigadiers.

"Marshall is, therefore, a 'political general'..." 292

Marshall served as a pliant tool of the conspirators in engineering the betrayal of our country into involvement in World War II without a declaration of war by Congress, and in the tragedy of Pearl Harbor. He has acknowledged that he deliberately withheld from the commanders at Pearl Harbor intelligence, that was available well in advance, of Japan's plans to attack it, and that he had ordered them to alert only for sabotage. In other words, Marshall has confessed to sabotage of the defenses of the nation in time of war. Men have been executed as traitors for lesser offenses and derelictions. Twenty-five hundred men and a fleet were sacrificed in the Pearl Harbor deal. The role played by the crew of the Institute of Pacific Relations in this has yet to be revealed in its entirety.

Strange indeed was the tale that Marshall told Congress of not knowing where he was on the eve of the attack on Pearl Harbor, at a time when he knew that the nation was in grave danger. But this defection obviously suited the purposes of the conspirators.

In 1943, it is reported, he was more anxious to arm Russia than to equip our own troops. At Teheran he agreed to the sell-out to the Communists of Poland and Czechoslovakia. He agreed to giving Russia control of the country to the west of Berlin and marooning American forces in that city in a strategically untenable position, with their supply lines running through territory held by the Communists. This act runs counter to all dictates of intelligence, aside from considerations of elementary military tactics. It virtually has placed American troops in a position where they can be held as hostages by the Communists, a situation that can be created as readily by the Russians as was the Berlin Blockade, whenever they are ready to cut loose. No paid Russian agent or avowed traitor could have rendered greater aid to the Soviet forces.

At Yalta Marshall collaborated with Alger Hiss in delivering Asia to the Communists after Japan was about ready to surrender. Despite the refusal of the Soviets to aid our forces in the Pacific, Marshall's anxiety to "cooperate with the Russians" was so intense that he approved of giving to Russia every strategic point, including Manchuria, Port Arthur, Darien, the Kurile Islands and southern Sakhalin. Following the close of the war, in Decem-

ber 1945, Marshall was sent to China by the agents of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis in the State Department with instructions drawn up by John Carter Vincent and Dean Acheson, to compel the Chinese Nationalists to yield to the Communists, whom they had on the run and were defeating badly. In spite of the warning of Col. Ivan D. Yeaton, who was assigned to the Communist headquarters at Yen-an, that the Chinese Communists were collaborating with the Kremlin and controlled by it, Marshall forced upon the Nationalists a truce, under the threat of withholding American aid. He compelled Chiang Kai-shek to cut his forces down to fifty divisions.

To get around Congress's refusal to accept the program for arming the Chinese Communist Army by "lend lease", proposed by Dean Acheson, Marshall served as recruiting agent for the Red Army and ordered the transfer of Nationalist troops to the Communist forces so that they could be paid and fed with funds appropriated by Congress for the support of the Nationalist Army. He also promoted "an agreement . . . under which American officers would be training and equipping rebel Chinese Communists units at the very time they were ambushing our marines and when Communists the world over were waging a war of nerves upon the United States . . ." (C.R. March 30, 1950, p. 4438).

Marshall dictated the prolongation of the Nationalist-Communist truce, that he had ordered, for a period of fourteen months, giving the Communists a chance to reorganize their Army with U.S. funds and supplies. Then Marshall compelled Chiang to allow a force of 500,000 Communists to move through the impregnable Kalgan Pass to approach Peking; and repeated the treachery to permit the approach of the Communist Armies to Hankow.

In the meantime, the Soviet agents in the State and Commerce Departments withheld delivery of military supplies and equipment assigned to the Nationalists. The dumping of the Army surplus intended for the Nationalists into the Indian Ocean at the order of Lauchlin Currie, assistant to President Roosevelt, member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and the IPR, and named by Elizabeth Bentley as a feeder of Communist spy channels, who is now carrying on in the Republic of

Colombia (N.Y. Times, April 9, 1951) as an "adviser," has been mentioned. The supply to the Communists of essential war materiel has flowed continuously through such devices as "lend-lease", UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the Point IV program. The situation parallels the arming of the Germans and the Japs prior to World War II, by the same principals.

As a reward for delivering China to the Communists, that has proved so costly and disastrous for the U.S., Marshall was promoted to the post of Secretary of State; for he served the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis well. His first official act was to appoint his masters' agent, who had previously directed his treacherous mission to China, Dean Acheson, his chief of staff with "complete authority to cleanse the Department", presumably of non-Communists.

Marshall sent General Albert C. Wedemeyer to China to report on the situation in 1947. Wedemeyer courageously reported the truth and urged blocking the advance of Communism in China. This report was not to the satisfaction of Marshall and the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. It was suppressed and Wedemeyer shelved.

The so-called "Marshall" Plan was written by Rockefeller Reds, promoted and propagandized by Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and its subsidiary agencies, and actively pushed in Congress by the Rockefellers personally. It was another tap on the U.S. Treasury and a device for looting the American people for the benefit of the Rockefeller Empire and its allies, on the pretense of aid to Europe, while at the same time leading the nation further on the road to bankruptcy and dictatorship. Marshall who was a mere pawn, as usual, knew little of its nature.

It is in connection with the Korean affair that Marshall has rendered the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis a most signal service that has brought the plottings and plannings of the Institute of Pacific Relations to its most advanced state of fruition. The conviction of Alger Hiss, attacks on Acheson and other pro-Communists in the government and insistent demands for the reopening of the AMERASIA case and the consequences it involved, had created a very real "emergency" for the conspirators that threatened their entire program. Resentment also ran high

throughout the country at the delivery of China to the Reds by the State Department. Elections were in the offing. It was imperative that, in the words of John Foster Dulles, the American public be kept "artificially alarmed", if the scheme to attain dictatorship through looting by taxation, bankruptcy, defeat and confusion of the nation was to succeed, —and at the same time the deals with the Kremlin carried out. Korea served the purpose. Marshall furthered the scheme by advising Truman to send troops to Korea.

To promote their plot, Marshall was appointed Secretary of Defense. A more incongruous appointment could not be conceived; but so completely is the public duped that it met with little public protest or indignation. Marshall's first act was to rush to regiment the nation, under the cover of this emergency deliberately created for the purpose, into a military dictatorship, in the pattern of the Hopley plan. Anna Rosenberg, Rockefeller employed and subsidized "labor relations counsellor" and agent, with a record of appointment to the NRA dictatorship plot by self-confessed Communist agent and CIO attorney, Lee Pressman, was appointed by Marshall to the great delight of all subversives and Communists, to head the new totalitarian drive. When her appointment came under attack Nelson Rockefeller offered to appear in person before the Senate committee considering the appointment, on behalf of his minion.

The Institute of Pacific Relations can boast with even more justification than can any of the units that comprise the vast spiderweb of Rockefeller-Soviet intrigue, even the Council on Foreign Relations, that the present sad plight of our country is what it is, because "they planned it that way." For though the CFR planned and directed the intrigues and betrayals, the IPR executed them. It played a stellar role in making a success of Japan's rearmament and its attack on Pearl Harbor. At the cost of a quarter of million casualties and hundreds of billions of dollars to our country it insured to its masters control of Eurasia. And the fulfilment of Lenin's plans, they speeded up by infiltrating our Government and effected them through the agency of our State Department and the traitorous activities of their agents.

Wherever the Institute of Pacific Relations has 296



turned its activities in the Orient it has stirred up unrest and subversion, and has paved the way for Soviet intrigue. In Mongolia, China, Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, Indo-China, Thailand, Pakistan, Tibet and Iran, the story has been monotonously the same. Owen Lattimore's Joint U.N.-IPR mission to Afghanistan likewise forbodes its betrayal to the Soviets as did his traffic with Tibet. The Institute paces the schedule of the Soviets in the Far East, adopted by the Asiatic Com-minform of May 1949, which is as follows:

1. Conquer China, Hainan and Formosa.
2. Infiltrate and conquer Indochina and Burma.
3. Infiltration and riots in India, Pakistan and Philippines.
4. Infiltration and riots in Japan with the eventual purpose of taking Japan out of the American sphere, for which the way was being prepared by Dulles' peace parley with Japan and the suggested withdrawal of American troops, and by MacArthur's dismissal.
5. Win over Afghanistan. Owen Lattimore, who has expressed himself as being entirely in sympathy with the Soviet plans for Afghanistan was nevertheless recommended to the United Nations by the State Department for a joint mission with the IPR for working out the program of Rockefeller's Point IV program in Afghanistan. Apparently the plan, as usual, is to make Afghanistan a richer plum for the Soviets.
6. Infiltration and riots in Iran with the objective of taking it over with its oil. To facilitate this, pro-Soviet Ministers were to be appointed.

Due to its sponsors' control of our Government and State Department, the IPR has been completely successful in fulfilling their agreements and delivering over to the Soviets, China and much of Asia.

The Institute of Pacific Relations and its allied web of Rockefeller subsidized organizations are merely agencies of a vast conspiracy. The agencies could not have continued to exist and to carry on their work without the subsidy of the Rockefellers and their fake "philanthropies". In most cases they could not have come into existence without their financial support and cooperation. The Rockefellers cannot plead ignorance of the traitorous activities of these organizations that they have so lavishly

supported. For it is spread all over the public records where anyone who has an iota of intelligence can not fail to recognize it. Any plea of lack of control over the agencies which they established and financed is obviously sham. For there is nothing in their charter or in the law which bars them from stepping in and taking over control of them. The sham is further confirmed by the personal and active participation in those activities by the Rockefellers themselves and the record of their sympathy with the subversive causes in question.

It is equally a sham to pretend to investigate and expose these traitorous organizations and their agents but to omit any mention of the principals and the financiers who make possible their existence and activities with financial, political and moral support ; to imprison or execute traitors and spies who were propagandized, groomed and trained for their treason in the schools, colleges and universities; and to permit to roam at large as honored citizens the arch-conspirators and masterminds who subverted the educational system of the land and of the world, and used as pawns, the deluded fools and venal traitors spawned thereby; or to pillory and occasionally imprison gamblers and fixers in so-called sports for the manipulation of fixes that involve only the money of those who voluntarily choose to gamble while holding in high honor the criminal master conspirators who gamble in an atrociously fixed game with the lives and fortunes of other people and jeopardize the very existence of the the nation.

Unless these conspirators are rapidly and relentlessly exposed and apprehended and prosecuted to the full extent of the laws on treason, and their traitorous conspiracy scotched, this country is faced with extinction, and it and the world are doomed to untold centuries of serfdom.

AMERICAN COUNCIL INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS NATIONAL  
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## CHAPTER XVI

### ROCKEFELLER AND RELIGION

Federal (alias National) Council of Churches of Christ in America (alias, U.S.A.) "The Christian Church. What of its future? It would be the Church of the living God—John D. Rockefeller

The role of religion in clothing the ruthless activities of John D. with sanctity and enhancing his reputation as a worthy citizen, anteceded that of "philanthropy" by several decades. For pious hypocrites a religious pose was in America of the latter part of the 19th century as important a business asset as is now a Dun and Bradstreet rating. The pose of "a God-fearing man" bolstered credit and repute. In addition, churches were in those days almost the only social organizations in the primitive communities, and rare diversions in an otherwise drab, hand-to-mouth existence. Church-going afforded those who sought them social and business contacts that were enhanced by active participation in church affairs. Nevins, in his biography of Rockefeller reports:

"... still another preoccupation was religion. Cleveland was a highly religious community, full of churches . . . Evangelistic emotion pervaded the public schools of Cleveland. Prayer meetings were frequently held in the schoolroom after hours and were led by ministers and teachers . . . "Perhaps John D. Rockefeller had his share in some such wave of revivalism. At any rate, he and Will continued the steady churchgoing which they had begun in Owego, becoming regular attendants at the Erie Street Baptist Church. "And vigorously did John give himself to its work . . . John was publicly baptized in the fall of 1854 . . . "Not long after John was made clerk of the church, an unusual responsibility for a mere youth, and indicative of the impression of maturity and responsibility that he gave to others. Before many years passed he was teaching one of the largest classes in the Sunday school." (JDR, v. 1., pp. 88-89)

"As a bright high-school graduate, a faithful 300

attendant, a most staid and responsible young man, John soon took a prominent part in all church activities. He threw himself into them with characteristic single-mindedness. As we have said, the church offered this unemotional youth an outlet . . . while it also offered his mother, brothers and sisters the best part of what social life they enjoyed. "Indeed it is difficult now for many Americans to realize how important a social institution the church—with its two Sunday services, its midweek service, its suppers, men's societies, sewing clubs—then was in most towns of thirty thousand." (id. p. 119) However, as Nevins relates, despite the devotion, the tithes-giving and the intense church activity, John D.'s character cleaved sharply into the temporal and the spiritual; and he did not permit the charity of the latter to spill over into the former, a characteristic that distinguishes the family. It is probably erroneous to assume that his religiosity played any role in his "philanthropic" activities, which were largely business ventures profitably engaged in for the specific purpose of redeeming an evil reputation acquired in spite of religious pose. John D. Rockefeller Jr. followed in his father's footsteps in the field of religion. He likewise taught Sunday school to the accompaniment of considerable publicity. But he came under the influence of the school of "higher criticism" of the Bible at Brown University and veered away from the Fundamentalist faith of his father. About 1919 he shifted "in religious attitude toward the 'new' or 'liberal' theology which pragmatically decried fundamentalism and sectarianism in Protestantism. Fundamentalist ministers such as John Roach Stratton accused him of seeking to standardize education and religion through GERMAN RATIONALIZATION". (Your Life Is Their Toy, Chedney Press, 1940, pp. 75-76) Stratton was shrewd and discerning, and perceived the influence of Bismarck's Germany, and of the Marxism which he fostered, as a dominant factor in John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s thinking and action. John D. Jr. had come under the influence of the made-in-Germany "social sciences," and became a powerful factor in swinging both churches and community to the left, both through subsidy of lay and religious education, and through grants to

political organizations and movements.

It is notable that with the exception of grants to mission colleges, more particularly in China, and a hundred thousand dollar grant to Riverside Church in N. Y. C. Rockefeller Foundation made no grants for religious purposes until 1947. This contrasts sharply with the steady flow of large sums into the subsidy of the Marxist "social sciences" and "internationalism". Indeed all grants given since 1947 have been either for the support of "higher criticism of the Bible," or for the promotion of "internationalism" and the "social sciences" in church circles. They are reported in the Rockefeller Foundation annual Reviews as follows:

Rockefeller Foundation Appropriations For  
Church Affairs

- 1947 Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, New York. Expenses of preparing for holding international conferences, \$15,000
- 1948 Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Program of its Department of Church and Economic Life, \$100,000
- 1949 Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Expenses involved in organizing a cooperative Critical Apparatus of the New Testament, \$12,500

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has been used most regularly by the Rockefellers personally to further their interests in church circles. John Foster Dulles, their kinsman and Number 1 agent, for many years has dominated the Council, as is attested in the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on September 20, 1949.

The same FCCCA report lists a grant of \$30,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation "for the Study Project of the Department of the Church and Economic Life"; a \$500 grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Inc. for general purposes and another \$500 for "International JUSTICE AND GOOD WILL-COMMITTEE ON POLICY"; and a \$500 grant from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith "for general purposes".

The extent of personal activity of the Rockefellers in the FCCCA is out of proportion to their meagre personal financial contribution. For many years no conference or meeting of the Council was complete without an address by Dulles or one of the Rockefellers. In one such address before the Protestant



Council, New York City, on January 31, 1935, John D. Jr. suggested that the future of the Christian Church is the Buddhist and Roman concept of "the Church of the Living God", with an intimation that he would make a good god.

But few of the matters advocated by the Rockefellers in the Federal Council were of the religious category. Most of them have been political and characterized by efforts to shield with a cloak of sanctimony, and to convert to holy causes and "Crusades" current political and commercial ventures extending the realm of the Rockefeller Empire; or to further the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. Thus under the Rockefeller-Dulles domination, the FCCCA slavishly endorsed their New Deal, their World Wars I and II Crusades, higher taxes, their United Nations, their UNRRA, their Marshall Plan, the use of the atom bomb, the support of the Korean War, and their program of appeasement of Soviet Russia. Dulles has openly advocated submission to Russia and bowing to Stalin's dictates in addresses to the Council's meetings and to the Rockefeller Foundation subsidized International Church Conferences.

Most recently, on April 25, 1951, Nelson A Rockefeller addressed the Buck Hills Falls conference of the Council, as chairman of the International Development Advisory Board, in support of the Rockefeller Empire's latest scheme for looting the American taxpayer and the U.S. Treasury for its commercial and political interests, the Point 4 Program. He presented this commercial device as a "Crusade," an attack "on the global scourges of hunger and disease".

"Hunger poverty, disease and ignorance", he said, "constitute a far more lasting threat than the aggression of Soviet imperialism."

The Council adopted a resolution advocating the program.

The Rockefeller Empire is an old hand at using religion and missions in promoting its commercial interests. It was highly successful in so doing, for instance, in China. Religion is merely another, but very powerful, propaganda device that can be used to delude the "peasants" and to profit themselves.

It really matters not what is the religion, provided that it has a sufficient following. At a special thanksgiving convocation of the Jewish Theological

Seminary, on October 21, 1950, Nelson Rockefeller, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath and Roger W. Straus, co-chairmen of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, received honorary Doctor of Laws degrees. Rockefeller called on religious and educational leaders to supply the moral urge for the peace drive and to support the UN. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 22, 1950)

Like Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations and most other Rockefeller dominated organizations Rockefeller's Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has been branded repeatedly by government agencies, subversive and a Communist front. Thus the Intelligence Department of the U.S. Navy reported on April 1, 1935, as follows: "From a comprehensive survey of Communist activities in the United States at the present time, a classification of organizations active for the Communist cause is as follows: . . . "C. Organizations which while not openly advocating the 'force and violence' principles of the Communists give aid and comfort to the Communist movement and party. Among the strongest of these are: . . . " (b) The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America: This is a large radical, pacifist organization. It probably represents 20,000,000 Protestants in the United States. However, its leadership consists of a small radical group which dictates its policies. It is always very active in any matter against national defense." (C. R., Aug. 17, 1935, p. 13053) At about the same time the following sworn testimony was given before the Dies Committee: "The radical affiliation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ is a subject of extensive discussion. Apparently, in lieu of primarily promoting Christianity among its several members it more represents a huge political machine and appears to meddle in radical politics. Its directorate indicates that it interlocks with many of the most radical organizations". How mild and charitable this testimony was, is indicated by the appended chart of officers and leaders of the Council, and the following quotations from publications and literature.

The views expressed and published by many of the past presidents of the Council have been far

to the Left. Thus Rev. Albert W. Beaven, in 1933, signed with 44 others the letter of the National Religion and Labor Foundation to President Roosevelt urging him to socialize America. It read: "We hold that there can be no recovery so long as the nation depends on palliative legislation inside the capitalistic system". He also sponsored the Emergency Peace Campaign.

Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, in 1936, earned the commendation of the official Communist paper, the Daily Worker, in the following terms: (Daily Worker, Jan. 7, 1936, Memphis headline) "The Methodist Young People's Conference, with 5000 delegates in attendance, took a sharp turn to the Left in its closing sessions. The Soviet Union was highly praised by Ivan Lee Holt, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. "Dr. Kirby Page, noted fighter for peace, told the convention that young people should resist the compulsory Reserve Officers Training Corps— even if it means expulsion from college. "Dr. Holt defended the Soviet Union from attack. He declared that the aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was the establishment of a better life. The Russian government does not purport to do this through exploiting someone else, but through raising the general level of all. It is difficult to find youth anywhere in this world more devoted to the cause of Christ than you'll find in Russia devoted to 'Stalin and his new social order'.

"He warned the older generation that 'amongst most of the youth of the world today there is a desire for a change, many preferring revolution. Youth is willing to die for a new order. We adults have made our mistakes. We have given youth a broken-down machine and no tools'."

In many official pronouncements, the Federal Council has attacked free enterprise, capitalism and the American way of life, and has baldly advocated Socialism.

A large number of the clergy affiliated with the Federal Council constantly preach that Communism is an advanced form of democracy; that it is the desirable next step in the forward progress of our society; that Communism and Socialism are the "new social order" and express more nearly

than capitalism the true brotherhood of man; that they bring us closer to the realization of the ideals expressed by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount; that Russia is the land where all social and economic problems have been solved, where inequality, poverty and want have been abolished.

While some affiliated with the Federal Council are undoubtedly members of the Communist Party, most of those who have been actively aiding and abetting Socialism and Communism are fellow travelers rather than actual members of the party.

However, it must be remembered that fellow travelers are more dangerous to America than outright Communists. It is generally they who lend an air of respectability to the vicious, debased movement that is Communism, and it is they who bring into Communist fronts the innocents and dupes without whose aid, encouragement and financial support the front could not exist. It has been well said that a fellow traveler is a Communist without courage—one who believes in the principles of Marxism but lacks the intestinal fortitude publicly to join the party.

Under our code of laws one who aids and abets a criminal is just as guilty as the one who commits an overt crime. Any one, be he minister or layman, who knowingly aids and abets the God-hating enemies of America and Christianity is just as guilty and just as un-American as a Communist.

The following are representative views expressed by FCCCA leaders:

"Is it not probable that the greatest event of the 20th Century thus far is the Soviet Revolution and all it has meant to human welfare?" (Prof. Jerome Davis, long-time member of the Federal Council inner circle.)

"When the Western world was floundering in an unjust and competitive order . . . God reached out and put his hand on the Russian Communists to produce a juster order and to show a recumbent church what it has missed in its own gospel." (E. Stanley Jones, Federal Council-sponsored preacher and speaker.)

"The Christian religion is not a suitable religion for today." (Eduard C. Lindeman, Federal Council Commission on Research, and editor 1939 and 1940.)

"The Soviet Union is progressing and growing up economically and politically since the time of the

Czars, while capitalist society is starving and going down." (Harry F. Ward, broadcast May 21, 1946.)

"Denominationally, I am a Presbyterian; religiously a Unitarian; and politically, I'm a Communist. I'm not preaching to make people good or anything of the sort. I'm in the church because I can reach people easier that way and get them organized for Communism." (Rev. Claude C. Williams, a confessed Communist Party member, Director of People's Institute of Applied Religion, and intimate of prominent Federal Council personalities.)

Rev. Harry F. Ward is an outstanding exception among the ministry of the FCCCA. He has the full courage of his convictions. He has been a steady contributor to the columns of the official newspaper of the Communist Party in the U.S., the Daily Worker, and has hewed close to the Party line, and has been claimed by them as one of their own crew. In his position of Professor of Christian Ethics of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, he was in a position to subvert several generations of the American ministry with his pro-Soviet teachings.

A sample of the "religion" of the minister of the gospel who accepts Marxism as his creed, is Thomas A. Bisson cited by Sen. Joseph McCarthy (CR. 3/30/51, p. 4454) as follows:

"He writes to the head of a Protestant missionary council advising against giving aid in . . . 'rehabilitating the Red-ravaged districts'."

"In a postscript he wrote, 'I would strongly advise every prospective missionary to China to read Chinese Destinies by Agnes Smedley' (notorious Communist agent and spy)."

So notorious have the Communist activities of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America become that the organization and its membership found mistrust rendered their propaganda ineffective. Following the habit of the Communists, who adopt aliases and change the names of their organizations when they are exposed, on November 28, 1950, the FCCCA changed its name to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and issued a false statement to the effect that a new-organization had been formed. Unfortunately, it is a case of "a rose by any other name."

The \$100,000 grant made by the Rockefeller Foundation to the FCCCA for its Department of Church and Economic Life, coupled with the previous

\$15,000 grant for international church conferences, were designed to carry the churches involved even further into politics and to the Left. Under the tutelage of Nelson Rockefeller and John Foster Dulles it has served that purpose. This is made clear by the press release of The American Council of Christian Churches—an organization of Protestant churches that seeks "to offset the modernist socialist influence of the FCCCA", headed by Rev. William Harlee Bordeaux—on the second conference on the Church and Economic Life held, with Rockefeller financial support, at Detroit in the spring of 1950. It read as follows: "Radicals among churchmen and labor leaders had their way at the second conference on the Church and Economic Life sponsored recently in Detroit by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Conservatives, who constituted a very small minority among the 460 delegates attending, battled against the powerful drive of those who would take us closer and closer toward a 'Welfare State', but after four days of futile struggle they abjectly surrendered—without even bringing in a minority report. "Economic proposals which came out of the study section were approved in plenary session by a vote of 202 to 15. Few voted against Welfare State proposals as: 1. Federal aid to public education everywhere in the U.S. 2. Socialized medicine. 3. An increase in Social Security payments. 4. Tax regulation as a major measure to achieve equitable division of income. Strong sympathy was shown for Cooperatives, and it was further approved: 'We also suggest the study of such government cooperatives as TVA, as one method of utilization of our national resources'."

The FCCCA presents the usual pattern that prevails wherever Rockefeller influence gains predominance, i.e. interlocking with the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire—the Council on Foreign Relations. Only three of their number are dignified with membership in that top agency. They are:

Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor of Applied Christianity and Dean of the Union Theological Seminary; and editor of the periodicals Christianity And Society and Christianity And Crisis. Rev. Henry P. Van Dusen, Professor of System-308



atic Theology and President of Union Theological Seminary, of Associated Board of Christian Colleges in China, of American Association of Theological Schools and of Union Settlement Association; chairman, Study Committee of World Council of Churches; Trustee, Princeton University, Ginling College, Nanking Theologic Seminary, Yenching University, Milbrook School, Smith College, Little School; director, United China Relief, Freedom House, Council For Democracy and many others of the same brand.

Rev. Walter Van Kirk, Federal Council Secretary, radio commentator on Religion and the News, consultant to American Delegation to United Nations Conference, San Francisco. Though Rockefellers' religious activities have been largely or exclusively in the field of fostering in religious circles the very Marxist and Communist causes that aim to destroy religion, they are nevertheless regarded as "good Christians". This reputation for religiosity which they have intensively fostered, has served to shield them completely from exposure and condemnation for their anti-religious work in fostering Communism and for their other malodorous activities. This has happened despite the fact that they have made no effort to hide their support and sponsorship of subversive agencies and their complete aversion to patriotic, nationalist activities, as contrasted with their wholehearted endorsement of "internationalism". Thus Elizabeth Dilling pointed out the Rockefeller Red activities in the 30's in her books, *The Red Network* and *Roosevelt Red Record and Its Background*. In the latter volume she reported:

"Because of its sinister activities and close connections with the Roosevelt regime, the Socialist-Communist League for Industrial Democracy, of which the Worker's Alliance is a section, is of interest . . . "The L.I.D. National Advisory Council on Radio and Education is financed according to the current report of the Council by John D. Rockefeller Jr. and by the Carnegie Foundation." (pp. 21-22) But her attitude toward Rockefeller's key activities in the support of Marxism, Communism and other subversive movements is revealed on page 166 in her discussion of subversive activities in Interna-

tional House, which reads, it was "donated by 'sap' John D. Rockefeller Jr.". She fails to list Rockefeller among her key supporters of Communism in America. If Rockefeller is merely a "sap" for financing and fostering the rise and spread of Communism, why stigmatize and prosecute Hiss and other agents of his as traitors? Under the law, an accomplice before the fact is as guilty as the perpetrator of a crime. Rightly President Truman labelled Hiss a "red herring". Senator Truman once had the courage to label the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd as traitors; and he well knows that Alger Hiss was merely their agent.

It is unfortunate that too many folks who pretend to defend the Constitution, and human freedom that is bound up in it, are more interested in venting religious bigotry, and profiting from it, than they are in the great cause to which they render lip service. For otherwise their forces would not be diverted by the cry of "good Christian" and a display of religiosity, to the mere chasing of "red herrings". The battle for Constitution and Republic can only be won if the cloak of pious sham and hypocrisy assumed by the conspirators is torn aside, and the arch-traitors are exposed, divested of their powers, and prosecuted to the full limit for their nefarious activities. Many tens of thousands of lives and endless human misery would be spared thereby.

#### THE CHURCH BODIES WHICH CONSTITUTE THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

National Baptist Convention  
Northern Baptist Convention  
Church of the Brethren  
General Council of Congregational Christian Churches  
Czech-Moravian Brethren  
International Convention of Disciples of Christ  
Evangelical and Reformed Church  
Evangelical United Brethren Church  
Five Years Meeting of the Friends in America  
Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity  
The Methodist Church  
African M. E. Church  
African M. E. Zion Church  
Colored M. E. Church in America  
Moravian Church  
Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.  
Presbyterian Church in U. S.  
Protestant Episcopal Church  
Reformed Church in America  
Romanian Orthodox Church of America  
Russian Orthodox Church of North America  
Seventh Day Baptist General Conference  
Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church of North America  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America  
United Lutheran Church (Consultative Body)  
United Presbyterian Church  
United Church of Canada

# FEDERAL COUNCIL LEADERS WHO HAVE HELPED COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

- Henry A. Atkinson—4, 9, 10, 29, 39, 40, 45  
 Genl. Secy., World Alliance for Int. Friendship thru Rel. Roswell P. Barnes—10, 15, 23, 24, 86, 87, 39, 42, 46  
 Federal Council Secretary John C. Bennett—34, 36, 45  
 Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York W. Russell Bowie—3, 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 24, 26, 34, 37, 41, 44, 45, 46  
 Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York Hugh Chamberlain Burr—24, 37, 39, 42  
 Secy., Rochester (N. Y.) Federation of Churches George A. Buttrick—23, 24, 37, 40  
 Minister, Madison Ave. Presbyterian Church, New York J. Henry Carpenter—17, 21, 28, 40, 46  
 Federal Council Secretary Samuel McCrea Cavert—24, 87, 40, 36  
 Federal Council Secretary Allan Knight Chalmers—1, 11, 15, 23, 24, 26, 86, 87, 40, 42, 45, 46  
 Minister, B'way Tabernacle Congregaational Church, N. Y. C. Winifred Chappell—3, 7, 8, 10, 18, 24, 80, 38  
 Secy., Methodist Federation for Social Action Jerome Davis—1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 86,  
 Former Prof., Yale Divinity School 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46  
 Mark A. Dawber—9, 14, 38, 40  
 Secy., Home Missions Council, New York Harold E. Fey—1, 23, 24, 36, 42, 48  
 Assoc. Editor, The Christian Century, Chicago Harry Emerson Fosdick—1, 23, 24, 26, 29, 45  
 Ret. Former Prof. Union Theological Seminary, New York J. H. Franklin—40, 45  
 Pres. Emertius Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. Charles K. Gilbert—11, 19, 28, 40, 44  
 Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York L. O. Hartman—1, 5, 7, 8, 19, 80, 86, 87, 40, 44  
 Methodist Bishop Ivan Lee Holt—19, 23, 87, 44  
 Methodist Bishop, Former Pres. Federal Council Walter M. Horton—82, 86, 40  
 Prof., Oberlin (Ohio) Divinity School William Lloyd Imes—7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 40  
 Secy., New York State Council of Churches  
 F. Ernest Johnson—17, 28  
 Federal Council Secretary  
 Edgar DeWitt Jones—7, 23, 81, 37  
 Minister Emeritus, Woodward Christian Church, Detroit E. Stanley Jones—7, 45  
 Federal Council Preacher and Missionary John Paul Jones—12, 25, 38, 43  
 Minister, Union Church of Bay Ridge Benson Y. Landis—17  
 Federal Council Secretary Henry Smith Leiper—1, 4, 10, 26, 38  
 Secy., World Council of Churches, New York Eduard C. Lindeman—1, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 28, 24, 26, 27, 29, 83, 87,  
 Prof., Columbia University 39, 46  
 Halford E. Luccock—2, 15, 16, 19, 24, 30, 34, 86, 87, 40, 42, 44, 46  
 Prof., Yale Divinity School Francis J. McConnell—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 28, 29, 80,  
 31, 32, 88, 36, 87, 88, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46  
 Methodist Bishop, Former Pres. Federal Council J. Howard Melish—3, 7, 11, 12, 32, 87, 42  
 Suspended Rector P. E. Church of the Holy Trinity, B'klyn. Abraham J. Muste—1, 13, 15, 17, 24, 26, 28, 36, 46  
 Secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation James Myers—1, 11, 17, 24, 38, 39, 43  
 Federal Council Secretary Reinhold Niebuhr—5, 7, 15, 17, 23, 24, 28, 86, 87, 89, 42, 43, 45, 46  
 Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York  
 G. Bromley Oxnam—1, 9, 15, 24, 30, 32, 84, 36, 37, 40, 46  
 Methodist Bishop, former Pres. of Federal Council  
 Kirby Page—1, 6, 15, 23, 24, 28, 36, 42, 46  
 Author Lecturer, former Minister, Disciples of Christ Edward L. Parsons—1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, 27, 32, 33, 34, 37,  
 Prot., Episc. Bishop of Calif. (Ret.) 40, 44, 45  
 Edw. McNeill Poteat—14, 23, 32, 84, 86, 38, 40, 41, 45  
 Former President, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School William Scarlett—1, 11, 16, 86, 40  
 Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Missouri

- Robert W. Searle—17, 23, 24, 26, 36, 37  
 Director, Protestant Council of New York City Guy Emery Shieler—2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 19, 22, 25, 86, 37  
 Editor, "The Churchman" Ralph W. Sockman—10, 23, 24, 45  
 Minister, Christ Church (Methodist) New York William B. Spofford—1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 82, 34, 87, 40, 42, 48  
 For 25 yrs. Exec. Secy., Church Lea. for Ind. Demcy. (Ret.) Worth M. Tippy—7, 19, 30  
 Former Secy. Of Federal Council Channing Tobias—3, 4, 9, 16, 21, 32, 34, 38, 40  
 Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City Willard E. Uphaus—5, 10, 12, 14, 34, 36, 38  
 Exec. Secy., Natl. Religion & Labor Foundation Henry P. Van Dusen—3, 15, 36, 42, 46  
 President, Union Theological Seminary, New York Walter Van Kirk—10, 15, 23, 46  
 Federal Council Secretary Harry F. Ward—1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44  
 Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York (Ret'd.) Luther A. Weigle—15, 19, 36, 37, 45, 46  
 Dean, Yale Divinity School

# LIST OF A FEW COMMUNIST, COMMUNIST FRONT AND SOCIALIST, SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

1. American Civil Liberties Union CF
2. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom CF
3. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born G
4. American Committee to Save Refugees CF
5. American Friends of Spanish Democracy CF
6. American Fund for Public Service (the Garland Fund) CF
7. American League for Peace and Democracy C
8. American League Against War and Fascism C
9. American Round Table on India CF
10. American Youth Congress C
11. Church League for Industrial Democracy S (now Episcopal League for Social Action)
12. Citizen's Committee for Harry Bridges CF
13. Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder C
14. Civil Rights Congress C
15. Committee on Militarism in Education CF
16. Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America CF
17. Consumers' National Federation CF
18. Consumers' Union CF
19. Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo CF
20. Conference on Pan-American Democracy C (or Council for Pan-American Democracy)
21. Council on African Affairs C
22. Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace CF (Waldorf Astoria Conference sponsored by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions)
23. Emergency Peace Mobilization CF
24. Fellowship of Reconciliation CF
25. Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade CF
26. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights CF
27. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee C
28. League for Industrial Democracy S
29. League of American Writers C
30. Methodist Federation for Social Action CF
31. Michigan Civil Rights Federation C
32. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship C
33. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights CF
34. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties C
35. National Negro Congress C
36. National Religion and Labor Foundation CF
37. North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy CF
38. People's Institute of Applied Religion C
39. People's Lobby CF
40. The Protestant (formerly known as the Protestant Digest) C
41. Schapper Defense Committee C
42. Socialist Party S
43. United Christian Council for Democracy UF
44. Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo CF
45. World Tomorrow Poll S
46. War Resisters League UF

C—Communist S—Socialist CF—Communist Front UF—United Front

## CHAPTER XVII

### ROCKEFELLER "FREES" THE PRESS COMMISSION ON "FREEDOM" OF THE PRESS

"The Council On Foreign Relations is concerned that the debunking campaign following World War I shall not be repeated"—Rockefeller Foundation Report, 1946.

Once Rockefeller had learned the unwisdom of expressing his contempt of the American "peasants" and had discovered the necessity of courting their goodwill in order to carry through his imperial schemes, every means of publicity, propaganda, and thought-control was impressed into service. Initially, dependence for press coverage was placed in the contacts of Ivy Ledbetter Lee, who was recommended to Rockefeller for the purpose by Arthur Brisbane. The complete reliance and dependence of John D. Jr. on Ivy Lee is graphically portrayed by the fact that the story of his recent second marriage, to Mrs. Allen, was released by Lee's firm.

In line with the Rockefeller policy of controlling directly all agencies on which they place dependence, it was merely a matter of time and opportunity when the Rockefeller interests would gain control over all important channels of publicity.

In 1922, Englebert Graff announced that the Rockefeller interests had taken over three Parisian dailies—*Le Matin*, *Figaro*, and *L'Eclair*—in connection with their deal for monopoly of the French oil market and their purpose of controlling French oil diplomacy.

The optimum opportunity for seizing control of the American press, as well as of many other industries, was created by the financial crash of 1929 and the purposefully prolonged panic and depression of the 1930's. Contracted advertising expenditures brought about a slump of advertising revenues and reduced the leading publications in the country to the verge of bankruptcy. Thus, Curtis Publishing Co. stock went begging at about a nickel a share; and hundreds of thousands of shares changed hands at that level. Crowell Collier's stock sold for little more. Control of most of the leading publishing houses was purchased for a mere pittance. The Hearst publications, the International News Syndicate, King Features, and other organizations of the chain were taken over for reorganization at about

the same time by Rockefeller's Chase National Bank.

Rumor has it that control of the New York Times, in which Rockefeller's henchman George Foster Peabody, already had an interest, was taken over by the Rockefeller interests in the names of nominees, for a consideration of \$17,000,000 when the death of its proprietor, Julius Ochs, necessitated raising funds for inheritance-tax and other payments. The New York Times is now the official organ of the Rockefeller Empire, in much the same sense as the London Times is the official organ of the British Empire.

There exists a curious interlocking of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" and their subsidiary agencies with the Times. Thus since 1939, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the Times, has been a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. An array of the editorial staff of the Times are members of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations. These include Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Julius Ochs Adler, Charles Merz (editor in chief, former editor of the radical New Republic, and foreign correspondent of Collier's) Hanson W. Baldwin (military editor), Shepard Stone (Sunday staff), Henry R. Lieberman (correspondent in China who was awarded a Council fellowship financed by the Carnegie Corporation), the late Simeon Strunsky, Lester Markel (Sunday editor), W. H. Lawrence, John B. Oakes and James B. Reston. Lester Markel and John E. Kenton are officers of the International Press Institute set up by the Rockefeller Foundation with its satellite Ford Foundation.

The Communist cell in the Times had its own publication, Hard Times.

A sufficiently large number of dailies, members of the Associated Press, have come under their control to assure domination. Significantly, the AP offices occupy a building in Rockefeller Center.

The Communist PM was financed by Marshall Field, trustee of Rockefeller's Spelman Fund, and by the Payne Whitney's. Rockefeller's kinfolks, the Harknesses, financed Time Inc., assuring their domination of the publications Time, Life and Fortune. Whittaker Chambers, the former Communist agent who exposed the treason of Alger Hiss, is by no means the only Communist, past or present, on the



staffs of those publications. It has long been a topic of conversation that one of the prime qualifications for a position with Time Inc. was membership in the Communist Party; and that it was a sine qua non for employment on Fortune. How important a role a position on the staff might play in Communist commercial espionage is discernible from the fact that industrial firms valued a write-up in Fortune so highly that they were willing to reveal to it their most secret and confidential data.

Ralph McAllister Ingersoll resigned his post as publisher of Time, to which he had been promoted after serving as associate editor of Fortune and general manager of Time, Life, Fortune, Architectural Forum, and The March Of Time, to become associated with Marshall Field and others, as publisher of the Communist newspaper PM. He relates in his autobiography published in Who's Who, as his claim to honor:

"... resigned (from Time Inc.) to organize and finance company subsequently to publish PM (New York daily evening newspaper); founded the Newspaper PM and editor since 1940 . . . interviewing Marshal Stalin, 1941 ..."

Ingersoll so insistently demanded of his readers that they volunteer to fight in defense of Stalin and the Soviets, that an irate reader challenged him to do so himself and "needled" him into doing it. He announces in his biographic sketch that he returned to resume publication of PM. Ingersoll exemplifies the spirit that prevailed on the staffs of Time Inc. during his tenure there, and that has persisted since.

Russell Wheeler Davenport, of Fortune and Life, spearheaded another aspect of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis political activities, fake opposition to their New Deal. He reports himself to have been the coordinator of the extraordinary pre-convention campaign that made New Deal Democrat, Rockefeller puppet, "One World" (Rockefeller's) Wendell Willkie the "me-too", fake opposition, Republican candidate in the 1940 presidential election, with the object of ensuring the U.S. entry into World War II that had already been pledged to England. In this maneuver they attained the superlative in thumbing their noses at the American "peasantry".

Henry Robinson Luce, China-born son of a missionary, product of Yale and Oxford Univer-

sities, who, with Briton Hadden, founded Time Inc. with Harkness Standard Oil money and became editor and publisher of Time, is, as might be expected, in the ranks of the key agencies of the Rockefeller Empire—its Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute of Pacific Relations, Yenching University of which he is a director, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. and others. He was the front through whom they financed the Commission on Freedom of the Press, that proposed to abolish the unalienable human rights assured by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and advocated the same type of freedom of the press as is enjoyed by Pravda in Russia and La Prensa in Argentina, a press that would be "responsible"—to the rulers of the Rockefeller Empire.

The same situation prevails in the only other news magazine upon which the bulk of the nation is dependent for its contact with world news—the New Deal sponsored Newsweek.

Rockefeller thought-control apparatus has been particularly cunning in maintaining in the press, as in politics, a semblance of opposition and rivalry. But even a casual examination of the situation reveals that the "opponents" represent the two sides of the same side; their two parties are one party made to appear as two; and their "bipartisanship" is a completely transparent device for promoting the interests of the Rockefeller Empire. Consequently, there never emerges to public notice the question: "Is it constitutional, or desirable to scatter American troops about the world to serve other lands?" The controversy that comes to public ken is: "Shall we send one army or ten armies to Europe?"

The Rockefeller interests have been careful to cover up their trail in the ownership and control of publications by a maze of nominees, dummy corporations, and interlocking directorates. Thus, Collier's lists three corporations as owners, while a fourth, unlisted corporation actually owns and operates the publication. A E. Winger, director of Crowell Collier, interlocks it with Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, of which he is chairman of the board of directors. Thomas E. Beck, chairman of the board of Crowell Collier, interlocks its directorate with the Rockefeller-dominated Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

The conspirators arrange subsidy of publications that carry their propaganda line through the ECA, the Marshall Plan, and other devices. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of those funds are spent for the purchase of Time, Life, Fortune, Collier's and other magazines for free distribution in Eurasia. The New York Times special airmail edition that costs 25c a copy is mailed daily, at the expense of the taxpayers, to every member of Parliament and every high British official, as well as to the officials of other lands.

The influence of the tremendous amount of advertising of concerns dominated by Rockefeller on the publications not directly controlled by them, cannot be overemphasized.

The highly laudatory articles on the Rockefellers that have appeared in numerous magazines during the past year, in Collier's magazine, the Saturday Evening Post, the Police Gazette (Feb. 1951) and many others, present the amusing spectacle of the Rockefellers telling the world how good they are. No doubt they believe with Ivy Lee and his pupil, Joseph Goebbels, that if a lie is repeated often enough, the "peasants" eventually will believe it.

During the same period the Rockefellers seized control of all important media of mass communication. In connection with the construction of Rockefeller Center, they acquired a controlling block of the stock of Radio Corporation of America, as well as of Radio Keith Orpheum. By such deals and through domination of such New Deal agencies as the Federal Communications Commission, they gained control of the key radio networks; their control is exercised directly, and through agents and associates. Through American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and its subsidiaries—Bell Telephone Laboratories and Electrical Research Products—and a patent pool with General Electric Co., RCA, and others, that effected a monopoly of motion-picture sound devices, the movie producers were mercilessly tied up, looted to the point of virtual bankruptcy, and then taken over by the Rockefeller interests.

Public-opinion polls and public-opinion researches are highly effective propaganda devices. There exists among the less intellectual and moronic elements, that preponderate in every community, a powerful desire to conform. This has

been especially highly intensified in communities that have known the doubtful blessings of Rockefeller's "educational philanthropies", which have well served the original purposes of its founder— of teaching the "peasants" to do "perfectly", from the viewpoint of the Rockefellers, the things that previously they did "imperfectly" from the same viewpoint. Let the public know that Nincompoop Dummy is the candidate chosen by the majority of folks polled, and they will generally rush to vote for him unless they have been conditioned to resist the suggestive force. For it is human to like to pick a winner and to ride him to victory. The presence among the pawns and puppets of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations of George Horace Gallup, founder of the British and the American Institutes of Public Opinion which operate the polls that so often influence profoundly the sentiments and votes of the public, is of great significance.

Unionization plays an important role in warping both press and theatre to the purpose of the conspirators, and in silencing opposition more effectively than any open censorship. Thus the wholly subversive and Communist Newspaper Guild took over the press of the nation through unionization of its editors, reporters, and other help. By steadily higher and exorbitant wage demands, and other preposterous exactions, the Guild forced a large proportion of the press that opposed Rockefeller's "New Deal" or exposed Communist henchmen and conspirators, either out of existence or into submission.

In New York City the Sun, one of the oldest, best, and most fearless newspapers, was forced to close its doors after campaigns of exposure of Communist infiltration of the national government and exposure of water-front union racketeering and murder. Numerous of its employees, Guild members, lost irreplaceable lifetime positions; but the expose was stopped and the conspirators protected. The New York World-Telegram and The Sun that had taken over the Sun after it was shut down and merged, campaigned strenuously, under the courageous editorship of Lee Wood for a thorough investigation and prosecution of the conspirators in the treason of the Rockefeller-subsidized Institute of Pacific Relations publication, Amerasia. The Guild struck and threw its members out of work,

during a trying period of inflation, for two months and risked throwing them out of work permanently. It did so for the ostensible purpose of securing a relatively minor salary increase that never could repay their strike losses, but for the actual purpose of protecting the conspirators and serving the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. But when the official Communist daily, the Daily Worker, began to totter, the Newspaper Guild virtually forced its members there employed to give it financial assistance and support by returning to the publication a large part of their salaries, which was, to all effects and purposes, dues to the Communist Party.

It is seriously open to question whether the Newspaper Guild, that controls the editorial writers and reporters of the nation, has not served Soviet Russia and the Communist cause more loyally than have even the employees of the Soviet news service, Tass, who infest Washington and the nation and openly carry on their espionage activities.

Major General C. A. Willoughby, former chief of intelligence under Gen. MacArthur, accused a group of Guild members, including Drew Pearson, Hal Boyle, Joseph Alsop, Christopher Ran, and Hanson Baldwin and Time, Newsweek, and U. S. News and World Report of injuring our national interests by "inaccurate, biased and prejudiced" reporting of the Korean War. He charged that their versions of high command strategy gave aid comfort to the Reds. The conspirators' pressure for MacArthur's dismissal was exerted thru these agents.

The Equity Actors Association and stage and motion-picture unions and racketeers and rackets associated with them, have played a parallel role in the legitimate stage and in the motion-picture field. They have imposed such utterly unwarranted and absurd restrictions and unconscionably high costs as to restrict productions solely to those conspirators that undertake to produce for their own propaganda purposes.

The great majority of plays that have been produced on Broadway in the past two decades have been outright Communist, New Deal propaganda, written by Communists, produced by Communists, acted by Communists, reviewed by Communists, but financed by wealthy conspirators and, in some instances, by the New Deal with taxpayers' moneys.

Thus, "Goodbye My Fancy", written by crimson Garson, produced by fellow-traveler Sam Wana-maker, and acted in by him and Madeleine Carroll, was pure and unadulterated, party-line propaganda and part of the Communist phoney "peace drive". The Newspaper Guild critics, pro-Communist, with exceptions, lauded it to the skies, lured in the gullible public and made a financial success of it.

When I sued to recover the price paid for tickets, on the ground that Communist propaganda was misrepresented as entertainment and comedy, the court ruled that I had to prove the Communist intent of a Sam Wanmaker, though it refused to order him to appear in court in response to a summons issued by the court. The Guild reporters made the unwarranted dismissal of the complaint, on technical grounds, the occasion for boosting the popularity of the play. Likewise the stupid, costly musical, "Brigadoon", which was frankly Communist and labor-union propaganda, with a labor organizer as its hero, and Irish mythology as a vehicle, was built up by the critics, as a masterpiece of art and theatre, and made a huge financial success of forcing Communist propaganda on the audience in the guise of "theatre". The foundations have aided and abetted in this perversion of art to Communist propaganda.

The control of book publication has been a relatively simple matter. For few houses account for the output of books, and even fewer for their large-scale distribution. A vertical set-up, involving editors and publishers, jobbers and distributors, reviewers and retail booksellers and clerks, made possible the suppression of almost all books that failed to hew close to the line laid down by the conspirators.

But these methods of purchase, subsidy and perversion fall short of perfection and absolute control. They are relatively inefficient and fail to eliminate completely the possibility of release of material disturbing or menacing to the conspirators and their plans. The Rockefeller Foundation made a number of clumsy stabs at solving this problem of censorship by financing the publication of encyclopedic works that were intended to stand as defini-fields that would blanket out dissenters.

The Rockefeller Foundation, jointly with its sub-



sidiary Carnegie Foundation, subsidized the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Edited by Alva S. Johnson, president of the Rockefeller-subsidized, Red, New School For Social Research that gave haven to such notorious Communist agents as Hanns Eisler, the Encyclopedia is largely, if not entirely, written by such notorious Marxists as Max Beer, Oscar Jaszi and Harold Laski. It defines the "social sciences" so largely, or exclusively, in terms of Marxism as to be a Marxist, Socialist, or Communist tract.

The rewriting of encyclopedias and works of reference along Marxist, Communist "liberal" lines has been undertaken on a vast and systematic scale. Thus Encyclopedia Britannica has been turned over for that purpose to Rockefeller's University of Chicago, under joint ownership or tutelage of Rockefeller's associate, Senator William Benton. Likewise, dictionaries are being systematically revised along lines of Marxist dialectics, to conform with the semantics prescribed by the Communist "party line".

Even more striking in the frankness of the expression of intent of censorship, suppression, and thought control is the instance of History Of World War II, the subsidy for which by the Rockefeller Foundation is reported in its Annual Report of 1946 (pp. 188-9) as follows:

"The Committee on Studies of the Council on Foreign Relations is concerned that the debunking journalistic campaign following World War I should not be repeated and believes that the American public deserves a clear and competent statement of our basic aims and activities during the second World War. What is contemplated is not a nationalistic treatment, but rather a history, with the issues and problems presented by an American historian for an American public.

"The author, Professor William Langer of Harvard University, during the war was the Director of Research and Analysis Section of the Office of Strategic Services, where he had exceptional access bearing on foreign relations. On a leave of absence, Professor Langer will establish headquarters at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He will go to England to consult with Professor Arnold Toynbee, who is presently writing a history of 321

the war and peace settlements based primarily on records available in Britain.

"The Rockefeller Foundation provided \$139,000 for expenses over a four-year period for the preparation of this history."

The History, essentially a study of our relations with other nations and with world problems altered or developed by the war, will subordinate actual operations and military aspects.

Needless to say this "history", which is candidly intended to be internationalist propaganda that will shun all aspects that might foster patriotism to serve Rockefeller interests, will prescribe the line to be followed by textbooks used in the Rockefeller-controlled "educational" system and press.

The true significance and full purport of this "history" grant is made clear by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in his pamphlet, entitled *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, published by himself and distributed from his home, Stonewold, Cooperstown, New York. This pamphlet is all the more significant because Professor Barnes was once, a "fair haired child" of the conspirators he exposes, and he taught in most of the leading universities in the country that are dominated by their "educational philanthropies". This distinguished historian says of his erstwhile sponsors:

"It may be said, with great restraint, that never since the Dark and Middle Ages, have there been so many powerful forces organized and alerted against the assertion and acceptance of historical truth as are active today to prevent the facts about the responsibility for the second World War and its results from being made generally accessible to the American public. Even the great Rockefeller Foundation frankly admits (Annual Report, 1946, p. 188) the subsidizing of a corps of historians to anticipate and frustrate the development of neo-Revisionism [Ed.: meaning the publication of the truth] in our time. And the only difference between this Foundation and several others is that it has been more candid and forthright about its policies. Charles Austin Beard summarized the implications of such efforts with characteristic vigor:

'The Rockefeller Foundation and the Council on Foreign Relations . . . intend to prevent, if they can, a repetition of what they call in the 322

vernacular the debunking journalistic campaign following World War I. Translated into precise English this means that the Foundation and the Council [Ed.: or the Rockefellers] do not want journalists or any other persons to examine too closely and criticize too freely the official propaganda and official statements relative to "our basic aims and activities" during World War II. (PP. 8-9)

"In bringing about the sad state of the world today, the entry of the United States into two World Wars played a larger role than any other single factor. (p. 4)

"While the first World War headed the United States and the world toward international disaster, the second World War was an even more calamitous turning-point in the history of mankind. It may indeed have brought us—and the whole world—into the terminal episode of human experience. It certainly marks a transition from social optimism and technical rationalism into the 'Nineteen Eighty-four' pattern of life, in which aggressive international policies and war scares have become the guiding factor, not only in world affairs, but also in the domestic political and economic strategy of every leading country of the world. The police state has emerged as the dominant political pattern of our times, and military socialism is engulfing both democracy and liberty. (p. 5)

"In all essential features, the United States has moved along into the 'Nineteen Eighty-four' pattern of intellectual life. In Nineteen Eighty-four, the author implies that historians in that regime have to be hired by the government and forced to falsify facts. In this country, and it is also true of other nations, many professional historians gladly falsify history quite voluntarily, and with no direct cost to the government. The ultimate and indirect cost may, of course, be a potent contribution to incalculable calamity. (p. 8)

"A state of abject terror and intimidation exists among the majority of professional American historians whose views accord with the facts on the question of responsibility for the second World War ... It is no exaggeration to say that the American Smearbund, operating through 323

newspaper editors and columnists, "hatchetmen" book reviewers, radio commentators, pressure group intrigue and espionage, and academic pressures and fears, has accomplished about as much in the way of intimidating honest intellectuals in this country as Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, the Gestapo, and the concentration camps were able to do in Nazi Germany.

"Moreover the gullibility of many 'educated' Americans has been as notable as the mendacity of the 'educators'. In Communist Russia and Nazi Germany, as well as in Fascist Italy and China, the tyrannical rulers found it necessary to suppress all opposition thought in order to induce the majority of the people to accept the material fed them by official propaganda. But in the United States, with almost complete freedom of the press, speech and information down to the end of 1941, great numbers of Americans followed the official propaganda line with no compulsion whatever. This is a remarkable and ominous contrast, especially significant because it has been the 'educated' element which has been the most gullible, taking the population as a whole. [Editor's note: It is interesting to note that the educator recognizes that "education" has become thought-control but being too close to the picture, fails to recognize the forest for the trees, fails to discern that the Rockefeller, and other, "educational philanthropies" were designed to bring this about.]

"The opposition to Revisionism—that is, to truth in the premises—stems in part from emotional fixation on the mythology built up after 1937, and in part from personal loyalty to President Roosevelt and the naturally resulting desire to preserve the impeccability of the Roosevelt legend . . . There is of course a powerful vested political interest in perpetuating the accepted mythology about the causes, issues, and results of the second World War, for much of the public policy of the victorious United Nations since 1945 can only make sense and be justified on the basis of this mythology.

"In the United States it has been made the ideological basis of the political strategy of the party in power and has also been accepted by many outstanding leaders of the opposition party.

It has been essential to gain support for the economic policies which have been used to ward off a depression, with its probably disastrous political reverberations. Powerful pressure groups have also found the mythology helpful in diverting attention from their own role in national and world calamity.

"In addition to the opposition of public groups to the truth about responsibility for the second World War, many professional historians and other social scientists have a personal interest in perpetuating the pre-war and wartime mythology. One reason why historians opposed the truth relative to responsibility for the first World War and the main issues therein was that so many of them had taken an active part in spreading the wartime propaganda and had also worked for Colonel House's Committee in preparing material for the peace-making. A considerable number of them went to Paris with President Wilson on his ill-fated adventure. Naturally, they were loath to admit that the enterprise in which they had played so prominent a part proved to be both a fraud and a failure.

"Today, this situation has been multiplied many fold. Historians and other social scientists veritably swarmed into the various wartime agencies after 1941, especially the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services. They were intimately associated with the war effort and with the shaping of public opinion to conform to the thesis of the pure and limpid idealism and ethereal innocence of the United States and our exclusive devotion to self-defense and world betterment through the sword. Hence, the opposition of historians and social scientists to truth about war responsibility and the obvious results of the War is many times greater today than it was in the years following the close of the first World War.

"The 'blackout boys' have not rested content with smearing those who have sought to tell the truth about the causes of the second World War. They have now advanced to the point where they are seeking to smear those who told the truth about the causes of the first World War. At the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston in December, 1949, two papers were 325

read that endeavored to undermine the established revisionist writings regarding the prelude to that conflict. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., in an article in the *Partisan Review*, has even gone so far as to attack those who have written in a revisionist tone on the causes of the Civil War. The next logical step will be to attack the revision of historical opinion relative to the causes of the American Revolution and to find that, after all, 'Big Bill' Thompson was right in his views of that conflict and his threat to throw George V into the Chicago Ship Canal. In other words, Revisionism, which only means bringing history into accord with facts, now seems to be rejected by the 'blackout boys' as a mortal sin against Clio, the Muse of their subject. HOW THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT OPERATES

"The methods followed by the various groups interested in blacking out the truth about world affairs since 1933 are numerous and ingenious, but, aside from subterranean persecution of individuals, they fall mainly into the following patterns or categories: (1) excluding scholars suspected of Revisionist views from access to public documents which are freely opened to 'court historians' and apologists for the foreign policy of President Roosevelt; (2) intimidating publishers of books and periodicals, so that even those who might wish to publish books and articles setting forth the Revisionist point of view do not dare to do so; (3) ignoring or obscuring published material which embodies Revisionist facts and arguments; (4) smearing Revisionist authors; (5) contending that, whatever the devious deceptions practiced by President Roosevelt and his supporters from 1937 to 1941, all this was more than justified in the interest of veritable national self-preservation; (6) contending that the Revisionism after 1918 undermined peace and that any revival of it after 1945 will prevent peace in our time; and (7) maintaining that successful deception of the populace is the cornerstone of sagacious statecraft under our present system of government." The conspirators have materially improved upon the technique recommended by Machiavelli for the maintenance of power in *The Prince* by supplementing it with thought-control by "educational philan-



thropies" that render the "peasants" incapable of thinking except as their rulers wish them to think. Like their Communist associates, they spurn morality and ethics as absurd signs of weakness and for them the Ten Commandments are ridiculous rules intended merely to enslave the "peasantry". The "Grand Lie" uttered whenever it suits their purpose for the maintenance of their power is their constant practise. They utter alternately and indiscriminately lie and truth on the same topic, unabashedly contradicting and belying themselves. They have no fear of insulting public intelligence with their lies, because the "peasants" have submitted to "molding" at their hands to the point where the great majority of them are bereft of intelligence or initiative; and those that are not, are robbed of a voice by control of all avenues of mass communication.

This is well illustrated by the matter of the recognition of the Communist Chinese Government and of seating it in the UN debating arena. Truman, Acheson, Jessup and their entire Rockefeller Red coterie in the State Department and Government, repeatedly went on public record as advocating recognition of the Chinese Reds. When that cause had been made unpopular among the "peasants" by the Korean "police action", not too many months later, the entire mob of the Red officialdom just as publicly belied their published statements and asserted that they had always opposed such recognition. Those who rightly accused them of shiftiness and lying, were subjected to concerted gang-smearing that is the conspirators' habitual practise. This technique is well illustrated by the "McCarthyism" smear campaign that was intended to protect the treacherous crew against exposure, by intimidation and vilification of the would-be patriot. The attack on McCarthy for repeating the exposure of Communists in the State Department and attempting to rise to the defense of our country, a dread offense in the eyes of the conspirators, is a chain attack on him through every one of the channels of mass communication which they control, in succession. Millions of dollars of the conspirators' funds, most of it tapped by devious devices from the pockets of taxpayers via the Treasury, have gone into the campaign. With a fine contempt for public intelligence, their pandering columnists

started the ball rolling by openly announcing the plan of the attack. Starting in the Daily Worker, the New York Compass and the New York Post, the "proletarian" media, its tide rose to fill the columns of the prostituted press in higher echelons, the New York Times, Time, Life, Fortune, Collier's and even the fashion magazines, as well as all channels of radio, television, burlesque, the stage and movies. Thus a group of Red playwrights joined forces in producing Maxwell Anderson's "Barefoot In Athens", a "McCarthyism" chorus in Greek setting. The Rockefeller Red puppets in McCarthy's own Republican Party, Senators Smith, Saltonstall, Morse and others of that breed, have joined in the subversive conspiracy to intimidate patriots. Unlimited funds are afforded the conspirators' agents by the foundations by such grants as the Rockefeller Foundation's "history" grant to foster historical lies and its "study" of civil rights in investigations of subversive activities" to harass and discredit investigators of un-American activities.

The exploitation of "sports" and the gambling associated with them, in order to divert the "peasants", has been one of the most important tools of the conspirators. It serves the same purpose in the so-called democracies that the circus did in the Roman "New Deal" and the mass disciplines and military reviews in the Communazi dictatorships. The nation's press systematically devotes more space to the so-called sports than it does to the nation's affairs and policies by which men eat or starve, work or idle, live and die. When the political scene becomes particularly ugly, as during the Korean "police action", or the exposure of Communist agents and spies in the State Department, the conspirators can always manage to dig up one of their systematic sport "fixes" for the press, to fill the headlines. They can manage to work up more indignation among the thought-controlled mob over a basketball gambling "fix" than over the needless sacrifice of a battalion of troops in Korea.

When the "fixes" do not suffice, the "peasants" are also regaled with the traditional soporific gangster continuity, a la the Kefauver Committee, by press and television. And from time to time, new "thrills" are cooked up by the conspirators to divert shallow minds that have been taught to avoid

thinking and to live only for transient "thrills" and excitements.

Attainment of the ultimate goal of absolute control of publication and thought was the task assigned to the American Commission On Freedom Of The Press, which in the words of Kenneth E. Olson, Dean of the Medill School of Journalism of Northwestern University,

"... arrogating to itself an official status which it never had, comes forth with 'findings' which have no basis in fact . . . and . . . produces a new philosophy which destroys the concept that American citizens have any unalienable basic rights and sets up the claim that freedom to print is the property of the government to be granted or withheld from individual citizens at the government's will ..." This passage is quoted from the introduction to the scholarly, masterful presentation of this conspiracy by Frank Hughes in his *Prejudice And The Press*, which the Devin-Adair Co. published as a patriotic service in 1950. Were the activities of the Pulitzer Prize Committee as devoted to the cause of patriotism as they are to that of subversion, this book would have automatically received its prize.

The Rockefellers avoided launching this attack on the freedom of the press directly. The Commission On Freedom Of The Press was financed by a grant of \$200,000 from the Rockefeller controlled Time Inc. and \$15,000 from the Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., in which Rockefeller influence is not unknown, to the University of Chicago as an agency that would serve to lend prestige to the scheme. The members of the Commission were the following: Robert M. Hutchins, chairman, is the former boy prodigy Chancellor of Rockefeller's University of Chicago, the "brain truster" entrusted to supervise the writing of the Constitution of the Empire, as head of the Committee To Frame A World Constitution, that came forth with its efforts, in 1947, as a pattern for the United Nations. He is director and chairman of the editorial board of Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., in which he is associated with Henry R. Luce and William Benton. His ideas, activities and the associates with which he chooses to surround himself, make it obvious that his sympathies are indiscriminately totalitarian. Incapacity for consistency and

intellectual honesty are revealed by the contrast between his attitudes on "freedom" when it concerns him, in the form of "academic freedom" for himself only, but not for his faculty; and as it concerns others, in the form of "freedom of the press", and the measure of freedom assigned to the community at large in his "World Constitution" which is a pattern of dictatorship. For his "academic freedom" he demands no limitation, free license. For himself he specifies, with arrogant conceit, that "Academic freedom is simply a way of saying that we get the best results in education and research if we leave their management to people who know something about them. Attempts on the part of the public to regulate the methods and content of education and to determine the objects of research are encroachments on academic freedom" (The Higher Learning In America, p. 20). For all others, including the press, freedom is to be restricted by "duty" and "accountability", as in "Freedom of the press for the coming period can only continue as an accountable freedom ... it becomes an imperative question whether the press can any longer be left to the unregulated initiative of the few who manage it".

Hutchins has been very cagey about joining Communist fronts openly. Ex-Communist Louis Budenz has testified that "leading persons" in the field of education were under Communist Party orders to conceal their membership and infiltrate the field of education. Hutchins, however, openly acknowledged his radicalism to the Trustees of the University of Chicago before his appointment to the post of Chancellor. And he did join several Communist or front organizations, including:

1. Moscow State University.

2. Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, that demanded the reinstatement of the three U. of Washington professors, who had been ousted for membership in the Communist Party or affiliations with its causes.

3. American Civil Liberties Union—on advisory board of the Chicago chapter.

Under his "educational" guidance a legislative committee found that the University of Chicago had become a den of Communism, crime, and vice, that

culminated in the horrible Heirens case, in which a young child was murdered by a student.

Zechariah Chafee Jr., vice-chairman, Professor of Law, Harvard University. In 1920, he published a book entitled *Freedom of Speech* in which he showed an appreciative insight into the meaning and value of "freedom" as defined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. But shortly thereafter the Rockefeller influence, as exerted by Beardsley Ruml in direction of the Marxist "social sciences" and totalitarianism, made itself felt and changed the intellectual atmosphere at Harvard. And with it, Professor Chafee changed his tune and joined the ranks of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations as another of the "brain trusters" of the Empire. In line with its policies, he then identified himself faithfully with every turn and twist of the Communist party-line and signed and sponsored, in the company of notorious Communists, numerous manifestos, letters, and other releases of the Party.

John Maurice Clark, Professor of Economics at the Rockefeller-subsidized University of Chicago and Columbia University, member of Rockefeller's National Resources Planning Board, consultant to the NRA, and attached to the OPA. The Marxist trend of his thought is indicated in his work *Social Control of Business*.

John Dickinson, Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania, partner of William G. McAdoo, (Wilson in-law and later New Deal Senator). He is a Rockefeller New Deal "brain truster" who became Assistant Secretary of Commerce and then Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust investigations. He is a member of Rockefeller's Social Science Research Council and his Council on Foreign Relations.

William Ernest Hocking, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University. He is listed as a member of the editorial board of *The Protestant*, which the Un-American Activities Committee described as "one of the most remarkable vehicles of straight Communist propaganda in existence". He has been identified with a number of other Communist-front activities.

Harold D. Lasswell, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, lecturer at the Marxist New School For Social Research, and 331

now Professor of Law at Yale University. His record of Communist activities parallels his Rockefeller-subsidized roles and includes:

1. Chicago Workers School of the Communist Party—lecturer.

2. American Civil Liberties Union.

3. War Communications Research Laboratory, director of a research program financed by the Rockefeller Foundation with a three-year grant of \$81,800, the objective of which was to root out any opposition to Rockefellerism by a process conceived by Lasswell and named "content analysis", another of the pseudo-sciences of the "social science" group. In these activities he was assisted by Communist front and Wallace supporter, Professor Frederick L. Schuman of the University of Chicago and by a group of others of the same breed, including Goodwin B. Watson and William E. Dodd, Jr., who were dismissed from government services by an act of Congress because of their association with dangerous subversives.

Archibald MacLeish, who calls himself poet but has been called by the 1948 California legislative committee investigating un-American activities, one of the "noted Communist Party liners." MacLeish was head of the Library of Congress to which \$90,000 was contributed by the Rockefeller Foundation for the support of his activities. In 1940 he was made Assistant Secretary of State; in 1941, Director of the Office of Facts and Figures; in 1942, Assistant Director of the Office of War Information and American Delegate to UNESCO, of which he became chairman. MacLeish is a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and has been connected with the Social Science Research Council.

Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science at Rockefeller's University of Chicago, who favors "planned collectivism". He was affiliated with the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia which is listed as an "American propaganda agency for the Soviet System." He was also an official of the NRA. He was appointed by President Truman to the Loyalty Review Board. He is closely identified with the Rockefeller Empire, including the following top policy-making bodies: 332



1. Spelman Fund—trustee.
2. Social Science Research Council.
3. National Resources Planning Board, which he was instrumental in organizing for the Rockefeller interests with Louis Brownlow, and into which the Rockefellers have put \$3,953,000. It succeeded to the point where it successfully supplemented the activities of the Rockefeller Institute of Public Administration in realizing proposals for a reorganization of the government in Washington, to suit the Rockefeller dictatorship plans, and actually moved into the White House. Representative John Taber of New York called it a "menace to the welfare of the American people and ... a menace to Constitutional government."
4. Council on Foreign Relations.

Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor of Applied Theology, Union Theological Seminary, an exchange professor with Britain under the Rockefeller plan by which the Rockefeller interests brought to the U.S. to propagandize his schemes, Sir William Beveridge, "cradle to grave", "social security" advocate, whose plans have done so much to undermine the British Empire. Niebuhr's Communist-front activities are discussed in detail in the chapter on the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. He is a member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations.

Robert Redfield, Professor of Anthropology at Rockefeller's University of Chicago. He is Director of the American Council On Race Relations and was associated with Louis Adamic, Mary McLeod Bethune, and other notorious Communists; Charles Dollard, president of the Carnegie Corporation, who appeared before Congress as a friend of Alger Hiss; Will W. Alexander, former vice-president of the Rosenwald Fund, who was named before Congress by Lauchlin Currie as an intimate of Gregory Silver-master in connection with the investigation of the Washington spy rings; and Edwin R. Embree, late president of the Rosenwald Fund and vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Rosenwald Fund joined forces with the Baptist-inspired Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, under the guidance of Beardsley Ruml, in fostering Negro Communist race propaganda and agitation. He was also on the advisory board of 333

the Guggenheim Foundation, which has a long record of grants, according to investigating committee reports, to Reds, including Granville Hicks, Louis Adamic, Langston Hughes, and Carey McWilliams. He also has been affiliated in various capacities with the Social Service Research Council and has been trustee of the Carnegie Institute of Washington and the Social Science Foundation.

Beardsley Ruml, Rockefeller's principal agent in promoting Communism and the subversive "social sciences" in the educational world, launched through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, as has been related in another chapter in connection with that organization. He has been trustee of the Spelman Fund and of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. During his tenure as Dean of the Social Science Division of Rockefeller's University of Chicago, Communist activities of members of his faculty and of the students became so notorious as to precipitate a legislative investigation of the University in 1935. He is a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and a top "brain truster" of the Rockefeller Empire.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Professor of History of Harvard University, who has been identified with numerous Communist and front activities. He is adviser to Rockefeller's Colonial Williamsburg, member of the Social Science Research Council, and member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Schlesinger writes for the "Sunday" (it appears on Saturday) edition of the Red New York Post, a column entitled History Of The Week that aptly illustrates his concept of historic truth. It consists of a mixture of New Deal and other shades of Communist propaganda. Currently it is harping on the present Party "line", McCarthyism.

George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College, an indiscriminate totalitarian who discerns the ideologic identity of Nazism and Communism and subscribes to both, is a member of the Council On Foreign Relations, was placed in Bavaria, where he has been doing a through job or restoring Nazis to control. He is proving himself an outstanding proponent of Rockefellerism. The personnel of the Commission On The Free-334

dom Of The Press as well as its sponsors, Henry R. Luce and Senator William Benton, stand out clearly as Rockefeller associates, "brain trusters", and pawns of the Rockefeller Empire, and beneficiaries of their "philanthropies". Luce, Benton, Chafee, Dickinson, MacLeish, Niebuhr, Rummler, Schlesinger, and Shuster are all members of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. Dickinson, Leigh, Lasswell, MacLeish, Merriam, Redfield, Rummler and Schlesinger are all identified in various capacities with Rockefeller's top level propaganda agency, the Social Science Research Council. Benton, close associate of Nelson Rockefeller and on his advisory committee as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, was vice chairman of the board of the Committee for Economic Development. Merriam was one of the organizers of Rockefeller's top level "planning" agencies, the National Resources Planning Board.

Hutchins, Hocking, Redfield, Niebuhr, and Rummler, of the Commission On Freedom Of The Press, were also members of the Committee to Frame A World Constitution that drew up the initial Constitution for Rockefeller's United Nations. All of them have benefited from Rockefeller "philanthropy" and have shown their willingness to follow direction; and all of them prospered accordingly. It truly can be concluded, therefore, that the schemes which they promote represent the intent and purpose of their Rockefeller masters.

The objective of the Rockefeller imperial interests that emerges again, more clearly than ever, from the report of the Commission On Freedom Of The Press, is a dictatorship that will eliminate all human rights that have been assured by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, including freedom of the press. This they justify by Marxist dialectics. It is the same pattern of freedom presented by Pravda.

The same concept of freedom of the press has been written into the "Bill of Human Rights" of the United Nations by a subcommission on which Professor Chafee and Senator William Benton sat with that distinguished "libertarian" Jacob M. Lomakin, Soviet consul-general in New York City. Lomakin was expelled from the United States following an attempt to kidnap Mrs. Oksana Kasenkina and force her return to Russia, which resulted in her jumping out of the window of his consulate

in an effort to escape his "libertarianism". Freedom used in this sense is obviously a semantic distortion of the word that makes it synonymous with slavery. The latest step of the conspirators to protect themselves from exposure, has been the agitation being conducted to muzzle the members of Congress so that it will not be possible for them to bring the conspiracy to the attention of the public. The first move was a resort to typical Communist smearing of Senator Joseph McCarthy, who dared to repeat charges that had been made before against traitors, Communists, and other subversives in the government. McCarthy is being repaid for the limited measure of courage which he showed in exposing some of the lesser conspirators, (while remaining strictly silent on the topic of the top conspirators which the author has repeatedly called to his attention with ample proof) by being held up by the President himself and by known traitors, to the ridicule and scorn of the moronic element of the nation who swallow this palpably false propaganda. "McCarthyism" has become a word of opprobrium and scorn for any patriot who dares to expose the conspirators and seeks to defend and protect the nation.

Subversion in our laws and courts, packed by the conspirators, has made it a crime to label Communist a person who by his very act and association proves himself an accomplice of the Communist Party, unless oft non-existent party-membership cards in the name of the person can be produced, or the person openly confesses himself to be a Communist. The conspirators have created for themselves a special privilege and thereby have constituted themselves a class above and beyond the law who are free to continue their crimes against the nation, immune to exposure, except by the most daring members of Congress. Now even the members of Congress are threatened by the conspiracy. The members of Congress would be subject to the same persecution as was Mrs. Hesta McCullough when she correctly labelled two notorious supporters, accomplices of the Communist cause, if the schemes of Senators Hunt and Benton, supported by the Administration, were carried out.

This scheme would destroy what little voice the Representatives of the nation have in Congress. At present the members of the House are allowed, as

a rule, only one minute for comment on a matter under discussion, when recognized by the Speaker. In the case of some critical legislation, recently, only half a minute was allowed each member for discussion of the bill, by a rule adopted by the majority of the House.

To make the muzzling of the Congressmen even tighter, another wrinkle has been added to the regulations of Congress. A Congressman may not even publish the remarks and discussions that he would have made, if allowed, in the Congressional Record, except by unanimous consent of the members. Any one member of Congress, in alliance with the conspirators, or one of their number, could completely muzzle the Congress, if Senators Hunt, Benton, and their accomplices can carry through their scheme.

But the conspirators have at their disposal still other tricks for silencing those who might still dare them or manage to get by with criticism and exposure of them. The only member of the Congress who in recent years has dared expose the Rockefeller control of our Government is courageous Senator George W. Malone of Nevada; and the only newspaper in the country that dared publish his expose was the Chicago Tribune, in its issue of April 25, 1949, that has been quoted. Since then, Senator Malone's name has been virtually barred from mention in the Rockefeller-controlled press. There has been set up in regard to him a wall of silence that generally means political death. The only mention of him in the national press since that date has been an attack on him for using the privilege of franking his remarks and telegraphing them to the press, practices that are used by all members of Congress under their privileges, and are constantly being used on a wholesale scale by the critics and conspirators themselves. More recently it has been announced that Rockefeller and allied money would be poured into Nevada when Malone comes up for re-election, to secure his defeat; and that a woman, secretary of his fellow Senator from Nevada, is being groomed by the conspirators to run against him.

The censorship imposed by President Truman on the nation's press is another step in carrying out the conspirators' plans for muzzling it. Annoyed by the exposures of corruption and subversion in the

Government, Truman berated the press for "jeopardizing national security" by publishing releases made by government departments themselves. His attitude was that of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, that a "responsible" press should publish nothing displeasing to the rulers. Oddly enough, Truman's "security" motivated censorship was designed solely to withhold information from the nation, and not from the enemy. For a representative of the Kremlin's press, Tass, was present at the conference. He has not been barred by Truman from getting the press releases of the departments of his own Administration that he alleges jeopardize national security, and from transmitting the information to the Soviet Union.

The penultimate in press censorship and suppression has been attained in the last few years, by a cartelization of the paper and pulp industry that has resulted in one of the most absolute monopolies in history, and has run the price of newsprint from \$60 per ton to as high as \$250 per ton, when it can be bought. George Sokolsky commented wisely on this and other phases of the conspiracy in a Don R. Mellett Lecture at the University of Syracuse, on May 8, 1947, on The Free And Responsible Press, as follows:

"It is interesting to note, for instance, that the OPA never took a single step to protect the newspapers of this country from the abuse of the price of newsprint by an alien cartel . . . The price of paper, the high cost of labor, high taxes, force weaker newspapers either to fold or sell to chains. Some newspapers have folded because they were unable to obtain newsprint or could not pay the exorbitant prices charged by a monopolistic alien cartel. A government which demands freedom of press in countries that have never known freedom of anything, has taken not a single step to safeguard the freedom of its own press by protecting the flow of paper upon which its newspapers are printed. Small newspapers in small cities find it difficult to remain solvent, and therefore free, with newsprint at \$90 a ton, if they can get it at all. To this must be added not only the high cost of newspaper labor but also feather-bedding procedure in the printing trades which large newspapers meet with difficulty and some smaller newspapers cannot meet at all. 338



"For example, there is a trick in newspaper production called 'Bogus' and the name is correct. It consists in setting copy which is never used, the newspapers paying out hundreds of thousands of dollars every year for this purpose. Such bogus copy is set, a proof is taken, and the whole thing is thrown away. It is utter and complete waste. But it obeys the union rules." However sage and true Sokolsky's statements are, they do not represent the whole truth. The alien cartel is dominated by the Rockefellers through the alien powers in question. The Chairman of the Paper Industry Board is John D. Rockefeller 3rd. The unions in question have been especially fostered by the Rockefeller interests through our government, for the very purpose of effective control of the press, which it now serves. This illustrates the profits that have accrued to the Rockefellers from their fostering of labor unionism as a device for regimentation of the people and of control of monopolization of industries through monopoly of labor. It fits perfectly into the totalitarian and syndicalist plot of the Rockefeller Empire.

Leaving nothing to chance, the Rockefeller Foundation, conjointly with its satellite Ford Foundation, has financed the setting up of the International Press Institute and the American Press Institute, as has been related, for the regimentation of the press. In order to insure foreign news that suits their purposes, Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations, with the aid of their satellite Carnegie Corporation, have undertaken to reward foreign correspondents who serve them well with lucrative fellowships. The Advisory Committee of the Council that selects the fellows and supervises their work were reported to be the following members of the Council: Gardner Cowles of Look; John K. Jessup of Fortune; Walter Kerr of the New York Herald Tribune; Grayson Kirk of Columbia University; Eugene Meyer of the Washington Post; Edward Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System; and Shepard Stone of the New York Times. In 1949-50 fellowships were awarded to the following: Henry R. Lieberman, the New York Times correspondent in China, who has covered Nationalist and Communist areas, including Manchuria and Sinkiang; and Robert Clurman, chief

correspondent and manager for the United Press in the Netherlands East Indies. In 1950-51, the fellowships were awarded to the following: Fitzhugh Turner of the Washington bureau of the New York Herald Tribune, formerly correspondent in the Middle East and Palestine, for a study of Russian imperialism; and William J. Boyle, of the Vienna bureau of the United Press, for a study of modern European history.

They have yet to solve the problem of preventing the publication, independently, of exposures such as this. Thus far such exposures constitute little annoyance to them, because of two factors: first, their control and censorship of the press and most other avenues of advertising and publicity bar these books from wide circulation; and second they have learned to trust to the morosity of the rank and file of the average public whom they have "conditioned" through the decades to be completely disinterested in such "minor" matters as national policy, which often determines whether they live or die, and so completely absorbed in such "vital" issues as the universally "fixed" sports and in the deified motion-picture stars, that they have no time for anything else. The more "intellectual" and "educated", or thought-controlled, of the mob have been so completely indoctrinated and conditioned that with a show of bigotry and intolerance, they refuse to believe the truth when it is presented to them. Therefore, the conspirators realize, it is only the exceptional individual who is interested enough to read and profit from a presentation of the truth, like this volume. And such individuals are an infinitesimal minority and count for so little in our land, that they can be ignored. Therefore, a volume such as this, however true, has been of little concern to them.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE "TROJAN HORSE"

ROCKEFELLER'S PHILANTHROPY TRUST A Cesspool Of

Subversion And Perennial Campaign Fund

Philanthropies, social-service activities and charities are political weapons of the first order, if those who control them are minded to use them for political purposes. They have the popular appeal of appearing to give the public something for nothing. And it is notorious that no one wants to shoot Santa Claus. Bismarxism, Communism and New and Fair Dealism have made foundations their most powerful weapon. They are lobbies of the highest effectiveness, entirely outside and above the law, a law unto themselves. The propaganda and political campaigns waged by foundations excel in effectiveness any party political campaigns, because they are waged continuously, year in and year out, with unlimited funds and without any of the legal restrictions imposed upon political parties. These restrictions in the use of political campaign funds were imposed primarily through the efforts of the foundations, which thus cunningly intensified the influence of their own lobbies.

The Marxist New and Fair Deals could not have come into power and retained it for so long a period without the continuous propaganda, campaigning and lobbying for their measures by the Rockefeller-controlled foundations and associated organizations, with all the great wealth, influence and prestige they possess. Not even the Government itself can wield as great an influence, because in politics the purchase of influence carries the limitation of the stigma of corruption, as it does in the world of business and commerce; but in the field of philanthropy and social work it is "accepted practice" to bribe public officials with retainers, jobs and favors, because of the false inference that their lobbying is done in the public interest.

This corrupt use of pseudo-philanthropy in politics is as old as human history. Shrewd members of Congress, back in the days before so many of them had come under the influence of the "philanthropic" lobby, recognized the menace of the proposed Rockefeller Foundation. In 1910 to 1911,

they refused to grant a charter to it on the ground that it would constitute a menace to the nation. On January 26, 1917, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, stated on the floor of the Senate, in a wisely accurate and prophetic vein:

"The Carnegie-Rockefeller influence is bad. In two generations they can change the minds of the people to make them conform to the cult of Rockefeller or the cult of Carnegie, rather than to the fundamental principles of American democracy." Senator Martine, of New Jersey, said, on another occasion:

"I hope that the United States may be spared from living on contributions from Rockefeller and Carnegie". Many other of the shrewder members of Congress were wise and discerning enough to speak in the same vein. Their attitude was in sharp contrast with the abject and craven subservience to the Rockefeller interests of the large majority of the members of present-day Congresses that defile Washington and echo the historic remark of servile, "bipartisan" Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg at the 1945 San Francisco U.N. Conference:

"Anything Rockefeller wants is O.K." This sentiment, unfortunately for the nation, represents the views of all the members of our present-day Congresses with the exception of one or two men, notably Senator Malone of Nevada. They are the only true Americans representing the country in these times of disaster wrought by the conspirators. In 1911, there were still Americans in the majority on the floors of Congress. They rejected the granting of a charter to the Rockefeller Foundation by an overwhelming vote.

Monopoly is the keynote of Rockefeller enterprise. It is quite natural that when John D. had discovered the publicity, propaganda, thought-control and commercial value of pseudo-philanthropic foundations, he should seek to gain a monopolistic control of them and of allied organizations. Besides, self-interest dictated that he would seek to eliminate that bugbear to the Rockefeller mind, the waste that would be involved in a battle of foundations promoting opposing or differing causes. Carteliza-tion of philanthropy, of propaganda agencies parading as philanthropies, of commercial pseudo-

philanthropies, and of charities that feed on the generous impulses of mankind was, from that viewpoint, a desirable objective.

John D. Rockefeller attained the first step in the direction of a merger of "philanthropies" in 1908, when Andrew Carnegie, an in-law of William Rockefeller, was given a trusteeship by Rockefeller on the General Education Board. This initiated the merger of the two richest groups of "philanthropies" of the time, following a period of several years of collaboration between Rockefeller and Carnegie personally through social and golfing contacts. (Nevins, JDR, v. 2, p. 592) It was not long before the Rockefellers and their underlings were appointed to the boards of the various Carnegie philanthropic organizations and dominated them.

At the present time, the Rockefellers are represented personally in the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, a significant set-up in the international field, by David Rockefeller, as trustee; and the chairman of its board of trustees is their kinsman and agent, John Foster Dulles. The two of them were largely instrumental in the appointment of Alger Hiss to the post of president of the Carnegie organization, and with their puppets and agents dictated its policies, propaganda and powerful lobby. Through their agents appointed to the board of each and every one of the Carnegie foundations, they now control them all. This domination has been tightened up by interlocking of a majority of these trustees with the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council On Foreign Relations.

Under Rockefeller control, the activities of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace have completely belied its name and violated the purpose for which it was chartered, by propaganda for our involvement in war—in 1914-1917, and again in 1940, when its President Nicholas Murray Butler campaigned for our intervention on behalf of England. Also, in violation of the law, it was the organizer of the campaign for the three billion dollar gift to England; and it published and distributed 300,000 copies of a propaganda pamphlet designed to influence the Congress, by Robert M. Gulick Jr., entitled Fifteen Facts On The Proposed British Loan. As the reader undoubtedly suspects by now, the "loan" was merely another device for looting the

taxpayers to fill the treasury of the Rockefeller Empire.

It is ironic that the control of the pro-British Carnegie organizations should have fallen into the hands of the Rockefeller interests who are effecting the destruction of the British Empire, and that it should be subverted to their purposes. But in this they share the fate of every important foundation in the country. Through their drafting of the laws, through control of the governmental agencies and courts involved, through seduction, bribery or other form of procurement of personnel skilled in the administration of foundations, through flattering offers of "cooperation" with the newer foundations that ends up in eventual control, or through court action, as in the case of the Frick Museum, the Rockefeller Empire has gained control of every important foundation and subverted them all to the uses and purposes of the Empire. Their control of the educational institutions of the country, especially in the field of the "social sciences", in which is included the administration of philanthropies, has been a material help in this cartelization of the philanthropies.

A mere detailing of the extent of the interlocking of the trusteeships of the foundations on the one hand, and their interlocking with the Rockefeller-dominated, and subversive and Marxist political and propaganda agencies and Government agencies on the other hand, gives some slight inkling of the extent of the menace of the Philanthropy-Charity-Social-Service Trust.

Of the total of 151 trustees listed, 37 interlock the trusteeships of two or more foundations each, 109 interlock membership with Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations, eight or more interlock with the Institute of Pacific Relations, and four were editors of Amerasia magazine. The character and tenor of these trusteeships is indicated by the fact that Alger Hiss Was interlocking trustee of the largest number of these organizations at the time his "patriotic" career was interrupted by a jail sentence for perjury in connection with treason. Hiss's trusteeships included the presidency of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, trusteeships of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the World Peace Foundation, and membership in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and the



Institute Of Pacific Relations. His "sponsor, patron and mentor", John Foster Dulles, was "runner-up" with four: chairman of the board of trustees of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, member of the Council On Foreign Relations and of the Federal (alias National) Council of Churches of Christ in America (alias U.S.) Others, who rival these in the number of their foundation trusteeships, are Karl T. Compton, Cleveland E. Dodge, Douglas S. Freeman, Walter S. Gifford, Robert Gordon Sproul, W. W. Waymack and Harry Merritt Wriston.

Making use of the generous impulses of mankind has become a big and important aspect of the business enterprises of the Rockefeller Empire that overlooks no exploitable human failing or weakness. It gives them two advantages: it places the control of enormous wealth in their own hands to be used as they choose; and it keeps that wealth out of the hands of possible rivals in the quest for power and domination. Since these moneys flow directly into their control, it is not surprising that their agents have written into the law, provisions that exempt from taxation the moneys that flow into their "philanthropic", "social service" and "charitable" organizations.

On August 13, 1951, the National Planning Association, an organization that has been subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation, released a pamphlet written by Rockefeller "tax expert" Beardsley Ruml, in collaboration with Theodore Geiger, entitled "The Five Percent". It deals with a clause in the Federal tax laws Ruml was instrumental in having inserted for his masters, that permits corporations to deduct 5% of their total net income "for approved expenditures for educational scientific and welfare purposes." It can be assumed that expenditures are "approved" by agents of the Empire planted in the Treasury Department, whose approval must be had for all such matters as setting up tax-exempt foundations or researches—a key device in the process of gaining control of all foundations. Ruml, an old hand at the commercial use of pseudo-philanthropies, naively let the cat out of the bag by pointing out the profits of these "philanthropies" to the donors, as follows:

"... many corporations which contribute to scientific research gain access to industrial and 345

technologic applications as a result of that research, which may more than repay the expenditures.

"The expenditures create a highly favorable atmosphere for the corporation within its other business activities—for example, its sales promotion work and its labor relations—have a much better chance of being successful." The real uses to which these "research funds", as well as the activities of the National Planning Association, are put when "approved", can be discerned from the fact that Beardsley Ruml's collaborator, Theodore Geiger, was exposed as a Communist by Professor William Canning before the McCarran Internal Security Committee hearing on August 16, 1951. The taxpayers' moneys are used to supplement the foundations' wealth in fostering Communism in the guise of "social science" research.

The subversive character of the activities and of the key personnel of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations and of their other "philanthropies" and their multitudinous subsidiaries, allies and fronts, has been detailed in other chapters. The political complexion and efficiency of the various Rockefeller foundations has been recounted. How true this state of affairs is in the other foundations of the Trust can be illustrated by listing the Board of Trustees of some of them. The italicized are New Deal officials and the starred, notorious Left Wingers and Marxists.

#### SPELMAN FUND

Cleveland E. Dodge	Charles E. Merriam*
Clarence A. Dykstra	John D. Rockefeller III
Marshall Field*	Laurance S. Rockefeller
William Tudor Gardiner	Beardsley Ruml

#### TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

A. A. Berle Jr.	Paul G. Hoffman
Francis Biddle*	Ostuald W. Knauth
Bruce Bliven*	Robert M. LaFollette Jr.*
Chester Bowles*	Morris E. Leeds
Benjamin V. Cohen*	Robert S. Lynd
Henry S. Dennison	James G. McDonald
John H. Fahey	Charles P. Taft*
H. Chr. Sonne	W. W. Waymack

## WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION

Mrs. Barry Bingham	Archibald MacLeish*
Joseph E. Davies*	Hugh Moore
John S. Dickey	Edward R. Murrow
Cleveland E. Dodge	James B. Reston
Thomas K. Finletter	Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde
Mrs. Raymond B. Fosdick	Francis B. Sayre
Douglas S. Freeman	Arthur Sweetser
Alger Hiss*	Henry A. Wallace*
Grayson Kirk	William W. Waymack
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach	Sumner Welles
Herbert H. Lehman*	Mrs. Quincy Wright

The mechanics of control and subversion of foundations that are not directly dominated is currently illustrated by the developments in the Ford Foundation. This Foundation was established in 1936 by Edsel Ford with a gift of \$25,000, and was rapidly enriched by gifts from Henry and Edsel Ford and their estates. Its stated purpose was to receive and administer funds for scientific, educational and charitable ends, to further the public welfare. Its method of operation was to extend grants to other organizations for their maintenance and operation. In December 1947, it showed capital assets of \$204,855,975.65; total expenditures of \$1,060,064.93; and grants of \$982,185.67, but published no report. It had only five trustees: Henry Ford II, President; Burt J. Craig, Secretary and Treasurer; Karl T. Compton, who is chairman of the board of Massachusetts Institute of Technology that has been so liberally subsidized by the Rockefeller-controlled foundations, interlocking trustee of the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Edison Foundation and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and noted in educational circles as a "liberal"; Donald K. David, who is dean of the Harvard School of Business that is controlled by the Rockefeller-dominated foundations, a familiar Harvard brand of "liberal" and a member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations; and Benson Ford.

Hard-headed Henry Ford had been quite successful in keeping both Wall Street and the Rockefeller interests out of his enterprises. But Henry the Second, far more naive than his grandfather, succumbed to political pressure exercised through inheritance-tax and Treasury bureaucrats and had

opened the door by way of the Ford Foundation to the agents of Rockefeller, peddling their dictatorship conspiracy as "social science". It is safe to predict that this will lead the way to his eventual loss of control of the enterprise he has inherited. For, although the Ford Foundation holds only 3,-089,908 shares of the Class A, non-voting stock of the Ford Co., ways will be discovered by the conspirators to give it, and their agents in it, control of the enterprise. By 1950, the process was already under way. By this time, the value of that stock alone was reported by the Foundation to be \$417,-137,580, mere "chicken feed" in these days of squandering of tens of billions of dollars of taxpayers' money, but still one of the largest boodle funds available in the nation, in the form of a tax-exempt foundation, that can be converted to subversive political propaganda by the conspirators.

The breach made by Compton and David, representing Rockefeller-controlled "philanthropy" was considerably widened by enlargement of the board of trustees, through the addition of:

John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co., trustee of the Foreign Service Foundation and member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations.

Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Co., and trustee of the Foreign Service

Foundation, and Fair Deal official. In addition there were added a host "learned professors", officers of universities heavily subsidized by the Rockefeller "thought control" organizations that parade as "philanthropies", who are dependent upon the Rockefeller-controlled Carnegie Foundation For The Advancement Of Teaching for their pensions and who must do as they are bid.

These submissive "learned professors" were organized into a "study committee" to serve as "independent consultants to the Foundation". This was required by the Treasury Department before it would make a final ruling on the tax exemption of the funds left to the Foundation.

This learned group of professors was permitted by the powers-that-be to dictate how the Ford fortune should be spent. But even learned professors must eat; and to attain the positions they hold they must have learned long since that the easiest and only way to insure steady eating is to

prostitute themselves to the Rockefeller thought-control machine that dictates to the schools and the Government what shall be taught and by whom, and to do its bidding. It is not surprising, therefore, that this "study group" emerged after two years, on September 26, 1950, with their report that required the Ford Foundation to follow the purposes laid down by the Rockefeller interests for all foundations, to support the Marxist New and Fair Deals with their funds and thus to provide a half-billion-dollars perpetual campaign fund for the Socialism and/or Communism of the Democratic Party and the advancement thereby of the Rockefeller Empire.

Their report dictated "five areas for action" to the Foundation, which surprisingly happen to be the same categories into which the Rockefellers classify the activities of their Foundation, except that the "social sciences" are divided into two categories.

Thus the Ford Foundation was either seduced or blackmailed through Treasury Department "acceptance" into constituting itself a perpetual and perennial campaign fund for Rockefeller's Marxist New and Fair Deal and the Democratic Party that carries it out. The program which these "independent consultants" imposed on the Ford Foundation was Rockefellerism. Carrying out of this deal was insured by the appointment of the New Deal ECA Administrator, Paul G. Hoffman, as president of the Foundation at a salary of \$100,000 a year, announced in the New York Times, September 27, 1950. Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of Rockefeller's University of Chicago, head of the Red Commission on Freedom of the Press and Committee to Frame a (Socialist) World Constitution, whose record is cited elsewhere, was appointed Vice-Director. Hoffman has served the Rockefeller Empire sufficiently well to merit membership in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

At the time of Hoffman's appointment, the New York Times announced that the Foundation would promptly launch an intensive campaign for the political activities dictated by "learned professors" and "independent consultants", especially in the various "areas" of the "social science" program urged by them. It was announced that: "Its disbursements will be in the field of social sciences,

with Mr. Hoffman having 'enormous powers' in the apportionment of the fund . . ."

The available liquid resources for this campaign fund, that can be expended for steady propaganda and campaigning, year in and year out, and with no regard to the Hatch Corrupt Practices Act, was announced by the Foundation to be \$68,791,847, as of the end of 1950. Used in connection with the 1952 Presidential election campaign, it would probably make the total Foundation election boodle fund the largest in the history of the country. It would probably prove sufficient to saddle the Democratic Party and its program of Marxist Rocke-fellerism on the nation for at least another four years—and their totalitarian rule.

The New York Times announcements that have been recounted were preceded on September 21, 1950, by one of the "scoops" for which Walter Winchell is so renowned. He announced in the New York Journal American:

" . . . the Ford Foundation will distribute its \$80,000,000 tax exempt fund in the field of social science—particularly the training of men for government services." Eliminating any doubt as to the influence of the Rockefeller Foundation over the activities of the Ford Foundation, the report stated:

"Winchell said the Foundation 'studied the workings of the Rockefeller Foundation and others, before deciding to devote its wealth to social sciences rather than medicine or other physical sciences'."

With Hoffman in control, no time was lost in launching the Ford Foundation in an intensive thought-control and propaganda campaign. The first step was announced on February 20, 1951, in the New York Times, under the headline, Ford Foundation Sets Up Educational Study. The Foundation announced the creation of a Fund For The Advancement Of Education, with an initial grant of \$7,154,000. The chairman is none other than Frank W. Abrams, chairman of the board of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. The president is Professor Clarence H. Faust, dean of the college and of the graduate library of Rockefeller's University of Chicago, who had been transplanted in 1947 to Leland Stanford University as Dean of the



Humanities and Sciences. The board of trustees include the following:

Barry Bingham, president and editor of the Courier—Journal & Louisville Times, owner and operator of radio station WHAS, member of the board of overseers of Harvard U. and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations

Ralph J. Bunche, director of the Division of Trusteeship of the United Nations, trustee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and member of the Council on Foreign Relations

Walter Lippmann, author and journalist and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations

Owen J. Roberts, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice and rabid "internationalist", who has publicly proclaimed his desire to haul down the American flag and replace it with an "international" U.N. banner A fund for adult "education" was announced as one of its first activities in the N.Y. Times of April 24, 1951. Adequate secrecy for the activities of the Foundation that could not stand the light of day was provided by its announced policy of leaving publicity on grants to the discretion of the grantees. Censorship of the press on an international basis was the next venture of the Ford Foundation, in the form of the International Press Institute. It was entered into in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation, that had never been brazen enough to openly launch such a venture, but now saw the opportunity to do so through one of its less suspect agencies. The purposes of the Institute stated in the Times announcement on April 10, 1951, are as follows:

"First, the furtherance and safeguarding of the freedom of the press, by which is meant free access to the news, free expression of views, free publication of newspapers; second, achievement of understanding among editors and so (Ed.: good rhetoric is apparently of no interest to these distinguished editors) among peoples; third, the promotion of free exchange of accurate and balanced news among nations; and fourth, the improvement of the practices of journalism." There is no record that the ultra-Red Newspaper Guild which herds the newspaper staffs of the nation, and especially that of the New York Times,

in the service of Communism, Russia and the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, had the slightest word of protest against the Institute, in spite of its rigid control of all activities and organizations broaching on newspapers. Within a short time the Times announced "seminars" on newspaper topics held by the American Press Institute, Columbia University. Television, which has such tremendous potentials for propaganda, subversion and political control, was the field of activity next entered into by the Ford Foundation. On June 13, 1951, the N.Y. Times announced that the Ford Foundation had launched, in cooperation with the National Association of Radio & Television Broadcasters, a study to determine "how commercial television can contribute to 'a better level of educational, informative and more culturally mature programs'" in the form of an experimental and radio workshop to prepare special programs and offer them to sponsors. James Webb Young, consultant to the Foundation, is quoted as stating that commercial broadcasting would have great social significance and that:

"It is this powerful stream of commercial broadcasting which in my opinion, will be the real impact of television on this country—on its level of information, its emotional maturity and on its unconscious behavior patterns." This powerful weapon of propaganda, thought control and subversion, the conspirators openly propose to control through the Ford Foundation: "In the workshop it would undertake to produce, probably on film, programs with a content in line with the foundation's purposes . . ." Once again it is curious to note that the Communist elements, usually so active and vociferous in all matters that touch on propaganda, have raised no objection to this program. It must be quite to their liking. The reason may be discernible in a broadcast made by a Columbia Broadcasting System panel on Sunday, August 19, 1951. The participants were Representative Reva B. Bosone (Democrat, Utah), Rev. Paul C. Payne of the crimson Board of Christian Education and George H. Shaw, former Assistant Secretary of State. They refused to lay the blame for destruction of the morality of the nation's youth on the perversion and subversion of the educational system of

the nation by the Rockefeller-subsidized Communist "educators" who openly teach in our schools and through all avenues of publication that morality is an anachronistic, bourgeois foible, weakness or vice; or on the wholesale corruption, perversion and treason of public officials. These callous propagandists and perverters of the truth followed the line laid down by the Communist Party and by President Truman in his speech before the American Legion and by the Democratic National Committee, in preparation for trick campaign oratory and for pulling the wool over the eyes of the "peasants". They laid the blame for the immorality on the exposure of corruption, treason, perversion and immorality, especially in the course of political campaigns. They call the exposure of such corruption, treason, perversion and other immorality, "character assassination", until the day that the party involved is thrown behind bars; and they apparently feel that the offenses do not exert an evil influence even then, except in the process of exposure and prosecution. In short, the damage is not in the crime but in its exposure. It is a new version of the old idea held by the criminal, that the only crime is being caught.

This cry of "character assassination" sounds strange coming from the mouth of Harry Shippe Truman, the vestige of the courageous American Senator who, in 1942, "assassinated" the character of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co., his present day bosses, with the truthful charge of treason. It sounds even stranger coming from the mouth of a clergyman in defense of Senator Tydings and his shameful protection of subversion and treason.

The Rockefeller-dominated Trust has made it impossible to set up any sizeable fund or foundation for the fostering of Americanism or the support of the Constitution. The Constitution is an anathema to the conspirators and is never mentioned by them in any of their programs. Any organization for Constitutional education invites the fury of the conspirators and all the persecution and prosecution which their puppet public officials can bring to bear. But in the case of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, another technique was used, one that has become the standard among the conspirators in blocking the philanthropic intent of true Americans.

In 1934, Alfred P. Sloan, then president of General Motors Corp., member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations, announced a gift of ten million dollars to establish the Sloan Foundation for the purpose of effecting

"... a broader as well as a better understanding of the economic principles and national policies which have characterized American enterprise." He appointed his brother Harold Stephenson Sloan, who obtained his M.A. of Columbia U. in economics, in the year 1926, and became associate professor of economics at the N. J. State Teachers College, visiting professor of economics at New York University and lecturer at Columbia U., vice-president and executive director of the Sloan Foundation. He occupied this post until 1945.

Under his directorship, the Sloan Foundation was reincorporated as the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation Inc. (Delaware). The foundation became a hotbed of Marxist "science", otherwise known as "social science", and the "Americanism" that it promulgated was Soviet Americanism. To what extent New Deal pressure was responsible for the subversion of the Foundation is not known. But the Treasury Department has been capable of ruling that to foster Americanism is "to engage in propaganda", a ruling that would bar the Foundation from tax exemption. But it never has been known to rule that spreading Communist and New Deal propaganda is "to engage in propaganda".

The board of trustees of the reorganized Foundation, which was unquestionably dictated by the Rockefeller interests through the Treasury Department, as indicated by its personnel, included:

Karl T. Compton, trustee of the General Education Board, Rockefeller Foundation and Edison Foundation and member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations

Lewis W. Douglas, trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation and General Education Board, member of Rockefeller's Council On Foreign Relations, former Ambassador to St. James Court and president of the Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Rev. Harry F. Ward of the Union Theological Seminary and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, a steady contributor to the official Communist publication, the Daily Worker,

and notorious pro-Communist and joiner of Communist front organizations

John L. Pratt, kinsman of Rockefeller's partner, George Whitney, President of J. P. Morgan & Co. and trustee of Consolidated Edison Co.

Alfred P. Sloan Jr. Assisting Director Sloan, as "educational" director, was Miss Eunice Fuller Barnard who was a member of two organizations listed by the Department of Justice as "subversive and Communist": 1. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee which supported the activities of Gerhardt Eisler as ranking Soviet agent in the U.S.; and 2. The Conference on Pan American Democracy. The outstanding achievements of the Foundation under this direction were:

1. Public Affairs Committee Inc. which was supported with grants that totalled \$379,947.20

2. Institute of Post-War Reconstruction, with \$59,212.

3. Educational Film Institute, with \$75,000, for the production of Communist films with music by Rockefeller protege, Hanns Eisler. The Public Affairs Committee was described by

the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "an organization which issues higher quality pamphlets on subjects related to those adopted for propagation by the Communist Party." Its founders were:

Evans Clark, one of the first employees of the Soviet Information Bureau in the U.S., director of the Twentieth Century Foundation, and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. Frederick Vanderbilt Field, whose record as a sponsor of Communist causes and membership in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations is recounted in these pages.

Maxwell S. Stewart, editor of the Committee's publications, who was identified by Louis F. Budenz as a Communist Party member on the authority of Earl Browder, taught at the Moscow Institute, was associate editor of the Moscow Daily News, and has fifty-two citations for affiliations with subversive organizations. It is not surprising that the Public Affairs pamphlets, written by such authors as Maxwell S. Stewart, Carey McWilliams, Morris Ernst, Harold Loy Ickes, Ruth Benedict, Gene Weltfish, Robert E. Cush-

man and Dr. Charles E. A. Winslow are rated as Red propaganda and reading recommended by the Communist Party. The pamphlet written by Benedict and Weltfish, entitled Races of Mankind was barred from circulation among the Armed Forces after protests by the House Military Affairs Committee against its Communist propaganda.

Under the secretary-generalship of Henry Allen Moe, director of the American Association of Rhodes Scholars, trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation and of Rockefeller's Museum of Modern Art, the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation has supplied fellowships and support almost exclusively to Communist fellow travelers selected by the Standing Committee headed by Dr. Linus Pauling, a frequent sponsor of Communist-organized protests and fronts. Among the Fellows are:

Louis Adamic  
Carleton Beals  
Marc Blitzstein  
Jack Conroy  
Angner Enters  
Mordecai Gorelik  
Josephine Herbst  
Maurice Hindus  
Joe Jones  
Douglas S. Moore  
Alexander North  
Nathaniel Peffer  
Isidor Schneider  
Tom Tippet  
Edmund Wilson

Newton Arvin  
Albert Bein  
Kenneth Burke  
Aaron Copland  
Kenneth Fearing  
William Gropper  
Granville Hicks  
Langston Hughes  
Otto Klineberg  
Carey McWilliams  
Max Nomad  
Bernard Reiss  
Harry Slochower  
Genevieve Taggard  
Richard Wright

Peggy Bacon  
Alvah Bessie  
Harriet Buckmaster  
Adolph Dehn  
Hallie Flannagan  
Albert Halper  
Abram L. Harris  
Kolfe Humphries  
Owen Lattimore  
Lewis Mumford  
Saul K. Padover  
Earl Robinson  
Maxwell S. Stewart  
Charles R. Walker  
William E. Zeich

Not included in the above list is one notable, Professor Margaret Schlauch, who left the U.S. to become a teacher in Communist Poland.

The Rosenwald Foundation, under the directorship of Edwin R. Embree, former vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation, and avowed Marxist, persistently engaged in Communist agitation, especially among Negroes. Dr. J. W. Holley, Negro educator and founder of the Albany State College for Negroes, called the Rosenwald Foundation one of the principal agencies fostering hatred of the whites by a campaign that accused them of robbing the colored folks of their rights. It contributed, with Rockefeller's General Education Board, to the Bethune College for Negroes that is headed by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, who is listed in the California Un-American Activities report as one of the "well known Communists". It also supported liberally the American Council on Race Relations,



on the board of which Embree served with Mrs. Bethune and Will W. Alexander, a vice-president of the Rosenwald Foundation named by Lauchlin Currie, as friend of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who was accused of complicity in Communist spy ring activities. The Council was also supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, and the president of the latter served on the Council's board.

The Foreign Service Educational Foundation that undertakes to indoctrinate men who wish to enter, or are in, the Diplomatic Corps, in 1950 turned over to Owen Lattimore's pro-Communist control its School of Advanced International Studies, to be merged with his Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins U. that has been liberally subsidized by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Instances of subversive activities of a host of foundations merged into a Foundation Trust by the Rockefeller interests, can be cited endlessly. Enough has been related to make it clear that they are a grave menace to the nation, a power above and beyond our government, the adjunct of an invisible super-government that boldly and baldly engages in subversive political activities and undertakes to impose a dictatorship on our country. In their political activities the foundations that comprise this Trust violate the provisions of the laws that make their existence possible by according them tax exemption on the condition that they refrain from political activities. By failure to comply with the law, this group of foundations provide the immediate instrument of their destruction. For it is inconceivable that the courts will hold that in their pro-Communist political activities they were engaged in "education" and not in politics. By mere enforcement of the law this social cancer can be and should be destroyed.

It remains to be seen if these foundations and their sponsors are more powerful than the nation that created their right to existence. There is delicious irony in this situation, that provides that the selfsame Marx-inspired tax laws that the conspirators promoted to impoverish the nation and enrich their sponsors, shall serve to destroy them and rid the land of their menace.

One fact emerges from a study of the founda-357

tions. Directly or indirectly they are all controlled by the Rockefeller interests. Under the provisions of the law and its administration, no important foundation can exist without their acquiescence, that is not subject to their control.

#### FOUNDATION CODE

- |  |   |    |
|--|---|----|
| 1. Foundation For Economic International Ladies' Garment | k. Near East Foundation Education           | 1. |
| 2. American Foundation                                   | Workers Union                               |    |
| 3. Carnegie Corporation of N. Y.                         | m. Institute of Int'l Educational Inc.      |    |
| 4. Carnegie Endowment for Int'l                          | n. American Association of Univer-Peace     |    |
|  | sity Women, Fellowship Fund                 |    |
| 5. Carnegie Institute of Washington                      | o. National (Federal) Council of z          |    |
| 6. Carnegie Foundation For The Teaching                  | Churches of Christ in U. S. Advancement of  |    |
| 7. Filene Foundation Inc. and Good Will Fund             | (America)                                   |    |
| 8. General Education Board                               | p. World Student Service Fund Edward Filene |    |
| 9. Rockefeller Brothers Fund                             | q. Pepi Cola Scholarship Board              |    |
| 10. Rockefeller Foundation                               | r. Hertzler Foundation                      |    |
| 11. Spelman Fund of New York                             | s. Field Foundation                         |    |
| 12. Twentieth Century Fund                               | t. Industrial Areas Foundation              |    |
| 13. Woodrow Wilson Foundation                            | u. Turrell Fund                             |    |
| 14. World Peace Foundation                               | v. Guggenheim Memorial                      |    |
| 15. New York Community Trust                             | w. Textile Foundation                       |    |
| 16. Ford Foundation                                      | x. Institute of Public Administration       |    |
| 17. Council on Foreign Relations                         | z. Walter Hines Page School of Int'l        |    |
| 18. Institute of Pacific Relations                       | Relations, Johns Hopkins U.                 |    |
| 19. Chicago Community Chest                              | A. Amerasia editor                          |    |
| b. Phelps-Stokes Fund                                    | B. William C. Whitney Fund                  |    |
| c. Psychiatric Foundation                                | C. Miibank Fund                             |    |
| d. Russell Sage Foundation                               | E. Rosenwald Fund                           |    |
| e. Foreign Service Education Foundation                  | F. F. D. Roosevelt Memorial                 |    |
| f. Clayton Foundation                                    | G. Leasing Rosenwald Foundation             |    |
| g. Edison Foundation                                     | H. Same as h.                               |    |
| h. Alfred P. Sloan Foundation                            | I. Lavanburg Foundation                     |    |
| i. William Alanson White Foundation                      | K. Institute of Investment Education        |    |
| j. Grant Foundation                                      | L. Farm Foundation                          |    |
|  | M. Old Dominion Foundation                  |    |
|  | N. Social Science Foundation                |    |
|  | O. Commonwealth Fund                        |    |

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				Zilboorg, Gregory	c	

## CHAPTER XIX

### ROCKEFELLER'S "POPULAR FRONT"

#### The "New" And "Fair" Deals.

The Roosevelt "New Deal" regime was the fulfillment of the pledge of a "Popular Front" government in the U.S. that the Rockefeller Empire had obviously made to Stalin as one of the bases of their pact. It was composed almost entirely of Rockefeller-Soviet Axis agents, who had planned it as "social science", and of other types of puppets of the Rockefeller Empire and its "philanthropies". It is absurd to speak of the Communist spies and agents who have been exposed in high posts in Washington as "infiltrators". They were the very backbone of the New Deal, planted there from the start to serve the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis in its global conspiracy. From the very start of the regime, after removal of a large number of employees from government posts by Roosevelt, at the behest of the conspirators, on the pretense of "economy", which had been a sham campaign platform, the government was packed with hundreds of thousands of Rockefeller Reds spawned in the Rockefeller-dominated "educational" system. Rockefeller-subsidized professors, especially the peddlers of the bogus "social sciences", and their students, whose training fitted them only for some task in a "managed economy", a euphemism for Communist or other forms of Marxist dictatorship, and who consequently constituted an ever growing pressure group supporting the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, became the priests of the "new social order"—the New Deal.

Surrender of control of the destinies of the nation to the professors who constitute the vaunted "brain trust", consequently means surrender to the type of totalitarianism dictated to them by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. They must be ever-ready to betray their country to that Axis. This is eloquently attested to by the fact that the great majority of the traitors who have been exposed in the past decade have been professors and their students. Hiss and Field of Harvard, Coplon of Columbia, Gillars of Hunter College, Pressman of Cornell, Dr. Ponte-corvo and numerous others attest to the subversive influence of the Rockefeller-subsidized or dominated universities. The presidents of most of our leading

universities are included in the membership of the Rockefeller Empire's Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations, where they are indoctrinated by such characters as Owen Lattimore, Frederick Van-derbilt Field and William W. Lockwood, former editors of *Amerasia* and Alger Hiss, all champions of Marxism, and by others of equal calibre and inclination. Soviet interests could not be expected to suffer, at their hands, in a conflict of interests with the U.S. Among the university presidents thus indoctrinated are General Dwight Eisenhower, President of Columbia University, Harold Stassen, President of the University of Pennsylvania, Karl Compton, President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, James Bryant Conant, President of Harvard University, John Sloan Dickey, President of Dartmouth, Isaiah Bowman, former President of Johns Hopkins, Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the University of California and numerous others. Through them the educational system of the nation is impressed into the service of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis.

In 1926, the Rockefeller interests started grooming Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the role of puppet, depression President. He was an incompetent who had never been able to earn enough to support his family; who had started off as a Ku Klux Klan candidate for the N. Y. State Senate, trading on the Roosevelt name and its appeal to the "peasants"; whose wife was trusted by the Kremlin as one of the original agents of the Bismarxian school of Marxism in the U.S.; who had suffered from an attack of encephalomyelitis, falsely described as infantile paralysis, that had left him with the stigma of high suggestibility so aptly described by his wife in her autobiography and by others, and gave him the reputation of being a good politician because he acquiesced with all who spoke with him but that made him completely pliable by agents planted at his side,—this Roosevelt recommended himself highly to the Rockefeller interests as the prospective Charley McCarthy, the "perfect dummy" to serve as spokesman in putting over their totalitarian conspiracy, and in fulfilling their Soviet agreement. Through their collaborator, George Foster Peabody, they made him a present of Georgia Warm Springs, with a quarter-of-a-million dollars mortgage attached, that was too large for him to

handle without their help. In the following year, they bribed him to accept the New York gubernatorial nomination to the tune of more than \$800,000, as related by Ernest K. Lindley, his publicity man, in the official campaign biography, under the cover of a philanthropic sham. That sham was completely exposed by me in 1935 in my book, *Rackets, Social Service And Medical*, and in 1940 in *Your Life Is Their Toy*.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt might not have been placed in the White House by the conspirators, if President Hoover had not been a Quaker and turned down the proposal made to him on their behalf, by Henry L. Stimson, Rockefeller puppet Secretary of State under Hoover, to declare war on Japan for the purpose of rescuing Standard Oil property that was being consistently wrecked by the Japs in the course of their invasion of China. According to Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in his pamphlet, *The Struggle Against The Historical Blackout* (6th ed., p. 43) :

"Henry L. Stimson openly played his Lucifer hand in Far Eastern diplomacy. He took Hoover to the mountain top and ... he did make it evident that Mr. Hoover could recoup his political fortunes and have every prospect of reelection in the autumn if he would make war on Japan. But Hoover would have nothing to do with the idea. A year later Mr. Stimson had a rendezvous with Mr. Hoover's newly elected successor at Hyde Park and had no difficulty in selling him his bill of goods. Roosevelt's recently published letters show he took the initiative in bringing about this momentous conference with Stimson on January 9, 1933. From about that time onward Mr. Roosevelt had an 'ace in the hole' whenever he needed a foreign war to rehabilitate his political prospects at home. He played the ace in the summer and autumn of 1941. But as James Farley has revealed (Ed.: *James Farley's Story*, p. 39), Roosevelt discussed the possibility of immediate war with Japan in his very first Cabinet meetings of March, 1933." Stimson was rewarded by Roosevelt with the post of Secretary of War. He mentions his agreement with Roosevelt on war on Japan in his autobiography, *On Active Service in Peace And War*, (p. 301). Professor Barnes is wrong in his as-



sumption that Roosevelt delayed playing his ace until 1941. He began playing it promptly following his inauguration. On the day of his inauguration vainglorious Franklin Delano Roosevelt told his friends, in an expansive moment, that he wanted to be a wartime president. He was compelled to delay his war because Japan was not prepared to fight us, and Congress was not in any mood to declare a war. Public opinion had been aroused against war by one of the typical Communist "peace" propaganda campaigns that was actively financed by the Rockefeller interests, and was intended to lull the U.S. into complete disarmament.

The first obstacle was surmounted by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis by American-planned and financed rearmament of Japan, in which the Standard Oil companies played a significant role. After the Panay incident, the Rockefeller interests made the Mitsuis their exclusive agents in Japan and conquered territory in Asia. The second impediment was overcome by Roosevelt and his fellow conspirators, as pointed out by Charles A. Beard in his work, *President Roosevelt And The Coming Of The War*, and by the author in *The Strange Death Of Roosevelt*, by goading Japan into attacking the U.S. at Pearl Harbor. In this treachery, as has been related, Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations played the dominant role. This was the reason for the delay in the Japanese war for which Roosevelt hankered so long.

In the meantime, Roosevelt very materially aided the Rockefeller Empire in bringing on the war between Germany and England by engineering the upbuilding of the Nazi Party in Germany and inducing the British to enter World War II after the invasion of Poland, for the purpose of smashing both of the other Empires. How little Roosevelt was interested in the fate of Poland is demonstrated by his subsequent sell-out of the Poles to Stalin. But they were for him as good a pretext as any for bringing on the war that he sought to immortalize himself. Jesse Jones, in his book, *Fifty Billion Dollars*, confirms my earlier statement that Roosevelt deliberately sought, instigated and precipitated World War II.

Every measure of national or international import, as well as the minor local ones, championed by the "brain trusters" in the New and Fair Deals

have served the purposes of both the Rockefeller Empire and Soviet Russia. When Stalin stood at the side of Hitler, they and their students championed "isolationism", pacifism, Buchmanism, and the America First movement, which was discredited by the influx of both the Communist and the Nazi elements—with the purpose of keeping the U.S. out of the war and serving the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. That is the true significance of the vaunted membership of Ambassador Philip Jessup and of Senator William Benton in America First, which was advanced in the press as disproof of the Red complexion of both. It proves exactly the reverse. For support of America First by subversives served Soviet interests quite as effectively as did Frederick Vanderbilt Field's Communist-front Peace Mobilization, in the propaganda for keeping the U.S. out of the war.

But as soon as the Rockefeller interests had effected their deal with the British for Saudi Arabian oil in exchange for their bringing the U.S. into the war, and as soon as Hitler's forces were turned against their Soviet allies, these subversives fairly shrieked their insistence that America enter the war. The Communist Party line then publicly coincided with the interests of the Rockefeller Empire, and "internationalism" became the shibboleth of both. Philip Jessup and Senators Arthur Vandenberg and William Benton were in the forefront of the changelings.

This open alliance with the Soviets prepared the way for the conspirators to begin frank subsidy by the U.S. taxpayers of the industrialization and modernization of the armaments of Russia. Every "international" plan proposed thereafter contained tribute by the American taxpayer to the Kremlin. "Lend Lease" provided over ten billion dollars worth of armaments and supplies, including an entire fleet of naval vessels. The United Nations Relief And Rehabilitation Administration, which was almost entirely financed with American taxpayers' money, was converted into a device for financing Communist Russian infiltration and conquest of many nations. Communist agents, under the direction of Herbert H. Lehman, were placed in charge of the distribution of this American aid in such lands as Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Poland that the Axis agreements turned over to the Soviets.

But the lion's share of the money and supplies went to Soviet Russia itself.

The New Deal and its Fair Deal successor have been made to serve the domestic purposes of the Rockefeller Empire as effectively as it does the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis in the international field. The industrial monopolies which they control are fed from the Treasury and the public's purse. Their Milk Trust's monopoly was extended, and even in depression the price of milk was tripled. Their monopoly of food has been widened, with the cooperation of the truckmen's unions, to the point where they maintain a constantly high price even for produce, throughout the nation the entire year.

The seizure of industries which they did not control and the setting up of new monopolies assumed a fresh pattern under their New Deal. No longer was it necessary for them to resort as individuals to the racketeering of the South Side Improvement Company type and risk public indignation. Their agencies, the Government and the unions, do their dirty work, undermine the industries which they seek, smash them so as to force out the investing public and form them into monopolies to be taken over.

When these things are done by the "New Deal" they have the complete support of the very radical and labor elements which would rail at them if done by private enterprise for itself. By some curious quirk of mentality akin to faith, they are happy and content when these crimes are committed for the benefit of the same private cartels, through public agencies, by themselves as agents, at public expense. For the "liberal" or radical does not seek to remedy evil situations. He merely seeks to be master of them himself. He is motivated not by principle but envy and unprincipled greed. That was the Machiavellian idea that lay behind the Rockefeller support of Communism and its incorporation in the New Deal mechanics for attaining monopoly and dictatorship.

The NRA (National Industrial Recovery Administration) and the Federal Securities Act with its provision barring holding companies, and enhancing the Federal Reserve Board's power to regulate money, constituted the initial effort to accomplish a complete cartelization of all industries.

The NRA was openly a device for setting up

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nopolies or giving legality to existent monopolies, in their own interest, in every industry. It specifically suspended the Sherman-Clayton Anti-Trust Act and permitted each industry to organize itself under an absolute code authority. The plan had been suggested by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

The man who controlled the Code Authority wielded dictatorial powers over an absolute monopoly. The rules promulgated by the Code Authority had the force of law for both industry and the nation. It fixed prices, controlled production, licensed producers, admitted or barred newcomers from the industry, set conditions of competition, prescribed the amount of space and the machinery that could be used; and also possessed police and judicial powers and could put violators in jail. As a sop to Labor, a minimum wage of \$12 to \$15 per 40 hour week was provided and Section 7A recognized the right of collective bargaining. In other words the NRA created a syndicalist or corporate state in the U.S. at about the same time as had Mussolini and Hitler, whose sponsors were the same as those of the NRA.

The SEC established by the Federal Securities Act, is a device for tightening the monopoly of industries by control of financing. Its power to block new financing is absolute. Likewise its order to wipe out investments in railroad and utility securities is final. But it offers stockholders absolutely no protection. Numerous securities that have been passed on by the SEC and marketed, have been wiped out within a period of one or two years. On the other hand numerous worthwhile and essential enterprises have been barred from financing. Its effect on the mining industry for instance, has been devastating; and as a consequence the U.S. is becoming constantly less self-sufficient in strategic minerals and metals.

In short the SEC was never intended to serve the interests of the investor, but was planned to foster the purposes of the monopolies. This is quite manifest in its utility securities activities. In this group of securities alone, the SEC has wiped out, in a decade, more of the public's investments than all of Wall Street's swindles of a century past.

The conspirators' monopoly of all sources of power and energy, as comprehensive as their American Telephone and Telegraph Company in its field, that will extend from the Arctic to Tierra del Fuego,

looms very large. They control the currency and banking system as well as the government and have acquired even greater strength through the enhanced powers they have given themselves through the Federal Reserve Bank. They were confident that they were safe in permitting others to develop the power systems with moneys invested by the public. Then by manipulating a depression and by retroactive laws written for the purpose, they robbed their rivals of their work and the public of their investments. That is the purpose of the abolition of holding companies and the power over utilities incorporated in the Federal Securities Act.

The SEC has directed a looting of the public of its investments in utilities that is fully comparable with those perpetrated by the Nazis and Communists. By dishonest and wholly illegal and un-Constitutional acts that have been supported by corrupted and packed courts, the conspirators deliberately depressed and manipulated the market for utility securities by its orders and rulings. The TVA was used for the malevolent purpose of smashing the market in utility securities. On the day that the ruinously low rates for TVA power were to be announced, the press and the nation were kept waiting for Commissioner David E. Lillienthal from 10:30 A.M. until after the markets had closed. In the meantime a terrific wave of short selling hit the utility bonds and stocks that depressed them terrifically. Washington phone calls to Wall Street were particularly heavy that day, especially from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation offices. There can be no question that the announcement of the TVA rates was a prearranged signal for a "killing" in the market by the conspirators. These maneuvers cost the investing public hundreds of millions of dollars. The market for utility securities was smashed, and they dropped steadily thereafter.

The Federal Reserve Board has ably aided and abetted the swindling of the public by manipulation of margin requirements. Repeatedly it has forced the public out of stock desired by the powers-that-be by raising margin requirements, at the bottom of the market, just before large upswings were planned.

The conspirators then bought up at their own price, or virtually stole, a particular class of security in each company. It was a simple matter for them

to dictate that the particular class of security which they had cornered shall be given complete control of the utility in question, all senior securities shall be retired and junior securities wiped out, without regard to earnings or values.

It is safe to predict that when the nation's utility companies will have been "simplified in structure" (a euphemism for "stolen") they will be, in due time, merged into a nation-and continent-wide Power Trust, under the domination of the Rockefeller Empire and its allies.

The public has been looted, under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, during the Roosevelt Administration of many more billions through another industry, through the railroads. The Roosevelts, the Delanos, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans and numerous others of America's rulers are heavily interested in railroads.

The Interstate Commerce Commission which they dominate, exercises absolute control over the minutest details of the operation of the railroads and their rate structure. It is a simple matter for them to boost the earnings of the railroads when they own their securities, and to wipe out the earnings and force them into receivership after they have unloaded the securities on the public. This is done periodically.

The I.C.C. dictates the terms for lifting of the receiverships, subject to court approval.

The Supreme Court decision in the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad case has introduced several new "principles" into American jurisprudence, that contrast oddly with what has been regarded as honesty and sound law consonant with it.

The railroad had been in 77b receivership for several years following a period of earnings that were fixed by the I.C.C. so low that it could not meet its fixed charges. After the onset of hostilities in Europe, the earnings of the road rose rapidly to a point where all arrears on bonds could be paid off in full out of cash on hand and leave the company more than adequate capital for its future operations—in short the road became completely solvent and highly prosperous. If it were required, refinancing could have been arranged readily.

If this condition should arise in the affairs of a private individual in bankruptcy, he would be deemed guilty of fraud if he failed to pay off his in-



debtedness in full and thus secure discharge from bankruptcy. But in the case of the railroad, the Court ruled that the company is not bound by the ethical or legal principles that apply to individuals. Instead of ordering the corporation to pay off its indebtedness and secure its discharge from receivership, as it wished to do, the Supreme Court did the reverse. It ordered the railroad to do what would be ruled as fraudulent on the part of a private individual, i.e. to refuse to meet its obligations in full, to wipe out the major part of its debts, to defraud its creditors and stockholders, and to settle even mortgage and other protected claims at a fraction of their face value.

The legal support of fraudulent bankruptcies by the highest court of the land is a new "principle" in American jurisprudence.

But an even stranger departure is the reason assigned by the Court for its decision.

The Court acknowledged that the railroad was completely solvent at the time of the hearing. But it assumed the role of oracle and undertook to predict that after the war the earnings of the road would drop and it would no longer be solvent. For this reason it ordered a fraudulent settlement to be compounded by the Company. Subsequent events proved the Court a false prophet. The earnings of the road continued very high.

In this act the Supreme Court has given divining and fortune-telling greater weight in our law than it ever had even among the Romans at the time when these procedures were part of their faith and practice. It has returned American jurisprudence to a status as primitive as that of Medieval law, with its "trial by ordeal". It has nullified the entire code of law that has been built up to protect honest commercial practice. For it is a matter of record that few enterprises survive for more than a generation and most of them terminate bankrupt; and under this decision the Courts could safely divine that the majority of debtors will eventually be bankrupt and order them to defraud their creditors, as in the St. Paul case. The decision has wiped out billions of railroad investments. It is another of the New Deal devices to "distribute wealth" in certain favored directions only.

The NRA proved unwieldy and unmanageable. While it was highly successful in wiping out tens of

thousands of small businesses, it failed to permit the wrecking of larger units, the control of which the conspirators sought. The report brought in by the NRA Board of Review and signed, among others, by Clarence Darrow, found that the NRA was being used to foster monopoly. Senator Borah made the same charge on the floor of the Senate. The Supreme Court was called upon to declare the NRA unconstitutional, which it did on the perfectly correct ground that it was an abdication of its Constitutional powers by Congress. Unfortunately, though this is equally true of virtually all of the New Deal, the packed and biased court has seen fit to so rule only when it serves the interests of the rulers.

The most amazingly ingenious and ingenuous sham incorporated by the Dynasty in its New Deal is its mechanism for regimenting labor under their own aegis through "labor leaders" and its use for establishing monopolies that are entirely within the law. Wagner's subservience to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests makes it clear that the Wagner Labor Relations Act is designed to serve their purposes. It epitomizes and points up the war of Labor on Capital in so truly a Bismarxian sense that Wagner has earned for himself the title of "America's Bismarck", a noble title for a pawn.

The Supreme Court decision wiping out the NRA was mock obeisance to public sentiment against monopolies in restraint of trade, through control of machinery, that has been built up through decades. With equal diligence there had been built up by Marxist agencies and pseudo "liberals" a sentiment in favor of union monopolies of labor. It required little astuteness to discern that industry could be monopolized even more completely by control of labor than by control of machinery.

The fostering of labor unionism on a vast and unprecedented scale by the Rockefeller Empire is completely understandable. By doing so they have completely regimented labor under their own control through their own appointed agents provocateurs and dictators, more pleasantly labelled "labor leaders". This they have done through the Wagner Labor Relations Act and other "New Deal" labor legislation, which have robbed workers of their freedom and their right to work at a vocation of their own choice. This right they have farmed out

to the goons, racketeers, ward heelers and zealots, the "labor leaders" who are their vassal agents. They would be more correctly named "Labor Barons", for they serve in the same capacity as do barons in feudal states.

Under the franchise of the Wagner Act the Dynasty extended to the Labor Barons a series of so-called "rights" that flagrantly violate the rights that are supposedly guaranteed to the nation at large by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These special "rights" of the Labor Barons include the following among others:

1. The "right" to extort from vassal workers a private tax for the privilege of working.

2. The "right" to dictate who may work, when he may work, and to virtually enslave the worker.

3. The "right" to practice blackmail and extortion on all employers and industries, and to levy unlimited assessments on them.

4. The "right" to wage unlimited class warfare on the rest of the community for their own special interests and to sabotage the nation at large.

5. The "right" to mercilessly profiteer, to exploit communities and to deprive them of the very necessities of life, whenever it suits their purpose.

6. The "right" to betray the country and to traitorously traffic with its enemies—as is instanced by the negotiations of John L. Lewis with Hitler, and the CIO-PAC betrayal of our nation to Communism and Russia.

7. The "right" to conspire to restrain trade.

8. The "right" to disrupt industry and to destroy whole industries.

9. The "right" to bring whole communities, and if they desire, the whole nation, to verge of starvation by strikes and sabotage.

10. The "right" to throw out of work and deprive of a livelihood, employees of whole groups of industries whenever, however, and as often as they choose.

11. The "right" to precipitate inflation, panic, depression and unemployment on as wide a scale as they choose.

12. The "right" to destroy the Constitution and the government and to deliver the United States to foreign powers.

13. The "right" to engineer staggering taxation

on the community at large while they themselves are taxfree.

14. The "right" to bribe and corrupt public officials, and to buy elections.

The Labor Barons and their henchmen—gangsters, goons, ex-convicts, convicts and "intellects" prostituted to them—have extended these "rights" on the pretense of giving "protection", in the true gangster or baronial sense, to workers. The more moronic element believe that the unions provide the higher wages, the employment and the standard of living that now prevail. It requires only a very mediocre memory to reveal how false is this claim.

Labor unions rose to relatively as great power in World War I and its aftermath, as they now enjoy. They then did not prevent depression and unemployment, or provide for it. On the contrary, they forced wages during the post-war era to such extortionate heights, and restricted production so much, as to force collapse of commerce and industry and to price workers out of their jobs. They forced an inflation so high that the unions themselves called a buyer's strike against the purchase of the very merchandise produced at the higher wages.

With unions equally strong in the 30's and now, the difference in the situation accounts for higher employment at this time. Industry was prostrate in the 30's and could provide no employment. It is strong and prosperous now, and therefore provides jobs. Strong industry provides employment. Strong and arrogant unions weaken industry and destroy employment.

The Labor Barons deliberately collaborated with the Dynasty and precipitated the depression of the 30's. The objective of the right wing Labor Baron is to control or destroy; and many of them have gained control of industries in their domains. The objective of the left wing and subversive Labor Baron is to destroy the U.S. Government and to create an American Soviet over which he hopes to be Commissar.

To cover up their crimes, the Labor Barons employed prostituted professors of economics and statisticians to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to falsely place the blame for the depression on capitalists and industry. The latter have been too stupidly disorganized to refute the false charges levelled against them.

What is more disastrous for the nation, is the fact that these "economists" who are prostituted to Labor Barons and most of them frankly Communists, have deluded the public into taking larger doses of the same quack medicine that killed the golden goose of prosperity in the 1920's—ever higher wages for ever less work. Their pretended purpose is "pump priming" and "increasing the purchasing power of the workers". At a time when the United States and the world at large are crying for greater production of the necessities of life, they are imposing a shortening of the work-week and a restriction of production. This is clearly a part and parcel of their wrecking program of Communization of the United States through national bankruptcy. As might be expected, the result of their activities is a rapidly mounting inflation.

Pretendedly in the interests of the workers, the vassals of the Labor Rights, the "padrones" extend the following so-called "rights":

1. The "right to work"—when, as, and if the Labor Baron wishes them to work. As a corollary to the "right to work" there is claimed the "property right" in a job. This means in principle that when an employer gives a man a job, that man acquires a share in the business, which is tantamount to confiscation of the employer's property. This is one phase of the idea that has been incorporated into our law, to the effect that any man who gives employment to another man and provides him with a living, is an enemy of society, a criminal suspect who is guilty of any and every crime until he proves himself innocent; and that he must be hounded, harassed and penalized at every turn.

2. The so-called "right to strike" consists of the right to violate the Constitutional rights of the others—the "right" to deprive the owner of the use of his property, the "right" to restrain trade, the "right" to use force and violence on the person and property of others, the "right" to assault, maim and murder, the "right" to deny others the "right to work" and earn a living, the "right" to endanger the health, safety, and lives of whole communities, and numerous other wrongs and crimes that when perpetrated by or under the direction of a Labor Baron are strangely converted, by a perversion of our laws, into "rights".

The "right to strike" is neither used nor intended 373

primarily to benefit the worker. So-called organizational strikes, called by almost all Labor Barons annually under normal circumstances, are intended to assert the authority of Labor Barons over their vassal workers, to force them into line and to pay arrears in dues and special assessments including those levied for the strikes in question. They are primarily directed against the workers; and only secondarily against the employer and community.

Strikes are sources of revenue for the Labor Baron. They serve to dramatize him and put him before the public. In normal times strikes are the Labor Baron's chief function. The union member, or serf, loses wages during the period of strikes and can only be the loser. But the Labor Baron has asserted his authority and gained for himself notoriety and added income.

3. The "right to collective bargaining" which means the "right" of coercion, blackmail, extortion and hold-up of industry through their agents, the Labor Barons, in the pretended interest of the worker. These holdups of industry continue until high wages completely wipe out profits, shut down or bankrupt industry, and destroy employment. At the same time they force steady inflation. Ultimately they serve merely to impoverish the worker. Wages can not be paid by industry that has no earnings for any length of time.

With the launching of the NRA the Federal Reserve Board and other banking pressure for prolonging the depression had been relieved slightly. Business began to pick up. The failure of the NRA to accomplish its purpose called for resumption of the depression. Roosevelt was put into service to mouth vigorous attacks upon business to smash the stock market and prolong the depression.

The attitude of the nation and of Congress made it apparent that dictatorship and industrial monopoly could be attained only by the Lenin formula of national bankruptcy. The squandering involved in prolonging the depression, in the Agricultural Allotment Plan, in Relief, and in other deliberately wasteful measures had not irreparably damaged the solvency of the nation. Only war, civil and external, could accomplish this. War war also required at attain world-wide Imperial scheme. In the international sphere World War II solved that problem. Labor agitation served as a civil war.



## CHAPTER XX

### SUPREME ROCKEFELLER CRUSADE-WORLD WAR II "... We work our own good will ..."

G.E.B. Occasional Letter No. 1 Rockefeller & Gates

The most extensive and devastating of the Rockefeller Crusades, and one that has been most profitable to them, was World War II. With it, they "killed many birds with one shot". For it won for them their Oil War in many sections of the world and set them on the road to victory in others.

World War I, as has been related, did not solve for the Rockefeller Empire the problem of control of the Turkish, Arabian and Iranian oil reserves, because of the effective opposition and rivalry of the British Empire. In the meantime, the Japanese Empire threatened with destruction the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests in the Far East. And Germany menaced with a process for synthesizing oil; but this was of minor significance, because the Rockefeller interests controlled Germany and more particularly the German Dye Trust, I.G. Farben-industrie, that developed, this process. Russia had been taken care of by the deals described in the chapter on the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis.

The pressing problems were elimination of the British Empire as a rival, which, it was now realized, could be effected only by its dismemberment and destruction, and the subduing and conquest of Japan. These were the top problems on the agenda of the Rockefeller Empire in the period between the formation of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and the success in precipitating World War II to accomplish both those purposes. The cunning with which these two widely separated ventures were woven into the pattern of a single "Crusade" is unmatched in all cognate history. And the role played by the U.S. State Department in these conspiracies of the Rockefeller Empire portrays how fully the former has become the tool of the Rockefeller interests.

Mosul, one of the causes of the British - German conflict that led to World War I, together with other sections of Turkey, Arabia and the Near and Middle East, continued to be a major source of conflict between England and the Continental powers on the one hand, and between England and

the Rockefeller Empire on the other. To seize those fields, the British launched their campaign at Gallipoli in World War I, and lost. In exchange for French help in the Near East, Britain offered Syria and a quarter interest in the Turkish Petroleum Co. That was the same interest that had been given the Germans in 1912 in exchange for their claim based on the concession for the Anatolian Railway and the right to drill the Bagdad-Mosul oilfields which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given them in 1904. This deal was confirmed in the San Remo agreement between Britain and France in April 1920, which stipulated that the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests were to be excluded.

President Woodrow Wilson, personally, Secretary of State Colby and U.S. Ambassador in London, John W. Davis, vigorously protested the exclusion of American interests from the Mosul field, echoing the protest of Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Co. of N.J., published in the New York Times of November 18, 1920. Senator Kellogg and the other members of Congress openly threatened war on England and other reprisals.

Characteristically, the British proceeded despite the San Remo Agreement, to eliminate the French from the situation by stirring up a Turkish invasion of Syria, by inspiring Emir Feisal to proclaim himself King of Syria and stir up a revolt in Lebanon. France retaliated by signing a treaty with Turkey in October 1921, acknowledging that Mosul belonged to the Turks, thus nullifying the San Remo Agreement. Britain countered by claiming Mosul for Iraq and making Emir Feisal King of Iraq.

In December 1921, the British made a deal through Sir John Cadman, signer of the San Remo Agreement, with Standard Oil for a fifty-fifty division of the Mesopotamia and Palestine oilfields and a quarter interest for Standard in the Turkish Petroleum Co. (the French share) in exchange for a similar deal on the North Persia fields for which the Rockefeller interests had been given a concession by the Persian cabinet earlier in the year. This prepared the way for withdrawal of Standard Oil opposition that had been exerted through the State Department to the granting by the League of Nations of mandates over Palestine and other regions

to the British. Following this deal in favor of the Rockefeller interests, the State Department lost its zeal in its protests for an Open Door in the Near East in spite of the fact that another American group, led by Admiral Chester, had a valid claim to the concession, thus belying the declaration of Secretary of State Hughes that he stood "for American rights generally and not for any particular interest".

In the meanwhile, the British and French sought to fight out their claims through a war between the Greeks, supported behind the scenes by the former, and the Turks, supported secretly by the latter. The British and their Greek mercenaries lost. But when shortly thereafter, the French wanted to take over the Ruhr and its industries, and required British support, a deal was made by them to stand together against the Turks at the Lausanne Conference, in reseizing the German Turkish concession for the Turkish Petroleum Co. But the Ruhr occupation was sabotaged. The French blamed the British and refused to support them against the Turks. The Turks then defied the British and refused to sign the treaty.

The Turks thereupon gave Admiral Chester a 99-year exclusive railway, mineral and oil concession. The State Department refused to give Admiral Chester effective support in carrying out the deal, and the Rockefeller interests blocked the financing of his Ottoman-American Development Co. which he had organized for that purpose. This deal was effective, however, in enabling the Turks to abolish the extra-territorial rights of foreign powers and to retain the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The British made a deal with the Rockefeller and French interests to share the Mosul oilfields and acquired final title to the fields by way of the second Lausanne Conference, in 1923, and of the award by the League of Nations Council in 1925 of Mosul to Iraq, under British mandate.

Immediately thereafter a controversy broke out between the British and the French over the route of the pipeline to be built. The French wished it to course through Syria, and the British, through Palestine, as part of the British Chemical Trust's plan for exploitation of the potash of the Dead Sea and other Palestine resources.

The Standard Oil Co. was satisfied with this deal, 377

as a beginning. The Lamp, official publication of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, editorialized: "For the first time there has been negotiated what promises to be a practical Open Door policy in which four great nations take equal participation in one field." (April 1926) The State Department headed by Rockefeller's agent, Secretary Charles Evans Hughes, was content with his version of the Open Door that shut out most American interests but satisfied the Rockefeller and Mellon cliques.

An interesting phase of the deal was the part that religion had played in it. The play for Mosul had originated in Admiral Chester's visit to Turkey on behalf of the massacred Armenians; and the Near East Relief had played a significant role in the maneuvers. But when the Turko-American Treaty was presented to the Senate for ratification, Vahan Cardashian, attorney for the Armenian Republic, presented the following charges to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"... What ... is the motive, the purpose behind the Turkish policy of the Department of State?

"I charge that it is oil.

"An Administration which has surrendered legitimate American rights and then has the impudence to fill the air with irrelevancies, wild insinuations and falsehoods to divert attention from its disgraceful policy; an Administration which has deliberately trampled upon the Constitution of the United States in its conduct of foreign relations—such an Administration, I charge would not hesitate, and has not hesitated, to sell out the Armenian people and their homes for oil, in the interest of a privileged group . . ." For the Rockefeller interests this compromise was merely an expedient. They never settle for a part as long as there is any possibility of getting the whole; and any compromise, for them, is merely an opportunity to stab their partner in the back. In that respect they resemble their British adversaries, who used the compromise to prevent the Rockefeller interests from effectively developing their share of the deal, Saudi Arabia.

The Rockefeller interests turned to their pawns in World War I, the Germans, to set the obstructive British Empire on its heels. As bosses of the Ger-

man Dye Trust, I.G. Farbenindustrie, they controlled German industry and the German government. On October 30, 1930, for instance, the press announced that the Standard Oil Co. had purchased the German alcohol monopoly. Inevitably, they played a large role in the rise of Hitler and exercised a large measure of control over the Nazi Party and its policies.

The resurrection of German nationalism and militarism was a crafty move toward the destruction of the British Empire and its elimination as a bitter adversary in the control of the oil reserves of the world. Just as in the 1920's, after the Rockefeller interests had entered into their entente with Russia, they assigned Rockefeller's top publicity man, Ivy L. Lee, to advise the Russians on their propaganda and publicity and to build up favorable public opinion in the U.S. Ivy Lee was also assigned by the Rockefellers, in July 11, 1934, to serve their I.G.Farbenindustrie as publicity agent and to advise Hitler on the rearmament of Germany. It was announced that for this service the Rockefeller interests were paying Ivy Lee the sum of \$25,000 a year. Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil, and Edsel Ford were on the I.G. board. On August 14 of the same year, it was announced that Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey had acquired 730,000 acres of oil land from the North European Oil Corp., built extensive refineries in Germany for the Nazis and supplied them with oil, for which they were later paid, in June 1936, with 40 mililon harmonicas and a number of ships.

The Rockefeller interests played a major, and possibly a key, role in setting Hitler and the Nazis loose on the world. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* echoed the views of John D. Rockefeller's associates, advisers and spokesmen on the topic of social organization and human, or inhuman, relations. The medieval, feudal type of dictatorship that is the essence of Nazism, was laid down as the pattern of perfect government for the U.S. and the world in his blueprint of the New Deal, *The American Rich*, by Rockefeller's associate and fellow member of the Union Club, Hoffman Nickerson, as related elsewhere. In that work is laid out the pattern of subversion and wiping out of all semblance of human freedom, the concept of a superior race ordained to rule a nation of divided minorities, whose

racial stock eventually was to be purified by the elimination of "foreign" elements, especially the Jews. This anti-Semitism suited the purposes of the Rockefeller interests, because the directors of the operations of their fierce opposition in the British Empire, namely, the Royal Dutch and Shell and the Anglo Persian and British Controlled Oilfields, were the Samuels family, the Rothschilds, the Monds the Sassoons, and other Jewish families.

Rockefeller's associate, Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, "scientifically" suggested the ruthless murder of "undesirable" and "inefficient" humans, whose existence he regarded as exemplifying that "waste" which the Rockefeller mentality so abhors. He published his views at full length in his book, *Man, The Unknown*. When Hitler took over France, Carrel turned there to help put his ideas into operation, with the cooperation of the Nazis and at their invitation.

It should be noted at this point that much of the bond of inhuman sympathy between Hitler and Stalin can be attributed to Rockefeller and his agent, Ivy Ledbetter Lee. It was their entente that paved the way for the Nazi conquests.

It was not until Hitler had arrived at Dunkirk, that the British awoke to the realization that unless they knuckled down to the Rockefeller Empire, their own Empire would face destruction. An agreement was hurriedly reached whereby the Rockefeller interests were given a free hand in the development of Saudi Arabia in exchange for their dragooning the United States into the war to fight it and pay for it, prompt convoying of the British merchant marine by the U.S. Navy, and the intensive launching of the sardonically labelled Lend-Lease program whereby the wealth of the U.S. was poured into the laps of England and her allies.

Though Hitler could have crossed the channel in a matter of hours, and invaded England, some force deterred him and caused him to turn against Germany's ally, Soviet Russia, in a suicidal invasion attempt. The role played by the Rockefeller and I.G. interests in influencing this decision has yet to be fathomed. But it is clear that since they dominated Hitler and the Nazi party, they did play a role.

The problem of dragooning the United States into the war was complicated by a decade of intensive pacifist propaganda that had been fostered by Nazi,



Communist and allied Rockefeller-Carnegie forces. It was a simple matter to issue an order for a change of front to their agents in Congress. Their agent who led the Republican Senate minority, Senator Vandenberg, shifted overnight from the position of leader of the pro-American forces, then labelled "isolationist" because they sought to serve and protect our own country, to the position of leader of the "internationalists", who were intent upon serving the Rockefeller interests in the international field.

Because the Constitution specifically states that Congress alone can declare war, and because the members of Congress did not dare violate the pacifist sentiment of their electorate for fear of failure of re-election, it was necessary to find some way of forcing the country into war without a declaration by Congress, that is, by attack upon the United States by some power. The Rockefeller Empire had anticipated this contingency and arranged to have it serve their interests in another section of the world.

In the struggle with British interests for control of the Chinese oil market, the Standard Oil Co. loaned China 15 million dollars in February 1914, in exchange for a concession for a period of 75 years, for development, in partnership with the Chinese government, of the provinces of Shensi and Chi Li. To pave the way for these commercial interests, the Rockefeller Foundation launched an intensive propaganda campaign in China in the guise of "education", with medical activities for window-dressing. The concession aroused bitter opposition, both among the Chinese and among foreign powers, including England and Japan.

By the 1920's the Socony-Vacuum-Standard Oil subsidiaries had gained a virtual monopoly of the market for oil for the lamps of China. The tale of this trade is well told in Vera Teasdale's *Oil For The Lamps Of China*. It was a monopoly dear to the heart of Rockefeller, of the type he sought to extend to the whole world. Kerosene was sold at exorbitant prices in tiny amounts to fill gift lamps distributed by the Company. But if ever the rich Chinese oil resources were developed, such fantastic prices for kerosene even in beautiful tin cans, would be out of the question. It was essential for the monopoly and price structure that no oil be

produced in China. The Soongs and the Nationalist Government saw to that. Blunt General Smedley Butler of the United States Marines, after his retirement roared, "All I ever did for twenty-five years in China is watch Standard Oil cans."

All went well until the war lord of Shansi Province granted a concession to the Japs to drill for oil. The Japs found oil aplenty. This was a serious threat to the Standard Oil monopoly in China. The Chinese Nationalist Government was ordered to seize the war lord if necessary, cancel the concession and oust the Japs. This was done in 1927.

The Japs did not take kindly to cancelation of their oil concession after spending a hundred million yen on it. Nor did they feel kindly toward the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd, whom they knew to be responsible. They vowed to come back and seize China, if necessary, to get their oil.

The Japs made good their threats and proceeded to seize China beginning with the first Shanghai incident in 1931. And they did not forget the role played by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd in the cancelation of the concessions. They avenged themselves wherever they went, by destroying Rockefeller-Standard Oil property first.

An illustration of how far the Japs went in destroying Rockefeller-Standard Oil property is the Panay incident. The gunboat Panay was the only representative of the United States Navy in the China seas. For six years it plied the Yangtze River during the Jap invasion of China but was never molested. Suddenly one day in 1937, the news was blazoned to a shocked world that the Panay had been shelled by the Japs. It has never been told that the reason the Panay had been shelled was that it was convoying two Standard Oil tankers. That, the Japs would not tolerate.

The efforts of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil group to protect their property took three directions. First, in April 1938, within a short time after the Panay incident, they made the Mitsuis of Japan, who with the Zaibatsu dominated Emperor Hirohito and Japan's policies, their exclusive agents in North China and all conquered territory in Asia. This placed the Rockefeller-Standard Oil group in a position to influence Japan's policies.

But it has always been a Rockefeller policy never to be satisfied with half a loaf when they can get

a whole loaf at no expense to themselves. To accomplish the destruction of Japan, it was necessary to bring the American Army to the rescue of their property in China. But it would have been futile for the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests to ask Congress to declare war on Japan because it was destroying their property in China.

They did, however, make an effort to get the U.S. to declare war on Japan in the early 1930's. When Roosevelt proposed launching the Rockefeller Crusade on Japan, shortly after his inauguration, at his first full Cabinet meeting, he was talked out of an immediate declaration of war as unwise, by his counsellors. Even their numerous agents in Congress could not afford to vote for a war on such grounds. To avoid committing political suicide, they would have to reply: "Go fly your own kite."

If, however, Japan could be induced to attack the U.S.—that would be a different story. To accomplish this purpose, it was imperative that the American public have no suspicion of the significance to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests of Japan's aggression on China; and they never were told.

Through their control of the Navy and the Government, they were able to prevent any leaks from these sources. When Admiral Yarnell, Commander of the Panay, threatened to return to the United States and tell the American public of the indignity of the United States Navy being used as a convoy for tankers, he was retired; and learned better than to open his mouth on the subject.

The appointment of Joseph Grew, nephew of John Pierpont Morgan, as Ambassador to Japan was dictated. The plan was to induce the Japs to attack the United States. Grew rapidly earned for himself the name of "friend of Japan." He was of invaluable assistance in aiding their armament. Standard Oil literally poured oil into Japan. Wright Aeronautical and other aviation manufacturers built plants and supplied unlimited numbers of engines and planes. American munitions flowed into Japan in a steady stream. Literally all the scrap on the American market, including the Sixth Avenue El of New York City, were shipped into Japan. The United States generously supplied Japan with everything she needed for war.

Despite the growth of her armaments, Japan could not screw up sufficient courage to attack the United States. The conspirators were impatiently waiting and working to bring about an attack on the United States that would force Congress to declare officially the war that Roosevelt already was waging unofficially. Admiral Richardson, who was Chief of Staff of the Pacific Command, testified before a Senate investigating committee that President Roosevelt had expressed the wishful thought, at a White House luncheon, October 8, 1940, that "the Japanese sooner or later would make a mistake and we would enter the war." Promptly thereafter, Admiral Richardson protested once again the splitting of the Pacific Fleet and stationing it at Pearl Harbor, which had been done against his advice, in view of the intent expressed by Roosevelt to take steps leading to active hostilities. When Admiral Richardson insistently urged preparing the Pacific Fleet to protect itself, he was relieved of his command and replaced by Admiral Kimmel. The Navy deliberately was barred by Roosevelt from preparing for war.

Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations agents working under Sorge precipitated the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that the conspirators sought in order to bring the U.S. into the war. The IPR's agents, Agnes Smedley and Guenther Stein, collaborated with Richard Sorge, Soviet master spy in Japan, in diverting the attack the Japanese were preparing to make on their rational foe, the Soviets, from the Soviet Union to the U.S. and the British. So successful was their work that as early as October 1941 the conspirators knew that the Japanese definitely planned an attack on Pearl Harbor.

"At the instance of his bosses, Roosevelt followed his childhood yearning to play with warships and naval warfare. He took over, indirectly, command of the Pacific Fleet. Roosevelt did everything that might be calculated to induce the Japs to attack the fleet at Pearl Harbor. He stationed the vessels within the Harbor, where they could be bottle-necked and could not possibly be defended. He ordered disregard of any and all warnings of danger and attack that were picked up.

"The Japanese were told in effect: 'Destroy the United States Fleet at Pearl Harbor, and you have

won the war at the start'. In the meantime, the Japanese who itched to attack were goaded to fury in the field of diplomacy.

"This deliberate plan to induce the Japanese to attack the United States was common knowledge in diplomatic circles, but it has been regarded as a breach of "ethics" to mention it. But Capt. Oliver Lytteton, Minister of Production in Winston Churchill's wartime cabinet, stated before Parliament on July 20, 1944:

'Japan was provoked into attacking America at Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty on history to say that America was forced into the war.'

"This is the import of a statement made by Eleanor Roosevelt, as usual sharper in tongue than in wit, in an interview given Kathleen McLaughlin, published in New York Times Magazine, October 8, 1944: 'December 7, was just like any other D-Day to us. We clustered at the radio and waited for more details—but it was far from the shock it proved to the country in general. We had expected something of the sort for a long time.'

"Her statement is exceptionally significant. D-Days are known in advance to the high command. This D-day was known beyond any question to Roosevelt and his entourage. Roosevelt had on his desk many hours before the attack, a decoded message sent by the Japanese to their envoys in Washington, known as the "East Wind Rain" radiogram, which stated that Japan planned to attack Pearl Harbor on the following day. But he deliberately betrayed the nation and its defenders and failed to warn them. On the contrary, they were under orders to disregard outside danger signals.

"This means that the rulers and their pawn, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had courted and precipitated a Jap attack, then deliberately withheld the warning from the armed forces and prevented them from defending themselves. Why? For eight long years the conspirators had worked, prayed and waited for the attack. They would not risk its miscarriage or effectiveness. The motto of the conspirators might have been: 'Oil is thicker than blood.'

"It was not their own blood that was shed and for them the price was cheap, the blood of 2500 men and a fleet of battleships paid for by the American people. The lives meant nothing to them. The

jeopardy in which they deliberately placed the nation was, as usual, of little concern to the internationally entrenched scoundrels." (The Strange Death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt pp. 233-5.)

Effecting a split between Hitler and Stalin was as simply arranged as had been their alliance. It involved treachery against a partner; but conspirators are not squeamish folks. At home in the U.S., Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia resolved a difficult problem for the Rockefeller interests and their New Deal. It healed the breach between them and the Communist elements, caused by our entry into the war following Pearl Harbor, and aligned the Reds of all shades solidly behind the war effort and all the attendant schemes. One of the most important consequences for the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis was that it offered a complete and simple solution of the problem of rearming the Soviets at the expense of the American "peasants", by means of that grand give-away, "Lend Lease". The war solved the problems of cartelization of industry in which the NRA had failed, of more complete regimentation of the "peasants", of looting them more speedily by rapidly pyramided taxation, and paved the way for a totalitarian state in wartime, that would "gentle" the nation into accepting dictatorship.

Our entry into the war assured the Rockefeller dominated Aramco the right to develop Saudi Arabian oil for Standard Oil of California's and Texas Company's joint venture, Caltex. When King Ibn Saud demanded royalty payments amounting to \$30,000,000, Caltex employed James A. Moffett, Vice-President of Standard Oil of New Jersey who had been appointed by Roosevelt to the post of Housing Administrator, to use his influence to get the Government to pay for holding the concession. Moffett had no difficulty in arranging this "New Deal" for the Rockefeller interests. For his success, he alleged in lawsuits which he brought against the Companies in 1947, he was promised a total commission of over \$8,000,000.

The \$30,000,000 which the United States Treasury gave Ibn Saud for the support of himself and his 450 wives and their progeny, to maintain the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in his good graces, cost the American people twenty cents a head. In addition King Ibn Saud got a "loan" of \$25,000,000 of taxpayers' money from the Export-Import Bank to

build a railroad from his capitol across the desert to his summer palace at Rayadh, and numerous gifts from the American taxpayers ranging from multi-million dollar airplanes to sight-seeing tours to the United States for himself, his many princes, and their numerous retinues.

For the millions of taxpayers' money poured into his lap by the United States, King Ibn Saud did offer to them in return, a very suggestive, and under the circumstances, a premonitory and appropriate token gift. He presented America's Queen Eleanor (Roosevelt) with a jewel becrusted, solid gold crown. Eleanor accepted this crown with peculiar alacrity, but it was given little publicity.

After they secured payment for their concession by the United States Treasury, the Rockefeller Empire then ordered their New Deal agents in 1941 to begin the construction for them of a pipeline in Saudi Arabia at the expense of the American taxpayer. This required the diversion of pipe sorely needed for the war effort and for the heating of homes on the Eastern seaboard that were without fuel and heat.

A bill was introduced in Congress appropriating \$165,000,000 for this Rockefeller-Standard Oil chore. The outcry against the bill was so great that it was dropped.

In the following year President Roosevelt gave the Rockefeller interests the \$165,000,000 out of special, secret appropriations given him by Congress for use in the war effort, for which he was required to render no accounts. It was used for surveys and preparatory work for the pipe line. In addition the United States Army was assigned to do part of the task and to build an airfield and base at Dharan. Under the contract with Ibn Saud, the base was turned over to Saudi Arabia in February, 1949, shortly after its completion at the cost of more than six millions to the United States taxpayers.

Two drafted United States soldiers who were kept in the service after the termination of the war to labor on the fields protested to Congressman Philip J. Philibin who denounced this "quasi-private" undertaking for the Rockefeller Empire at the cost of the American public, with drafted American soldiers. The air base is close-by the oilfields.

A number of gross misrepresentations were in-387



volved in the negotiations with the New Dealers to induce them to take the burden of Saudi Arabian concessions off the shoulders of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests, according to testimony before a Congressional committee investigating the deal. First, it was misrepresented that the oil was fit for use by the U.S. Navy. The Naval Laboratory reported, however, that the oil was of inferior grade and unsuited for use in Navy boilers. Though it was condemned, its purchase was arranged for by oilman, Admiral Andrew F. Carter, then executive officer of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board and now employed by Overseas Tank Corporation a subsidiary of Caltex Company, Aramco's owner. The purchase was made by his brother, Admiral William J. Carter, Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. In charge of the price negotiations were Lt. John Walsh, now employed by the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Lt. D. Bodenschatz, now with General Petroleum Company. What use the Navy made of this inferior oil, if any, has not been revealed.

Aside from the false representation regarding the quality of the oil and its value to the Navy, misrepresentation was made regarding the price that would be charged the Navy for it. Despite the fact that the U.S. taxpayers financed the deal, the price that the Navy was to pay was the same as would be charged to British Navy; 40 cents a barrel for fuel oil, and 75 cents a barrel for Diesel oil. Instead the U.S. Navy was charged \$1.05 for fuel oil and \$1.68 for Diesel oil, more than double. Senator Brewster, chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee stated that these prices involved an overpayment of \$68,000,000.

The ownership of the Saudi Arabian concession was vested in the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company, through a jointly owned company. Caltex. The operating company is a subsidiary, the Arabian-American Oil Company, called briefly Aramco. The Caltex Company, sold a 40% interest in the field to the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum Oil for a sum stated as more than a quarter of a billion dollars.

Aramco is now shipping from Ras Tanura more than 850,000 barrels of oil a day, and the shipments are rapidly increasing. The value of the shipments amounts to an income of almost two million dollars a day for the Rockefeller Empire. The cost of this

oil to them is very low. The profits to the Standard Oil of California, the Texas Company, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum on the Saudi Arabian oil are enormous. But they are completely exempt from taxes on those profits. Thus the Treasury Department has aided the Rockefeller Empire in evading taxes on profits made on moneys given it by the American taxpayers.

The cost of the Rockefeller Empire's Saudi Arabian oil to the American people is tragically high. It cost them two World Wars, hundreds of billions of dollars, tens of thousands of lives and hundreds of thousands of maimed and crippled—the expense of obtaining the oil fields for the Rockefeller Empire. If the U.S. had paid the Rockefeller Empire ten times as much as their profits from the fields, it would have gotten off cheaply. For it would have saved its citizens the untold miseries of the wars and billions of dollars.

As the price for permitting the Rockefeller Empire to remain in undisputed possession of their Saudi Arabia prize, the Soviets have dictated the policies of the U.S. in recent years; and the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis has consistently sacrificed the interests of the U.S. while making its taxpayers foot the bills.

World War II was waged as dictated by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. The U.S. provided arms and equipment under "Lend Lease" for the Soviet troops, while our own troops were not adequately equipped. These items were furnished in such profusion, especially by way of Iran, that there came a point when the Soviets refused to accept any more unless Harry Hopkins and Roosevelt would arrange to send over specialists to show them how they could be stored in the open for ten years without deterioration. The New Dealers complied. But American-donated trucks, planes, engines, machinery and equipment of all varieties were stacked high on Persian docks and on the desert and left to the elements to deteriorate, while at home they were in such extreme shortage as to interfere with our war effort.

At the same time, the conspirators deprived our troops in the Pacific of essential equipment and reinforcements, for lack of which they were repulsed and tens of thousands of G.I. lives lost. The conspirators, guided by Rockefeller-Soviet Institute of

Pacific Relations and State Department agents, were bent on keeping the U.S. from winning the war until such time as the Soviets could barge in and claim the spoils—all of Asia and the Pacific isles, regained by U.S. forces at enormous sacrifice of lives, and needlessly lost as a result of the conspiracy. Meanwhile, the Soviets were maintaining an entente with Japan and actually supplying the Japanese with war material we had supplied to them as our "ally". American airmen who were compelled to land on Russian soil were interned and their planes confiscated.

In Europe, a similar situation prevailed. Stalin demanded invasion of Europe and a second front, though our troops were not adequately equipped because of shipments to Russia. The conspirators used Russia's necessity to fight an invader as a pretext for propaganda to further the objectives of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis by building up Russia as the defender and protector of the "democracies". They did so in spite of the fact that even honest Bolsheviks were willing to acknowledge openly that victory would have been impossible for the Soviets without the self-sacrificing aid given her by the U.S. Instead, they presented the U.S. in our own press and the world as "slackers" who impeded the "noble battle that Russia, the 'greatest of democracies', wages for us". They compelled us to accept Stalin's order to invade Europe by the costlier and more dangerous route, across the English Channel. A trans-Mediterranean invasion, striking the "soft underbelly of Europe", through the Balkans, could have been made at an early date and at infinitely lesser cost. It was barred by the conspirators for the same reasons that it was advocated by Churchill, because it would have interfered with their division of the world with the Soviets, would have shut them out of Yugoslavia and thwarted their pan-Slavic goal.

American and allied troops were barred by General Eisenhower, under orders from his conspirator-bosses, from taking all of Germany, so as to permit the Soviets to seize Berlin and Eastern Germany, with its strategic industrial and mineral resources. This bit of treachery that has cost us our victory in Europe and left us at the mercy of the Soviets, left American troops isolated in West Berlin, as hostages to the Soviets, who could be cut off and

wiped out by the Russian horde at any time it would suit their purposes. A vestige of intelligence would have excluded such a breach of elementary military tactics; it was dictated by treachery. Such episodes as the Berlin blockade, suit the purposes of both members of the Axis, as is related elsewhere.

In the Pacific, General MacArthur was petitioned for peace by the Japanese, on the same terms that were accepted eventually, seven months before the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis partners would agree to their acceptance. Months before the armistice, on May 29, 1945, Rockefeller's puppet, General George C. Marshall, blocked, at the behest of the pro-Soviet bloc in the State Department, which included Acheson and MacLeish, with Elmer Davis of the OWI—all of Rockefeller's IPR—the sending of a peace ultimatum to Japan, recommended by Mac-Arthur and endorsed even by the clique's henchman, Henry Luce. This was reported to the Senate McCarran Committee by former State Department executive, Eugene H. Dooman. He stated that the object was to allow Truman to connive at Potsdam to give the Soviets a pretext for breaking their non-aggression pact with Japan, and permit the Russians to invest Manchuria. This opened the way for the delivery of China to the Communists, that has proved so disastrous to us. (the Freeman, Nov. 5, 1951)

At Teheran, and again at Yalta, there was confirmed the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis program of partition of the world that allotted Eastern Europe and all of Asia, except the Near East, to the Soviets. In accord with their plan of destroying the British Empire, the Rockefeller interests, acting through the U.S. State Department, marked Iran for eventual surrender to the Soviets, at Yalta, right under Churchill's nose. President Roosevelt, or his double, mouthed the Empire's agreement, alternately with mouthings of the non-existent Atlantic Charter that "guaranteed" autonomy to the very states assigned to the Soviets.

At Yalta Molotov and Alger Hiss (of Rockefeller Empire's Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations, and of the Institute of Pacific Relations), with the approval of Stalin, drew up the United Nations Charter. And Alger Hiss was there appointed Secretary General of the Conference to

Organize the United Nations by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis partners.

The dropping of the atom bomb on Japan was a needless act of brutality perpetrated upon a defeated and suppliant enemy. But it served the conspirators well in intimidating the U.S. into continuing and expanding war expenditures, in fear of the exaggerated frightfulness of our own bombs. In the meantime the conspirators facilitated the leak of much atomic-energy material and information to the Soviets through Axis agents and spies, when it was not directly supplied to them by Harry Hopkins, Averell Harriman and other New Dealers.

To further insure continued high expenditures and a steadily increasing tax burden for the American "peasants", the Soviets and the Axis agents fostered propaganda demanding American disarmament and recall of troops from both the European and the Asiatic war theatres. This propaganda also had as its objective the facilitating of the division of Eurasia on the basis of the Axis plan, by gradual, stealthy expansion by the Soviets. With this latter purpose as a goal, Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations and State Department set about delivering China to the Soviets. The Soviets took over Manchuria and rifled it immediately after the Japanese surrender. As has been related, the Chinese Nationalists were forced by the Rockefeller-Soviet agents to yield to the Communists, at the very time that the former were badly defeating the latter. Aid appropriated by Congress for the rearming of the Nationalists was treacherously withheld by the agents in strategic U.S. Government posts. Lauchlin Currie, assistant to President Roosevelt, ordered dumping in the Indian Ocean of whole boatloads of surplus munitions shipped to the Chinese Nationalists. The State Department, as a Rockefeller-dominated agency, left no stone unturned to make good on the agreement to aid the Soviets in attaining the first goal set by Lenin in the world conquest of Communism, conquest of China.

In order to facilitate the process, the arms cast aside by the disarming U.S. were sold as surplus, and the great bulk of it found its way, directly or indirectly, to Russia. Much of it was being shipped to Russia at the very moment that Congress was appropriating billions of dollars for its replacement.

The Soviets demanded that "Lend-Lease", pledged to her by the U.S. for the war effort, be delivered, though the war was over in the belief of the rest of the world. Instead of disarming as it demanded of the U.S., Soviet Russia continued to expand its military establishment, largely, if not entirely, at the direct and indirect expense of the American taxpayers, at the behest of the Rockefeller Empire and its agents. They launched the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, almost entirely at the expense of American taxpayers, to serve the Soviets in penetrating Poland, Czechoslovakia and other lands that they later engulfed. Under the direction of Herbert H. Lehman, of Rockefeller's Council of Foreign Relations, numerous Soviet agents were placed in charge of UNRRA to facilitate the process.

Loans to foreign lands by the sale of their bonds had been exposed after World War I as a gigantic swindle perpetrated by American bankers who had profited hugely from them. Most of them rapidly dropped in value to mere fractions of par, or became worthless. Congressional investigations revealed that the major portion of the "loaned" money had never reached the lands for which the bonds were issued. It had stuck to the "sticky" fingers of domestic bankers. The wariness of the American investing public and the Johnson Act forbade a repetition of the bond sales. The Rockefeller interests circumvented these obstacles by forcing the American public to donate their earnings and wealth, for the same purpose for which they had been induced to voluntarily invest after World War I, by the mechanism of compulsory, tax-financed government "loans" to the same lands. These countries are never expected to repay because the bulk of the funds flowed directly into the coffers of the Rockefeller Empire. Much of this money financed delivery of material of war, oil and supplies to Soviet Russia directly—and much more went indirectly — by virtually all of the lands supposedly receiving the aid, despite the pretense that the object of the loans was "to fight Communism". This represented tribute paid by the American public on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire to its Axis partner.

The mechanics of these loans is made clear by the Greek "loan" of \$400,000,000 "to fight Commun-

ism". If fighting Communism was the true object of this loan, the purpose would have been served better by shipments of arms and munitions from our huge war surplus. For wars are still fought with shells and not with dollar bills. If it was the intent to stop Communism, the U.S. would not have sent some of its notorious Reds to Greece for that purpose—headed by New Dealers, Griswold and Eleanor Roosevelt's kin, Ambassador MacVeagh. For when the program began, there were but a few scattered bands of Communist guerillas in northern Greece. But after several months of "stopping Communism" and the expenditure of the whole loan, a Communist government controlled all of northern Greece. But just as if it had been prearranged, the Communists stopped short of the Mediterranean life-line of Saudi Arabian oil.

The "loans" to England total many billions of dollars. These "loans" were largely of the nature of a subsidy to the British Labor Government as an agency of the Rockefeller Empire. The funds which do not flow into the coffers of the Rockefeller Empire, in payment for oil and other items, largely subsidize Britain's trade with Iron Curtain countries. The Labor Government steadfastly refused to abandon its Soviet trade and frankly acknowledged that it was carried on with moneys supplied by the U.S. This traffic is particularly outrageous since the onset of the Korean "police action", as the bulk of it goes to the Communists for slaughter of GIs.

The Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were conceived and organized by the Rockefeller interests for the same purpose, as related elsewhere. They have proved enormously profitable to the Rockefeller Empire and helpful in building up the military power of the Iron Curtain lands and North Korea.

The tale of the treachery of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in connection with this Crusade of theirs is not complete with the mere accounting of their trading with the enemy and providing him oil and war material. They were indicted in the second year of World War II by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, for deliberately blocking the production of synthetic rubber. Under their influence, Jesse Jones had persistently refused to stockpile crude rubber and tin for the oncoming war despite the obvious need



and the demands of the military. Such stockpiling would have involved a violation of an agreement with the Dutch-British cartels under which the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests participate in East Indies oil production. But in this war emergency, the British and Dutch interests were identical with ours, and they undoubtedly would have welcomed our stockpiling rubber and tin under these circumstances. Nevertheless none was stored.

The Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests and their Chase National Bank owned and controlled the majority interest in the German Dye Trust. It is interesting that the name of Rockefeller did not appear in the indictment.

The Standard Oil of New Jersey pleaded that their agreement with I. G. Farbenindustrie barred their permitting the use of synthetic rubber patents by the United States or the Allies. In effect they pleaded guilty to conspiring with Germany to prevent the use by the U.S. Government of synthetic rubber processes. Without the synthetic rubber prepared by these processes, the war inevitably would have been lost. Caught red-handed in their "treason" they pleaded guilty to the indictment. They agreed to release the patents and processes for use by the U.S. barely in time to save the situation. Far more binding and protective is loyalty to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Empire than to the U.S.A. The conclusion that the defeat of the Allies would have made no difference to the conspirators is sustained by the fact that they had extended their full support and cooperation to Hitler and the Nazis. Thurman Arnold was relieved of his post shortly after the incident.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, discussing the Saudi Arabian deals of the Rockefeller Empire in a radio interview, Feb. 2, 1947, stated:

"It is but a step from giant combinations of this kind to an authoritarian state." Commenting on the situation, Senator Harry Shippe Truman, kinsman of the Rockefellers (Winthrop Aldrich's daughter, niece of John D. Jr., is named Lucy Truman Aid-rich) called it "Treason".

In these machinations, the Sidney Hillmans, Harry Hopkinses and their ilk, were mere puppets and stooges of the Rockefeller Empire—red herrings drawn across the trail.

## CHAPTER XXI

### ROCKEFELLER'S UNITED NATIONS

#### "Internationalism" And The Rockefeller-Soviet Axis

"An internationalist is one who is prepared unreservedly, unhesitatingly and unconditionally to defend the U.S.S.R." J. Stalin (New Leader, March 11, 1950)

The plan of the United Nations was written at Yalta by Molotov, representing the Soviets, and by Alger Hiss, representing the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations, and incidentally, also, the State Department. Alger Hiss' membership in the Hal Ware Communist cell in the State Department (Toledano & Lasky, *Seeds of Treason*, p. 46) and the invaluable service he and his associates had rendered the Soviets in their official capacities, had won Stalin's trust; Stalin advocated Hiss' appointment as Secretary General of the projected San Francisco Conference for the Organization of the United Nations. Hiss was equally trusted by the Rockefeller interests.

The United Nations is an outgrowth and direct successor of the defunct League of Nations. The League of Nations was a Rockefeller Empire agency. It was so completely under Rockefeller domination that Socony-Vacuum director and agent, Sir Francis Rickett, was able to assure Mussolini that the League of Nations would never exercise any effective oil sanctions against Fascist Italy if she would invade and seize for Standard Oil the oil fields in the Harrar province of Abyssinia, which was the real prize of the Italo-Ethiopian War. Rockefeller's agent, Raymond B. Fosdick was Under-Secretary of the League of Nations.

It was the natural intelligence and the patriotism of the American public, which led it to reject the surrender of U.S. sovereignty to the League of Nations, that impelled the Rockefeller interests to barrage the country with internationalist propaganda, initially through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial under the direction of Beardsley Ruml, and then through the Foundation which took it over. They proceeded to seduce, pervert and corrupt our school system to turn out generations

of vipers and potential and actual traitors.

The discrediting of the pretense that the League of Nations (or any other organization under our present economic setup) would serve to prevent war, compelled its scrapping at the outbreak of World War II. Immediately thereafter, however, the same agents undertook to organize a new, fake peace organization, the United Nations. So complete is the basic identity of the two organizations that in many instances persons occupy the same positions in the United Nations they held in the League of Nations.

In some cases the kinfolks of the older generation of League of Nations agents now occupy positions of trust in the United Nations. An instance is Miss Dorothy Fosdick, of the Division of International Organization of the State Department, who attended the San Francisco Conference at which the United Nations was organized, as Assistant to the Secretary General, Alger Hiss.

Following the agreement reached with the British at Dunkirk, the Rockefeller propaganda machine and lobby had gone into high speed for "internationalism", the attainment of "One World", that is, a Rockefeller-dominated world. Under the direction of Harold Stassen of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, they engineered the nomination of their "One World" pawn, Wendell Willkie, to "oppose" their pawn Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1940 Presidential campaign. This made the election a "heads I win, tails you lose" proposition for the carrying out of their deals. In the meantime, their controlled press agitated more intensively for "internationalism" and U.S. entry into the war. The Time-Life-Fortune group, for example, headed by Henry R. Luce of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, and financed by the Standard Oil crowd through Harkness, editorialized persistently in 1941 on the theme of "a young and rising international party preparing to do political battle for a future world." The press at large joined this group in singing long and loudly the Rockefeller-Soviet, Marxist, "internationalist" theme song.

The story of the origin and purposes of the United Nations from the viewpoint of the Rockefeller Empire is related in a Headline Books pamphlet entitled *Uniting Today For Tomorrow, The United Nations In War & Peace*, published by Rockefeller's Foreign Policy Association in October, 1942. The

authors of the pamphlet are both propagandists closely identified with the Rockefeller Empire. Grayson L. Kirk is Acting President of Columbia University, Professor of Government and member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations. Walter R. Sharp is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Government at the fiery-Red College of the City of New York, and also is member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

The authors relate that the Joint Declaration by United Nations was signed by 26 countries on January 1, 1942. The signatories agreed to employ their full resources "against those members of the Tripartite Act and its adherents with which such government is not at war," and "not to make a separate armistice or peace". The preamble of the Declaration embodies the mythical "Atlantic Charter". The intent of the powers behind the scene, the authors state, was to make as many international commitments for the U.S. as possible for the purpose of holding the UN together after the war and in order to avert the fate of both the Fourteen Point program presented by President Wilson and of the League of Nations, which were rejected.

There is considerable presumptive evidence in the report on Yalta that have reached the public eye, more particularly in the Stettinius report contained in his book *Roosevelt and the Russians*, that prior to the Conference a deal with Stalin on Saudi Arabia had been sealed and delivered. Stettinius states that at Yalta there were repeated and acrimonious discussions on Iranian oil and concessions (pp. 43-44, 65-66, 87, 193-195). In sharp contrast thereto, nothing was said about Saudi Arabian oil in spite of the fact that "Roosevelt" stressed his anxiety about the Saudi Arabian situation and his desire to meet with King Ibn Saud (pp. 72, 257, 278, 289-290).

It is inconceivable that Stalin and the Russians would have failed, in view of Russia's extreme oil shortage, to seize upon Saudi Arabia as a bargaining point unless a deal had been consummated previously that would insure the Soviets of part or all of the oil produced there. The nature of the deal leaked out subsequently in a release by the State Department and published exclusively in the May 18, 1948, edition of the *Wall Street Journal*. It divided the world with Stalin on a line that assured

the Rockefeller Empire of Saudi Arabian oil and a "life line" for its transportation through the Mediterranean, as a condition for world peace.

The critical state of the negotiations for Saudi Arabian oil made it necessary that the Rockefeller interests be represented by agents who were trusted implicitly by themselves as well as by Stalin. Alger Hiss fully justified the confidence which the Rockefeller Empire and Stalin placed in him. Eight-hundred-and-fifty-thousand barrels of oil a day, produced with moneys almost entirely derived from the U.S. Treasury, are yielding the various Standard Oil companies and their associate, the Texas Co., a tax-exempt, gross daily income of approximately a million-and-a-half dollars a day; and that is just the beginning of their profits from the tax-exempt use of American taxpayers' money. Although the full extent of the treachery at Yalta has not yet been revealed, it has been fully established by the course of events that it involved betrayal to the Soviets of the bulk of Europe and Asia and sell-out of China and northern Korea to the Communists to be used by them, as planned by Lenin, with the aid of Communist traitors planted by the cabal in the U.S. government, to slaughter American troops and exhaust our military might, to prepare the way for direct attack on Alaska, after American forces had been diverted and dispersed around the world.

Under the terms of the Yalta agreement, the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests provide the oil essential for these conquests, directly or indirectly, from Saudi Arabia, entirely at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers. The Treasury pays several times over for each barrel of oil delivered to the Communists in Korea and elsewhere through the Marshall Plan.

The secret Saudi Arabian deal was the very foundation of the sell-out at Yalta; and its terms stipulated in effect that the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests were to act in Saudi Arabia merely as producers of oil, largely, or entirely, at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer to provide fuel for world conquest by Communism. This is the obvious explanation of the immunity of the Saudi Arabian oil fields from Communist harassment and seizure.

At Yalta, the plan of this conspiracy was laid out in the pattern of organization of the United

Nations. It was put into operation at the San Francisco Conference for International Organization that, in the spring of 1945, launched the UN.

From the very start, the Rockefeller-Soviet brand was stamped all over the United Nations. The U.S. delegation to the San Francisco Conference virtually was entirely a Rockefeller delegation. The family was directly represented by Nelson Rockefeller and by John Foster Dulles, who served the U.S. State Department as "adviser". Oddly enough, Nelson Rockefeller's name is omitted from the official list of delegates published by the UN. Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations and its host of subsidiary organizations were profusely represented in the delegations and fully justify the Council director's boast that they control the policies of the U.S. and of the world. They were represented by the following characters, all of whom are listed in the official UN publication, United Nations Conference On International Organization, (vol. 1, Document 639, entitled "Delegates and Officials, United Nations Conference On International Organization," pp. 65-75) as follows: Alger Hiss, Assistant Secretary of State CFR\*

Secretary General Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Secretary of CFR

State, Delegate Commander Harold E. Stassen, USNR, CFR

Delegate Leo Pasvolsky, Special Asst. to Sec. of CFR State for International Organization and Service Affairs, Adviser to UN Delegation Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins U., CFR Adviser to Sec. of State and UN Delegation Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Director of the CFR Council on Foreign Relations, editor of its FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Special Adviser to Sec. of State and UN Delegation John Foster Dulles, Adviser to UN Delegation CFR

John J. McCloy, Assistant Sec. of War, CFR Adviser to UN Delegation Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn, Chair. Gen. CFR Board U.S. Navy, Adviser to UN Delegation

Arthur Sweetser, Dept. Director of OWI, CFR

OWI Attache to UN Delegation Wilder Foote, Asst. to Sec. of State, CFR

Asst. to Chair, of UN Delegation Charles Noyes, Asst. to Sec. of State, CFR

Asst. to Chair, of Delegation Edward G. Miller Jr., Special Asst. to CFR

Asst. Sec. of State Dean Acheson John E. Lockwood, Dept. Director, CFR American Republics Affairs, State Dept. Joseph E. Johnson, Asst. Chief of Div., CFR

Int. Security Affairs State Dept. Ralph J. Bunche, Assoc. Chief of Div., CFR

Depend. Area Affairs, State Dept. Lt. Bernard Brodie, USNR, Div., of Int. CFR Security Affairs, State Dept. (\*CFR—Council On Foreign Relations) The Asiatic section of the State Department was represented among the advisers to the Delegation exclusively by members of Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations: Joseph W. Ballantine, Dir. of Div., Far CFR

Eastern Affairs, State Dept. John Carter Vincent, Dir. of Chinese

Affairs, State Dept. Striking indeed, is the omission of the name of Nelson Rockefeller from this list. For on May 10, 1945, Drew Pearson, who is most friendly to the Rockefeller interests and a spokesman for them, in an article copyrighted by Bell Syndicate Inc., made ultra-clear the boss role played by Rockefeller at the Conference, as follows:

"SAN FRANCISCO. —The play-by-play account of what went on behind the scenes after the Conference reluctantly voted to admit Argentina can now be revealed.

"After Stettinius forced a public vote on the issue despite Russian requests for delay, he found himself criticized by some of the press and public. Upset, he hastily called a closed meeting of the U. S. delegation, charged with tension. "Young Rockefeller eulogized the way Stet-. tinus had handled himself.

"This country is fortunate to have its affairs in his hands", he praised.

"Asst. Sec. Jimmy Dunn started to chime in, 401



but was interrupted by shrewd Hamilton Fish Armstrong, key U.S. adviser:

" 'I am very disturbed by all this. I think we ought to call the press in and explain the American position. We are being called Fascists. Stettinius is being put in an unfair position.'

"Harold Stassen, of Minn., who had been cool to Argentina's admission, interrupted: 'And what are you going to tell the press?'

"John Foster Dulles said: 'It's very important that the public does not view our delegation as reactionary.'

"Again Stassen interrupted: 'Why must we be apologetic about something discussed fully here, then voted on and passed? The important thing is to work together. We can't avoid all differences between nations and people.'

"Stassen emphasized that there was justification for the American view, even if he didn't entirely endorse it himself. If there were no arguments, there was no use of a conference.

"Stettinius thought Stassen's statement so good that he ought to broadcast it.

"Dunn protested the Russians were holding up the Conference by refusing to permit Argentina to take up the chairmanship of a sub-committee. He launched upon an anti-Soviet tirade in no uncertain terms.

"Rockefeller endorsed Dunn's idea about giving Argentina a place on a Conference committee, saying:

" 'We must treat Argentina as well as anyone else.'

" 'I agree', chimed in Michigan's Sen. Vandenberg. 'Now that we've invited them, we must treat them right.'

"Stassen could not go along with them, saying: 'It's bad enough we let them in without giving them honors.'

"Vandenberg retorted, 'ANYTHING ROCKEFELLER WANTS IS O.K.'

"Dunn suggested that the U.S. delegation slip Argentina into the first committee vacancy. Stettinius demurred.

" 'I've gotten into enough trouble over Argentina already', he observed." (Copyright 1945 by Bell Syndicate Inc. Reprinted 402

by special permission of the author and the N.Y. Mirror.)

The story of the extreme agitation of the Rockefellers to keep the UN in New York under their thumb is graphically related as the climax of the Joe Alex Morris series, *The Rockefellers*, in the *Saturday Evening Post* in the issue of January 13, 1951. (p. 121)

Although the Rockefellers preferred not to be openly identified with the UN, they overtly dominated every move of its founding. They anxiously sought this symbol of unity for their community of interest with the Soviets. They did not hesitate to emerge into the open to anxiously insure that the UN headquarters would remain in the U.S., under their thumb. Stoian Gavrilovitz, Yugoslav chairman of the Marxist headquarters subcommittee sought to take over a fifty-square-mile site in Westchester County, N.Y. and Connecticut that would have constituted an ideal military and naval base within instant striking distance of every strategic industrial and military target on the east coast. When this plan was rejected, they threatened to recommend, quite logically, that the UN take over the League of Nations quarters in Geneva. This would have saved our taxpayers many millions of dollars. It would have eliminated the grave security risk of the UN headquarters now used as an espionage and propaganda base. It would have averted the outrage constituted by the surrender of sovereignty by our country over U.S. territory, the United Nations site in mid-New York City and the indignity of extra-territoriality, which even prostrate China spurned as an affront.

But John Rockefeller Jr. would not have it otherwise. He rushed in to offer to the UN his cherished Westchester country estate at Pocantico Hills. Then, he rushed out to buy for it an eight-million-dollar site in the very center of New York City, which he turned over to the UN as a gift. But as Homer long ago advised: "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts".

The UN is an ideal "international" front for the Rockefeller Empire and for the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. It is the prototype of the parliament for the Rockefeller Empire conceived by Hoffman Nick-erson in his *American Rich*,—a mere "advisory body", whose advice need not be heeded, a debating

society—all talk and no action—for allowing the "peasants" to let off steam.

Another motive of the Rockefeller Empire's interest in the United Nations was revealed by their spokesman in the State Department as world-oil control. This was embodied in a New York Times special article, published on August 17, 1946, reporting a broadcast on the National Broadcasting Company's "University of the Air". The State Department "experts", loaned it by the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests, proposed an International Petroleum Authority under the United Nations. Naturally this was represented to be in the interest of the U.S.—to relieve its oil "shortage", and not in the interest of the Rockefeller Empire—to increase its monopoly and profits. The following month, on September 6th, 1946, a variant of this scheme was offered by Howard A. Cowden, President of the Consumers' Cooperative Association.

Regulation of world oil production by the Big Five Oil companies—Anglo-Iranian, Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil of N. J., Caltex and Gulf—was announced to be an accomplished fact on December 29, 1951, by Elmer Patman, observer of the Senate and House Small business Committees. Walter J. Levy, of the London School of Economics, who had been planted by Socony Vacuum in the ECA to arrange the financing of Rockefeller controlled refineries around the world with Marshall Plan funds, was named by Patman as the "front" for the oil cartel and "the most influential oil economist in the world".

Pending world-wide dictatorship by the Empire, they have brought about an oil cartel under the auspices of the UN. The Rockefeller entente with Russia in opposition to England, came out into the open at the Paris Conference on September 21, 1946, when the U.S. voted with Russia and the Slavic bloc against the British Empire on Roumanian oil. The same community of interests was responsible for their ousting of Churchill when, after his speech before Parliament announcing that he "would not preside over the dissolution of the British Empire", he began blocking afresh the development of Saudi Arabia. Churchill was promptly ousted and the Marxist Labor Party, that stands so close to the Soviet, was put in power.

On the domestic scene, the UN serves the Rocke-404

feller Empire most effectively in carrying out on a world scale the totalitarian and imperialist aims of their "philanthropies", as expressed by Gates and Rockefeller in Occasional Letter No. 1 of the General Education Board. Our Republic, with the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Federal and state governments, sets up numerous barriers to the dictatorship which the Rockefeller Empire seeks. Although the conspirators have succeeded in breaking down many of these barriers, including the Constitution, over a period of decades, that process is slow for the impatient conspirators, especially when the wooing and winning of electorates is involved. The conversion of our Republic to a dictatorship would be greatly facilitated by transferring its sovereignty to a totalitarian agency that is beyond the reach of the voters.

To accomplish this legally and in compliance with the Constitution, would require only one step that would involve the voters only indirectly. That step would be the adoption of an Amendment to the Constitution that would destroy the fundamental character of our Government by surrendering the sovereignty of the nation to an "international" union, or federation. In this international union, U.S. citizens would have neither vote nor voice. They would be taxed without commensurate, or any, representation, and eventually could be enslaved thereby. For the United States with its 150,000,000 citizens would be hopelessly outvoted by the hordes of Asia's billion, and Russia and every other invidious enemy or "ally" would be free to despoil and enslave us through legislation we would be powerless to stop.

Thus the purpose in fostering the United Nations and kindred organizations is to attain with one fell swoop, by remote control, the dictatorship which two World Wars, a devastating depression, and the New and Fair Deals with the NRA, bureaucracies, (mis) managed economy and numerous synthesized "emergency" devices have failed to bring about.

The UN has meant imposing upon the U. S. and such other lands as have been foolish enough to adhere to it, an irresponsible supergovernment, control of which implies dictatorial domination over the lives, wealth and destinies of the citizens. This is clearly illustrated by the decision handed down on April 25, 1950, by the California State District

Court of Appeals in the case of Sei Fujii, a Japanese. California has on its statute books a law that bars the ownership of land to certain Orientals. That law has been declared Constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. In the Sei Fujii case the court ruled that ratification by the United States of the UN Charter invests the Charter with force of a binding treaty which overrides laws which conflict with it, thus superseding and scrapping U.S. law and the Constitution.

To serve the purpose of the conspirators, both the UN charter and constitution, with its "Bill of Rights", were written by a horde of Rockefeller-Soviet Axis agents in the various UN committees and commissions, with the aim of slyly destroying the U.S. Constitution and converting the nation to a dictatorship ruled by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. Its provisions for freedom of the press, for instance, have been written in the vein of the recommendations of the Rockefeller-dominated Commission on Freedom of the Press, when they are not identical with those recommendations. They prepare for destruction of that freedom under the pretense of preserving it. Its provisions for freedom of religion are similarly written, with "sleeper" clauses to facilitate destruction of religion on some such pretext as "national security".

The New York Times in a special dispatch from Geneva on April 23, 1951, reported:

"A number of leading representatives of labor, religious and cultural groups are beginning to wonder whether the efforts to draft a United Nations covenant of human rights may not in the end do more harm than good to actual human rights."

But ratification by the U.S. of the UN charter is treason of an order worthy of Alger Hiss. For although the Constitution provides for partial surrender of their sovereignty by the states to the Federal Government, the states have not yielded the right to transfer their sovereignty to any other power. The only conceivable circumstance under which the citizens and the states would be compelled to yield their sovereignty to any other power would be under duress of ignominious defeat in war that would render our nation incapable of defending itself and protecting its sovereignty. Not even Germany and Japan have been willing, in their defeat,

to surrender their sovereignty to their conquerors. Nor have we, as victors, asked it of them. But the conspirators at home are forcing on the U.S. terms that they have not dared to demand of even our defeated enemy—abject surrender of our sovereignty to a foreign power, Rockefeller's UN. They have even imposed on the U.S. the grant of extraterritorial rights, demanded by Stoian Gavrilovitz and his committee of Communists, to the UN area in the midst of New York City that was so hurriedly offered to them by Rockefeller. Even prostrate and war-torn China refused to grant extraterritorial rights to the U.S. or any other nation, on the grounds that it was an affront to her sovereignty. But thanks to Rockefeller's "philanthropies" we have become more supine and degenerate than China, in this and other respects.

There Can Be No Room For Doubt That Ratification Of The United Nations Charter By The Delegates Of The United States Is Absolutely Unconstitutional, And Is Susceptible Of Interpretation As Treason. On This And Other Grounds, The People Of The U. S. Should Compel Immediate Withdrawal Of Our Nation From The United Nations And The Annulling Of Extraterritorial Rights Granted The UN In Violation Of Our Constitution. In this illegitimate, high-handed and treacherous manner, the Rockefeller interests have contrived through the UN, to bring about the "new social order" which was the primary purpose of their "philanthropies". The behind-the-scene bosses of the UN have become the dictators of the U.S. and of the world. But they now share that power with Soviet Russia. When Stalin told an interviewer that Americans are no longer masters in their own house, he might have said also, and quite truthfully, that through the UN he is more master of the United States than is its citizenry.

Joseph Stalin denned "internationalist" as follows:

"An internationalist is one who is prepared unreservedly, unhesitatingly and unconditionally to defend the USSR." (New Leader, March 11, 1950) In Stalin's sense of the word, the UN has served "internationalism" perfectly. Stalin-trusted Alger Hiss worked well at Yalta and at San Francisco, to fashion the UN into an ideal weapon for the

Soviets. No longer do their espionage agencies have to depend upon their Rockefeller-financed Institute of Pacific Relations for their dirty work. The U.S. Treasury-financed UN is infinitely better equipped to serve their purposes, and bring the ultimate objective of the Axis world conquest, infinitely closer to attainment, at no greater cost to it than mere words and debate. Soviet Russia sits at the UN table with the very powers she seeks to destroy, fully protected against any action against her own aggression by the ever more numerous votes of her satellites added to her three votes; and by the power of veto. Side by side with Hiss, at Stettinius' elbow, was Dalton Trumbo, a notorious Red of the Stalinist breed. Like Hiss, he supplied Stettinius, who was hopelessly beyond his depth, with ideas which, needless to say, were pro-Communist, and entirely to Stalin's satisfaction. Trumbo also ghosted Stettinius' speeches at the Conference. In this position, the Kremlin is enabled to render impotent any nation that might wish to check its plan of expansion by subversion and engulfment, and to block any inclination to arrest its predatory activities. It uses the UN as a shield. UN debates serve as a sounding board for its propaganda that has played an important role in its conquests of large sections of the globe by subversion and infiltration. Under the protective shelter of the UN, Soviet Russia has extended her dominion to almost a third of the people of the world. It has gradually expanded to take in the Eurasian lands that Rockefeller-Soviet Axis deals, ratified by the U.S. State Department and confirmed at Teheran and Yalta, have assigned to Communist Russia and aided her in acquiring.

Under the guidance of Alger Hiss's worthy successor Trygve Lie, a Norwegian Red, and the personnel which he was empowered to employ for the UN delegations, the UN has served also as an espionage center. Fulton Lewis Jr. reported on January 18, 1951, that "29 high-ranking officials of Communist parties in foreign countries were then working at the UN headquarters in New York" according to the records of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He reported further, as follows: "Some 90 U.S. citizens working for the UN have Communist-front records sufficient to bar them completely from jobs in the Federal Government. 408



"Yet they represent this nation at the UN." Arrangements for the hiring of employees of the UN delegation, initiated by Alger Hiss, gave the sole right of passing on the qualifications of the candidates to the Secretary General. Though Try-gve Lie has ousted some of his appointees on the ground that they are Communists of the wrong complexion, he has consistently approved only Reds for UN posts, and it is now packed with Reds of all shades, spies, traitors and foreign agents.

Following the delivery of China into the hands of the Kremlin by State Department employees and other agents from Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, Institute of Pacific Relations and other subsidized fronts, the clique led by Dean Acheson originally collaborated with Soviet Russia and Great Britain in seeking to give the Communists another vote in UN councils, by turning over to them to seat of Nationalist China. In late 1951, the tide of public opinion aroused by exposures, such as those of Senator McCarthy, and by the chicanery of the Chinese Communists in the Korean armistice negotiations, forced Acheson and his clique to pretend to oppose seating them in the UN. The move was proposed by the British Labor Government, which was dominated by the Rockefeller Empire, that has heavily subsidized the Fabians and the Labor Party. Dean Acheson, likewise was a Rockefeller-Soviet Axis spokesman in this matter. This illustrates the well-developed technique of using foreign governments as catspaws for pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. The same technique was used in their dismissal of General Douglas Mac-Arthur, when he undertook to upset their conspiracy by offering to defeat the Chinese Communists and Russia itself, if necessary.

One of the most dangerous uses to which the UN has lent itself, in the hands of the Kremlin, is its use as a military device. Through the UN, the Kremlin blocked the bombardment of concentration and supply centers in Manchuria. Through the UN, it managed to stall for sufficient time to secure reinforcements and supplies when trounced and facing defeat, on the pretense of seeking an armistice. By the UN, Marshall Plan and NATO, which aided Britain, their undercover ally, the Soviets have been supplied with jet engines and planes, and their plans, that were developed at the expense

of U.S. taxpayers and are so far superior to those that the English have supplied the UN forces and to our own, that on November 11, 1951, General Vandenberg, as head of our airforce announced that all of the UN planes and jets recently built and currently being built are already obsolete and are being destroyed by the Russian airforce. Through the good offices of our pretended allies in the UN, the Kremlin has been able to block the use against her forces and bases in the Korean Crusade, of the atom bomb, for whatever use and value it may have in warfare; and has managed to maintain its position of using the UN itself as a super-espionage agency that sits in the inner councils of the very powers it is engaged in destroying. Meanwhile, the Soviets are rapidly gaining enough voting power for Iron Curtain lands, and through secret allies such as India, to paralyze and take over the U.S. and the balance of the world without firing a single shot.

The UN constitution, Bill of Human Rights and all of the several conventions being drafted by various agencies, many of them subsidized by the Rockefeller Empire and its puppets, are all being deliberately designed for the purpose of betraying the U.S. and forcing upon the land the "new social order" of totalitarianism. Thus the Committee to Frame the World Constitution comprised a part of the same group of Rockefeller's University of Chicago and Council on Foreign Relations agents that constituted the Commission on (or to betray) Freedom of the Press: Hutchins, Hocking, Niebuhr, Redfield and Ruml, joined by U. of Chicago's Red professors, Richard P. McKeon, Mortimer J. Adler, Rexford G. Tugwell, Wilber G. Katz, James M. Landis, Charles McIlwain and Guiseppe A. Borgese. Borgese, an Italian Red refugee and close personal friend of Senator William Benton, was entrusted with the actual process of drafting the "Constitution" that was brought out in 1947, as a pattern for the UN to follow. In the writing of this brutalitarian "Constitution", which might better be termed a license for slavery, a deliberate and absurd effort was made to effect a "compromise" between the U.S. and Soviet constitutions. So delighted were the Reds with this document, that its adoption by the U.S. was made one of the planks in the platform of

Henry Wallace's Rockefeller-subsidized Communist front, the Progressive Party.

Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine, a distant kinswoman of the Rockefellers and a heavy supporter of Communist causes, including the Communist newspaper, Compass, donated \$1,000,000 for a foundation for world government that seeks the adoption of this "Constitution For World Government". It is administered by two "liberal" former professors of Rockefeller's University of Chicago, Stringfellow Barr and Scott Buchanan.

All the World Federalist groups have similar inspiration. Cord Meyer Jr. and Clark M. Eichel-berger, leader of two of the groups, are of the membership of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who swore to uphold the U.S. Constitution in his oath of office, is vice-president of the United World Federalists, dedicated to breaking down our Constitution, and surrendering the sovereignty of our country to the Rockefeller-Soviet-dominated and inspired UN "world power". The safety and security of the country required his impeachment and removal from the Supreme Court bench.

So sly, intensive and powerful has been the drive of the conspirators, led by the United World Federalists Inc. and the Rockefeller-supported agencies, that by June 1949, twenty-two state legislatures had voted for an Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would turn over our nation to a world government by Rockefeller's UN, rob us of our sovereignty and nationality, and betray us into the hands of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. A group of ninety-three Congressmen sponsored a concurrent resolution in the House of Representatives:

"It is the sense of the Congress that it should be a fundamental objective of the foreign policy of the United States to support and strengthen the United Nations and to seek its development into a world federation open to all nations with denned and limited powers adequate to preserve peace and prevent aggression through the enactment, interpretation and enforcement of world law."

The list cut across party lines and contained fifteen of the twenty-four members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. (marked with \* table 1, p. 412)

# UNITED NATIONS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT SPONSORS BY STATES, SHOWING PARTY AFFILIATION

<b>Alabama</b>	Smathers (D) *	<b>Missouri</b>	<b>Ohio</b>
Battle (D) *	Bennett (D)	Bolling (D)	Burke (D)
<b>Arizona</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	Karst (D)	Crosser (D)
Patten (D)	Lanham (D)	<b>Montana</b>	Vorys (R) *
<b>Arkansas</b>	Wheeler (D)	Mansfield (D) *	<b>Pennsylvania</b>
Hays (D)	<b>Illinois</b>	<b>Nevada</b>	Buchanan (D)
Mills (D)	Dawson (D)	Baring (D)	Corbett (R)
Trimble (D)	Gordon (D) *	<b>New Hampshire</b>	Davenport (D)
<b>California</b>	Mack (D)	Cotton (R)	Eberharter (D)
Anderson (R)	Velde (R)	<b>New Jersey</b>	Fulton (R) *
Doyle (D)	Yates (D)	Addonizio (D)	Granahan (D)
Havener (D)	<b>Indiana</b>	Auchinclose (R)	<b>South Carolina</b>
Hollfield (D)	Crook (D)	Case (R)	Richards (D) *
Jackson (R) *	Jacobs (D)	Eaton (R) *	<b>Tennessee</b>
Johnson (R)	Noland (D)	Howell (D)	Priest (D)
McKinnon (D)	<b>Maine</b>	Rodino (D)	<b>Texas</b>
Miller (D)	Hale (R)	Towe (R)	Teague (D)
White (D)	<b>Maryland</b>	<b>New York</b>	<b>Utah</b>
Phillips (R)	Miller (R)	Byrne (D)	Bosone (D)
Scudder (R)	<b>Massachusetts</b>	Celler (D)	Granger (D)
Welch (R)	Donohue (D)	Davies (D)	<b>Virginia</b>
<b>Colorado</b>	Furcolo (D)	Heller (D)	Gary (D)
Aspinall (D)	Herter (R)	Javits (R) *	Harrison (D)
Carroll (D)	Heselton (R)	Klein (D)	Stanley (D)
<b>Connecticut</b>	Kennedy (D)	Keating (R)	<b>Washington</b>
Lodge (R) *	<b>Michigan</b>	Multer (D)	Jackson (D)
Ribicoff (D) *	Ford (D)	Powell (D)	Mitchell (D)
Woodhouse (D)	<b>Minnesota</b>	Riehlman (R)	Tollefson (R)
<b>Florida</b>	Blatnik (D)	Tauriello (D)	<b>West Virginia</b>
Herlong (D)	Judd (R) *	<b>North Carolina</b>	Burnside (D)
Sikes (D)		Chatham (D) *	<b>Wisconsin</b>
			Biemiller (D)
			Zablocki (D) *

The names of these "patriotic Americans" should be borne in mind by their electorates. It is notable that the subscribing states were predominantly-Democratic and New Deal. It is fortunate for the nation that many of the states have withdrawn their support from it alerted to the nature of the conspiracy by the Daughters Of American Revolution.

One of the most nefarious aspects of this UN conspiracy is the propaganda to root out patriotism in the schools, and to supplant it with "internationalism", in the Stalin-Rockefeller sense. The Rockefeller-Foundation-dominated New York School Board adopted in December 1950, over the protests of numerous citizens and patriotic groups, a resolution which provided for flying the UN flag above the Stars and Stripes.

In conclusion, the fact is inescapable that the United Nations device is a suicidal, paralyzing force of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis that aims to destroy and engulf the governments of the United States and of the world into a totalitarian "One World", a Rockefeller World. The only cause the "United" Nations are united in is in the betrayal of our United States. It has served in the cause of "internationalism" of the Rockefeller Soviet brand. It must be destroyed or it will destroy us.

## CHAPTER XXII

### ROCKEFELLER'S MARSHALL PLAN & POINT 4 PROGRAM

#### The "Cold War" And The Korean "Crusade"

The so-called "Cold War" is obviously a cautious expansion of the Soviet Empire to invest the lands ceded to it by the Rockefeller Soviet Axis pact. Likewise, the Korean "Crusade", or "police action", serves to carry out the pattern of the same pact. In no other manner can there be explained many of their very strange aspects.

First, the Kremlin has made no move to disturb the Rockefeller interests in their peaceful possession of the enormously oil-rich Arabian Empire, in spite of its need for oil.

Any inclination to doubt the existence of an understanding between the members of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis will be dispelled promptly by an examination of the map of Asia Minor. It will be noted that Soviet Russia borders Turkey for hundreds of miles, and that there exists no real barrier that would block the Soviet seizure of Turkey, Arabia, Palestine, Iraq, and all the puppet states that have been set up in that region. It would be absurd to propose that the \$600,000,000 fund levied on American taxpayers "for the rearming of the Greek and Turkish armies" sufficed to make Rockefeller's Saudi Arabian oil secure from the hordes of the Soviet Army, that outnumbers the total population of those countries.

Certainly, it did not create, nor does there now exist in that region, the military might that would stop the enormous, well-trained Soviet Army. There is only one answer to the question: "What stops the Kremlin from seizing the plentiful Arabian oil that it needs so direly?" The answer is quite obvious. The Soviets are receiving that oil at no cost, or at a price that is less than the cost of production by themselves, on the basis of an alliance with its producers, the Rockefeller Empire, which has thus secured immunity for its holdings. This brings up the next question: "Who is paying the grasping, ruthless sham philanthropists for that oil?" By now the answer should be obvious to the dullest.

On May 13, 1948, the Wall Street Journal carried 413

on its front page in a special dispatch by Ray Crom-ley, the substance of the agreement reached at this conference, confirming substantially the secret agreement reached at Yalta, some three years earlier, between Stalin and Edward Stettinius and Alger Hiss, who, with "Roosevelt", represented the Rockefeller Empire. The dispatch was a release by the Rockefeller puppet agency, the State Department, of a pretended "warning" to Russia, under the headlines Nexus For Russia, U.S. Diplomats Sketch a "Line" Which Soviet Shall Not Cross. In effect, the "line" divided the world between the Rockefeller-Soviet allies into the Western and Eastern zones. The "line" runs to the west of Finland and Sweden, through mid-Germany and Austria, along the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, across northern Greece and Bulgaria, north of the Bos-phorus and Turkey and along the eastern border of Persia to the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea. It was drawn to leave the Rockefeller Empire in control of its Saudi Arabian oilfields and its line of supply through the Mediterranean ; and it gave to the Soviets, Finland, Sweden, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, East Austria, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and all of Asia with the exception of Turkey and Arabia. The correspondent naively explains:

"The weakness of the Iranian defense line— and the importance of Near East oil—are major reasons why military men and diplomats want no bad flare-up in Arabia." He discreetly fails to mention that Near East oil is important primarily to the Rockefeller interests. But he makes it clear that it is the crux of the situation. He makes it clear that Iran and its oil, concerning which there is now such a pretense of concern, was relegated to the Soviets, in line with the confirmed policy of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis to despoil and destroy the British Empire. China, which the Rockefeller "philanthropy" agents, operating through the State Department, have played the key role in delivering to the Soviets, was assigned to the Soviets together with Japan, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, India, Tibet and Afghanistan, where Rockefeller agent Owen Lattimore has been as curiously active as he was in China before its betrayal. The pro-Communist activities of Nehru in India and the appointment as

U.S. Ambassador to India of Chester Bowles, the former partner and associate of pro-Communist Senator William Benton, who is intimately identified with Alger Hiss and Nelson Rockefeller, and with Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations, presage an early delivery of India to the Soviets. Tibet has already been delivered to the Communists, following the activities there of Owen Lattimore and of the same clique. And Afghanistan, that has been likewise the object of Lattimore's attentions and the interest of Standard Oil agents, will no doubt soon follow suit.

Four significant events followed closely on the conference between Nelson A. Rockefeller and Andrei Gromyko, upon which it probably had an important bearing. First was the Berlin Blockade, which paved the way for arresting the dismantlement of the Rockefeller dominated I.G. Farben-industrie plants, the release of its officers from jail and its restitution to control of West Germany under the guidance of its Rockefeller attorney, John J. McCloy, as American High Commissioner. The second was the delivery of China to the Communists through the activities of the agents of Rockefeller's Institute of Pacific Relations in and out of their puppet State Department; and their proposal to wipe out the Nationalist Chinese Government completely by seating the Communist "Popular" Government in the UN, that would imply turning over to the latter all the assets of the former that are held abroad. These acts have been disastrous for the nation, and the second has cost the blood of more than 180,000 GIs, the lives of almost 20,000 of them and the spectre of national insolvency through the third, the Korean War that was thereby made possible. It was a fulfillment of the conditions laid down by the Rockefeller Empire through the State Department and published in the Wall Street Journal dispatch, as "the price of peace."

Proof of the fact that an agreement on such a partition of the world existed prior to Yalta and the termination of the war is clearly revealed by the withdrawal of our troops before Berlin in order to yield it to Soviet troops, in the European theatre of war. And in the Pacific, seven months before the termination of the war the Japs offered General MacArthur surrender on the same terms as were accepted at its termination; but the offer was



rejected by Roosevelt and his Rockefeller-Soviet Axis bosses. The war in the Pacific was deliberately prolonged until after Stalin had been induced to agree to permit us to terminate it, after he had the Soviets make a token entry into it as the basis for claiming Far East lands. Obviously the Rockefeller-Soviet partners sought on behalf of Stalin, to exhaust our forces in the process of conquering territory for the Soviets. The dropping of the atom-bomb on a people pleading for peace was a needless, brutal psychologic gesture that was designed by the conspirators more to intimidate folks at home than to defeat the already defeated Japs. In this it is proving more lastingly effective than the Orson Welles Invasion From Mars broadcast that they staged later as a test of the gullibility of their thought controlled Americans.

Third, in sharp contrast with the Saudi Arabia situation, Iran, with a larger population and army, and a smaller oil potential and production, is being cautiously stripped from the British Empire, and drawn under the Iron Curtain by the propaganda and agitation of the Communist Tudeh Party, with the sly, dissembled support of the Rockefeller Empire, through its agents and emissaries, including Averell Harriman, and its puppet State Department. Their pretended concern over the situation has served as a cover-up for dollar loans to Mossadegh's Iranian Government, that may amount to a hundred million or more to begin with, to enable it to carry on without the revenues derived from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. operations. Naturally, the American "peasants" will be forced to pay out this money on behalf of the beggarly Rockefeller Empire, through taxes and the U.S. Treasury. Sicken-ingly melodramatic Mossadegh, who alternately blusters and sobs, and makes blatant public exhibitions of his cowardice in fainting spells and hospital visits, is giving the "peasants" a show for their money.

It is also apparent that the present Iranian situation is merely what was planned between the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis partners even prior to Yalta,— speeded up by the impediment placed in the way of delivery of Saudi Arabian oil to the Soviets. The Rockefeller Empire has no direct interest in Iranian oil. In pursuing its consistent policy of being willing to give away other peoples' money and

property, its puppet State Department had already published its intent to yield Iran to the Soviets.

Fourth, the Rockefeller Empire is supporting the Kremlin in the various phases of the "Cold War" and the Korean "Crusade", directly and indirectly, at the expense of the American taxpayers, through the UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. With the usual cunning of the schemers, all of these plans are being presented to the "peasants" as devices for "stopping Communism".

The Marshall Plan and its continuation, the Point 4 program, and the North Atlantic treaty are completely transparent plans for subsidy of the partners of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. They were conceived in the 1930's by the Rockefeller-subsidized "social scientists" and promoted by their Foundation, and their Council on Foreign Relations. They were labelled with the names of their pawns, Marshall and Truman, and were dictated to the members of Congress, who passed them without pretense of a debate. In an address before the "78-79" club of Congress, in 1946, I predicted that it was planned to use the Marshall Plan in the same manner as the OPA — as a principal agency of Communism — to paralyze the flow of commodities through normal channels of industry in order to force inflation and chaos in business, with the purpose of furthering Communism and dictatorship in the U.S.; and also to subsidize Soviet Russia. In *The Strange Death of F.D.R.*, I repeated the prediction (p. 272).

The Committee for the Marshall Plan that propagandized the "peasants" through all the mass channels of information and misinformation controlled by the Rockefellers and their allies, from an office at 537 Fifth Avenue, New York City, in addition to the Rockefellers personally, comprised the familiar list of Rockefeller agents, puppets and pawns of the Foreign Office of the Rockefeller Empire, the Council on Foreign Relations. Its personnel include the following:

Hamilton Fish Armstrong    George H. Blakeslee

Isaiah Bowman

John W. Davis

Stephen Duggan

Allen W. Dulles

Charles H. McIlwain

Reinhold Niebuhr

George Shuster

Charles Seymour

Henry L. Stimson

Henry W. Wriston

Nelson A. Rockefeller 417

The following Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation were members of the "national council" of the Committee:

Karl T. Compton

John S. Dickey

Robert G. Sproul

Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Winthrop W. Aldrich On December 13, 1949, the Chicago Tribune published an editorial bearing the caption Rockefeller Profits From The Marshall Plan. This editorial was based entirely on the reports of the ECA Marshall Plan, records of the first 45-day period of operation. It points out that the Rockefeller family, the demonstrated bosses of all Standard Oil Companies, played the key role in getting the Marshall Plan through Congress and are cashing in on it handsomely. It quotes from the ECA report the following instances in which Rockefeller's Standard Oil companies, or their subsidiaries, collected several times from the American taxpayer for the same products in connection with Marshall Plan deals:

Anglo-American Oil Company Ltd., 100% owned British subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, purchased from two other wholly owned subsidiaries of the same company, the Esso Export Corp. and the Standard Oil Export Corp., \$7,258,332 worth of products that were paid for by the U.S. taxpayers out of ECA funds. The transaction which was in effect merely a transfer of the products from one department to another of Standard Oil, netted it two profits at the expense of the taxpayers.

Standard Francaise des Petroles, a French company 83%-owned by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, bought \$4,020,210 worth of products from the Esso Export Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil, in the same type of deal.

Other subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, throughout the world engage in the same type of transactions with their mother companies at the expense of the American taxpayers. Les Raffineries de la Vacuum Oil bought from Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., its parent company, \$2,-249,877 worth of products under the same conditions. The appointment of Paul G. Hoffman, former Studebaker Co. executive, protege of Bernard Baruch, Rockefeller henchman and member of the

Rockefeller Empire Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations, as head of the ECA, assured the Rockefellers of direct and full control of its activities.

The banks controlled by the allied Rockefeller and Roosevelt interests, the Chicago Tribune editorial states, have an exclusive monopoly of the profitable letter-of-credit business arising out of these plans, and in the financing of the exports made under them.

The nations in the name of which the Marshall Plan was set up saw little of the funds or benefits from them. A large proportion of the billions levied on the U.S. taxpayers never left the country, but was transferred directly or indirectly from the U.S. Treasury to the coffers of various Rockefeller-controlled corporations here or abroad, as stated in the Chicago Tribune editorial and the ECA reports. As a consequence, most European nations have manifested little interest in the Marshall Plan. In France for example, ECA officials were instructed by their superiors to create the appearance of enthusiasm for the plan and to instigate a demand in the French press for the passage by Congress of the necessary appropriations bill. Few French newspapers, other than those controlled by the Rockefeller and allied interests, even mentioned the story. They were not interested in the Marshall Plan because they were getting little or nothing out of it.

It is only the lands in which the Rockefeller interests seek further expansion, or have an axe to grind, that are given direct and visible benefits from the Marshall Plan, for the purpose of influencing acceptance of the deals in question.

The Rockefeller Empire itself has been the largest supplier to the Communist forces in Korea of an absolute essential for modern war—oil. The North Korean forces could not have launched the war without the oil provided them by Rockefeller's Cal-tex Co. from Saudi Arabian oilfields, entirely at the expense of American taxpayers through the Marshall Plan. That oil has made it possible for the enemy to operate its tanks, planes and other equipment that slaughter our GIs. It has made the Korean War an extremely profitable venture for the Rockefeller Empire.

Within a month after the Korean War got under way, it leaked out that Rockefeller's Caltex Co. was

supplying the enemy with their oil. The matter became so ugly a public scandal that puppet Secretary of State Dean Acheson was compelled to go through the form of ordering his Rockefeller Empire bosses to stop the treasonous trade. This meant, according to Rockefeller's Caltex employees, a complete standstill and loss of their highly profitable business. For the Rockefeller interests were paid for each barrel of oil three times by U.S. taxpayers, and made three profits. The oil is produced originally at the expense of the taxpayers by the Arabian American Oil Co., known as Aramco, a subsidiary of Caltex. Aramco was paid for the oil which it delivered, by the ECA. Caltex shipped the oil to Hong Kong in tankers, at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers, through the ECA, and sold it to a British subsidiary of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. Caltex was paid for the oil by the ECA. The Hong Kong company delivered the oil to the Chinese Communists and North Koreans and was paid for it out of the British Marshall Plan funds, by the ECA. The Caltex employees were trained in methods of billing and paper work in a special course given by the ECA in Washington at expense of the taxpayers.

Shipment of oil to the enemy was promptly taken over by a British subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. in Hong Kong, still at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer, through the ECA. The tankers engaged in the trade, many of them built at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer, were transferred to Panamanian, Greek, Norwegian and other foreign registry, and the trade continued under foreign flags, at the expense of the ECA. When the facts leaked out several months later, aroused public sentiment once again compelled puppet Secretary of State Dean Acheson to go through the motions of "bringing pressure to bear" against the "British" traders to discontinue the shipments of oil. Thereafter the shipments have been made by companies that are less directly controlled by the Rockefeller interests, from other parts of the world, such as Venezuela. This oil keeps the war going.

It is a matter of record that the Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Treaty countries transship the bulk of the material which they receive under the plans, or their equivalents, to Russia and the Iron Curtain countries. They fabricate raw materials which they receive, that are in short supply in the

U.S., into military equipment and munitions, and export them to Russia and Korea. The sixteen Marshall Plan nations have a total of ninety-six trade pacts with Russia and her satellites, in connection with this treacherous commerce.

Fulton Lewis Jr. reports that he toured all of Western Europe seeking in vain the heavy tractors and combines which were shipped there by the ECA. He noted that there were no sections that he visited where they could be used. Had he been permitted to visit the collective farms of Russia, he would have discovered that they had all been transshipped by our Western European "allies" to Russia.

The North Atlantic Treaty countries are demanding of the U.S., arms, equipment, cruisers and other material of war for the purpose of "resisting aggression by Russia", and at the same time are shipping to Russia all their production of those items that is made possible by the Marshall Plan aid they are receiving. Thus the October, 1951, issue of Shipping World reports that Marshall Plan countries are building the following ships for Soviet Russia at the present time:

Denmark	10 whalers
8 trawlers	2 suction dredge hulls
Italy	Belgium
2 passenger-cargo ships	8 cargo ships
	7 trawlers
Netherlands	Sweden
3 cargo ships	12 trawlers
6 tankers	2 tankers

In connection with the hubbub about atomic bombs, there naturally comes to mind the question of the bearing of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis on the leakage of information on the bomb and of raw material for its manufacture. Major Jordan testified that Harry L. Hopkins' name played a role in clearing both information on the development of the bomb and actual shipments of processed uranium. Hopkins serve the Axis loyally as one of its top Washington agents. A large number of the scientists connected with the development of the bomb were identified with institutions subsidized by the Rockefeller "philanthropies". Many of the college presidents who went on record publicly as favoring the release of atomic energy information to the Soviets are members of the Rockefeller Empire Foreign Office, the Council On Foreign Relations, and were

there identified with and indoctrinated by Alger Hiss and with the editors of Amerasia Owen Lattimore, William W. Lockwood, Thomas A. Bisson and Frederick Vanderbilt Field and others of the same tinting. David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee who approved of its grants for research work in the field to known Communists, is likewise a member of Rockefeller's crew. William Wesley Waymack, a fellow member of the AEC was a member of the Board of Trustees of Rockefeller's American Institute of Pacific Relations and of the Rockefeller subsidized, Marxist National Planning Board, and was identified with numerous other subversive or Communist front organizations, including the Russian War Relief Inc. and the Council for Democracy, as well as a member of the Executive Committee, with John Foster Dulles and David Rockefeller of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace that appointed Alger Hiss its president, (in which capacity Hiss became his associate), and a member of the Red Twentieth Century Fund. Rear Admiral Lewis Lichtenstein Strauss, the other member of the AEC, who opposed its subsidizing acknowledged Communists in atomic energy researches but was overruled and resigned, member of Kuhn Loeb & Co. who has been appointed financial adviser of the Rockefeller Bros. Inc., is also a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

This situation makes thoroughly understandable the fact that the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program and the North Atlantic Pact all have operated to strengthen and rearm Russia while depleting and weakening the U.S. As in the case of the UNRRA, Russia and the "Iron Curtain" countries are receiving, directly or indirectly, a lion's share of Marshall Plan aid and are being very materially supported through it in their Korean War, however involuntarily, by the American taxpayers. Indeed, the promptness with which Russian overtures for an armistice followed the adoption by Congress of measures, such the Kem Bill, that ordered the withholding of all aid from nations that traded with Russia and her satellites, make it appear probable that all the oil, munitions and supplies for the North Korean and Communist forces were being supplied, directly or indirectly, by the Rockefeller-Marshall conspiracy against the U.S. and its taxpayers.



One can not wonder that the Rockefellers, especially Nelson, are wildly enthusiastic about the Marshall Plan. It has poured billions of dollars of American taxpayers' money into their pockets through the firms which they control. It has assured their control of governments and concessions throughout the world. It has discovered for them new and fabulous sources of wealth, such as the new oil fields drilled with Marshall Plan funds by one of their subsidiary companies in French Equatorial Africa, which they now seek to exploit at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer through the extensions of the Marshall Plan which they have promoted, the MSA and the Point 4 program.

The most insolent and grandiose of the conspiracies to make the American taxpayer support with his money and life the expansion of the Rockefeller Empire and of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, is the Point 4 program. This program, as has been related, was launched by John D. Rockefeller 3rd in 1948, on his return from Africa, on a mission supposedly on behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation that quested the welfare of the Hottentots that are so dear to the heart of Henry Wallace and the rest of the crew of Rockefeller Reds.

Point 4 is an essential part of the program of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. It was laid down as such by Earl Browder, in his book *Teheran, Our Path In Peace And War*, published in 1945:

"America can underwrite a gigantic program of industrialization of Africa to be launched immediately ... (p. 53)

"Our (U.S.) government can create a series of giant industrial development corporations, each in partnership with some other government or group of governments and set them to work upon large scale plans of railroad and highway building, agricultural and industrial development, and all-round modernization in all the devastated and undeveloped areas of the world ..." (p. 79) John D. 3d dictated the program to Truman. Truman dictated it to Congress. Congress subserviently adopted it without any question of the orders it had received, other than a few feeble protests about a "global WPA".

It is not difficult to understand the interest of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis in the Point 4 program for the development of Africa. For the Soviets the

plan presents a number of immediate advantages. They are trading heavily with the British and French colonies in Africa. A development of its industries would make Africa an even more important source of military supplies and material. It would build up the continent at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers, hasten the financial debacle that would lead to the U.S. downfall, while at the same time building up Africa and make it a prize worthy of the conquering efforts of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. Their agents are already at work preparing the way for both of these accomplishments. Ralph Bunche, the Urban League and a host of other agencies subsidized by them are simultaneously agitating the F.E.P.C. program, inciting race friction in the U.S. and actual race warfare and riots in Africa.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd's praise of Bundle's prediction of an Asiatic Communist pattern of "upheaval", or revolution, in Africa at the Urban League's dinner to the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize has been related. The job they are doing is proving very effective in all sections of Africa. In the industrial and mining sections of the Union of South Africa, they are breeding totalitarianism and hatred of the white, and stirring up race riots that are directed initially against the Hindu immigrants. In the uranium-mining sections of Katanga, they are adapting their methods to the customs of the natives. They are concentrating on indoctrinating the powerful tribal witch doctors and making them the agents of hate and revolution.

Nelson Rockefeller's Point 4 program has been in the hands of trusted Communist agents from the very start and in it he is carrying forward the objectives of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, closely associated, as usual, with pro-Communists and Communists and Communist agents, in and out of the State Department. The Executive Director of the Secretariat of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation which is the official title of the Point 4 program, is Haldore Hanson. Haldore Hanson has a long record as a Communist, starting with the editorship of a Chinese Communist magazine in Peiping. Collaborating with Haldore Hanson and Nelson Rockefeller in the Point 4 program in Afghanistan is Owen Lattimore, whose earlier activities in Asia, on be-

half of the State Department and the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, were so successful for the Soviets, that the Communists took over the country without a struggle.

Nelson Rockefeller's Point 4 Program is doing its best to make the world, and the U.S., safe for Communism. It is engaged in the Marxist enterprise of providing social security in Egypt, whose king can insure the permanent and absolute security of death by arbitrary edict to any and all of his subjects, at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers, as was announced on May 1, 1951. It is building ports and developing mines and oil fields in Africa for the Rockefellers and providing them with the irrigation projects, for which a large part of undeveloped California, Nevada, New Mexico and other sections of the U.S. languish. It is rapidly getting around to Henry Wallace's favorite enterprise of providing "milk for the Hottentots", with Marxist dialectics as a flavor, at the expense of the world's greatest sucker, the U.S. taxpayer.

The immediate urgency and the direct impetus to Rockefeller's Point 4 program for Africa was revealed in a center-page photographic spread in the Sunday magazine section of their official journal, the New York Times, on September 23, 1951. Under the headline Africa Strikes Oil, it relates in the legends of the photographs that oil has been found in French Equatorial Africa, in the Ogoe River basin of Gabon territory, about 150 miles from Port Gentil on the Atlantic coast. The oil was found after four years of exploration by the Societe des Pet-roles d'Afrique Equatoriale Francaise. It relates that the company was French government financed, but states that the \$207,000 dollars that the French government furnished was U.S. Treasury, E.C.A. and Marshall Plan funds. Rockefeller's Standard Oil entered into a partnership with the French government in the 1920's, as related elsewhere, that made them equal partners in the French oil monopoly.

On November 24, 1950, President Truman dutifully appointed Nelson A. Rockefeller chairman of the Advisory Board on International Development, to plan aid for the underdeveloped areas of the world, more specifically of petroliferous Africa, and to implement the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis scheme. In making the appointment, Truman left it osten-

sibly to the Board, but actually to Rockefeller, to decide "the type and size of programs . . . desirable for the United States to undertake in this field." This was, in effect, a carte blanche to Nelson and the Empire.

On March 11, 1951, the Rockefeller report, or order, was handed to Truman in the name of the Board. It recommended that \$500,000,000 should be appropriated by Congress to launch the program. To secure additional power, scope, funds and personnel, it recommended a merger of all overseas economic activities including the Marshall Plan's Economic Cooperation Administration, the State Department's Institute of Inter-American Affairs that Nelson Rockefeller had launched, and the Technical & Cooperation Administration, among others.

The "opposition" in Congress had not one word to say against the utter un-Constitutionality of the Point 4 proposal. Part of the explanation is probably the fact that the law firm of the leader of the "opposition", Sen. Robert A. Taft, has represented the Rockefellers in such affairs as Abby Rockefeller Milton's and her husband's Charleston Shipyard deal that tapped the U.S. Treasury. Taft evidently heard "his master's voice" and was as eager to approve of this outrageous criminal raid on the U.S. Treasury as any other of the Rockefeller puppet, "bipartisan" agents in Congress. He rushed to volunteer his support of it so that it could be included in the press reports carrying the Rockefeller proposals, obviously by pre-arrangement, in order to block effectively any protest or opposition. The Associated Press report quotes him as saying, as "leader" of the fake opposition in Congress:

"I have no objections to Point 4 assistance so long as it is conducted on a limited basis and isn't a global giveaway." Sen. Taft echoed, in effect, the famous words of Sen. Arthur Vandenberg:

"Anything Rockefeller wants is O.K." Evidently Taft does not mind a "small" violation of the Constitution, when his firm's client, Rockefeller, is the beneficiary.

With the opposition thus bowled over, the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis Point 4 program was adopted in record time by Congress. In the midst of the Korean War that was taxing the resources of

the nation and piling up staggering costs and taxes, a Point 4 appropriation of \$500,000,000, for subsidizing further the Rockefeller interests, was passed by Congress with literally no opposition, to help speed the insolvency of the nation and its taxpayers:

Since his appointment Nelson Rockefeller, who in the words of Joe Alex Morris, his biographer, seeks "to get a good return on his investment", has devoted a large part of his time and energy to promoting his Point 4 Program. Indefatigably he races around the country speaking before any or-gainzation that will listen to the promotion of his Point 4 business. He demanded of Congress for Point 4 \$19,000,000,000, plus a greatly aggrandized Marshall Plan. After placing agents in key positions Nelson resigned in December 1951.

After the outbreak of the war, there was loud public protest against the continued shipment of "Lend Lease" material to Russia by the boatload. A demand was made in Congress for discontinuance of the shipments that would inevitably reinforce Russia in her war on us. The Rockefeller-dominated State Department and other agencies, promptly opposed a boycott of the shipments on the absurd ground that it would violate an agreement made with Russia for the supply of material for the waging of World War II, the hostilities of which were already ended. The innumerable breaches by Russia of agreements with us and the Korean War constitute ample ground for stopping the shipment of supplies. When union longshoremen refused to unload Russian imports, both Dean Acheson and President Truman condemned them for their intelligent and patriotic boycott.

The Rockefeller agencies, including their puppet State Department, have bitterly fought any measure that sought to cut off U.S. taxpayer support to the Soviets or their purveyors. The only conceivable explanation of their acts is that the Rockefeller Empire is pledged to the Soviets, as an instigator or ally, to supply them with all material for their conquests and the Korean War. The immunity of their Saudi Arabian oilfields from Soviet molestation and agitation, as compared with the inspired disturbances in Iran and Egypt bears out this view.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### AMERICA BETRAYED WHAT LIES AHEAD? WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?

In his Rockefeller publicity in the Saturday Evening Post, Joe Alex Morris stated that in the plans of the Rockefellers for the U.S.

"... even a casual observer can see a pattern emerging . . .  
Just what that pattern will finally show, remains to be seen  
..."

"What pattern will finally show" can be predicted with a large measure of assurance on the basis of past record, present performance, and publicly avowed ideas and plans. New "Crusades" will be provided for the "peasants" to offer them an opportunity for blood-letting and an outlet for their exuberant energy and surplus production of men and things; and primarily to further the modern equivalent of the Holy Grail, world conquest and world oil monopoly. Attainment of the intermediate objective will be marked by "THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE UNITED STATES" as predicted by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, cousins of Eleanor Roosevelt, in an article of that name published in the Coronet magazine in May 1948. They predicted that this would have been accomplished by 1954, with the setting up in this country of an absolute dictatorship that would align the country at the side of the other dictatorships that have been brought into being throughout the world under the Marxist "social sciences". This prediction by the Alsops was not based on guesswork but on their full and accurate knowledge of the conspiracy; for they are of the inner circle.

This pattern will be the fulfillment of that conjured by Rockefeller and his almoner, Gates, in the Occasional Letter No. 1 of Rockefeller's General Education Board: a feudal society in which the "peasants" are reduced to the status of serfs, or slaves, on the pretense of offering them "security".

The pattern of the American dictatorship was drawn up officially in the Hopley Plan For Defense Against Enemy Attack that was designed to mobilize and regiment 15,000,000 men and women, and was submitted to Secretary of Defense Forrestal

in November, 1948. This dictatorship plan was prepared by the conspirators to be carried out in the guise of a defense measure in the midst of the "artificial alarm", in the words of John Foster Dulles, created by the first "military emergency".

To reduce resistance to it and to prepare the way for its more ready national acceptance, the conspirators arranged to have the plan adopted first in New York State, their usual procedure. Governor Thomas Dewey, is a trusted Rockefeller errand boy, who was openly ordered by the Rockefellers personally to run for reelection after bribery of candidate Hanley to withdraw. He has been for more than a decade, chief tool in putting up phoney opposition and "bipartisanship" on the national scene, and is regularly employed by them to "run interference" for their administration in Washington. He demanded the passage of the bill as an "emergency" Defense Bill, in the war of nerves that the conspirators are waging on the American public, the "peasants", centering around the atom bomb.

The pattern is further revealed by the issue of Collier's that has been described, on the "approaching war with Soviet Russia."

The complete pattern, in the opinion of such students as Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, will be that portrayed in George Orwell's novel "1984"—complete and abject slavery under inhumanly brutal dictatorship.

The smashing of the British Empire and the control of the oil reserves and markets, that has been the objective of the Rockefeller Empire for more than half a century, has become an accomplished fact. This is demonstrated by the ousting of the British from Iran through the activities of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis; by the virtual monopoly by the Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) and associates of refining and marketing in India, following the appointment of their agent, Chester Bowles, as U.S. Ambassador to India and the shipment there of grain valued at \$190,000,000 with numerous other grants of millions, after India deliberately undertook to betray the U.S. to the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis; and by the concession renegotiated by the Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. indirectly thru Glenn McCarthy, with an Egypt incited to revolt against British rule.



The enemy in our midst has woven a web of conspiracy for half a century. It is well on its way to accomplishing its purpose of replacing our Republic with a totalitarian monarchy of the "1984" pattern, and to use it to attain a world conquest with the aid of the Soviets and of even less highly organized gangsters such as the Mafia. What can we do to save our country, ourselves and our fortunes ?

The problem is complicated by the fact that so many of us accept the conspirators' propaganda that "security" is to be preferred to freedom, even though it means serfdom. Inertia leads many to accept rule imposed on them by more aggressive, unscrupulous and ruthless elements. They are satisfied so long as their bellies are filled, their other animal cravings satisfied and they are diverted. Lacking these, they generally revolt. But there is grave danger that once the conspirators have destroyed freedom, modern techniques of enslavement devised by "social scientists" are so cruel, brutal and barbaric that any attempt at revolt would be doomed. To avert such a fate, immediate action must be taken to undo all the treacheries that have been perpetrated.

It would be unwise to be deluded by the "Freedom" movements mockingly launched by the conspirators. They are intended to divert attention from their destruction of our freedom at home by making a noisy pretense of restoring freedom to others.

The Constitution, as it originally stood, without its negating amendments, and the Bill of Rights are the instruments that endowed us with the large measure of freedom which we alone among the nations long enjoyed. They were drawn up, as a compromise, by a group that included some of the wisest, sincerest philosophers that ever assembled to draw up a blueprint of human organization. That blueprint was the first written expression of the concept that freedom, for which mankind had fought and died from the beginning of time, shall be the basis of government. Despite the fact that it was a compromise that has never been given full expression, or has actually been negated, in our laws that should have carried out its letter and spirit, it had assured our people the freedom that made our country what it is.

The Constitution is the chief obstacle to the plan of the conspirators. For this reason they call this eternal philosophy "obsolete"! With slyness, cunning and stealth they perpetually seek to pervert and erode it—by amendments, laws, "legal" decision, evasions and "established" practises. Their objective is to destroy it principally by the strategy of demented Karl Marx who speciously, but plausibly, undertook to convince mankind that the devices that spelled abject slavery for centuries mean "security" and improvement on freedom.

The United Nations "Treaty" was entered into as has been related by the conspirators for the avowed purpose of thereby turning over to themselves our sovereignty, annulling the Constitution and superseding it as our basic law with a UN charter that will better serve their totalitarian objectives.

Our Constitution and law require, as has been related, that the conspirators be condemned, that all commitments to the UN in which they have treacherously involved us must be denounced, and our troops withdrawn from foreign lands without and more delay than is consonant with their security. The conspirators' "revolution by stealth and deceit" must be undone as rapidly as possible. For the menace to our security and solvency are grave. And day by day, more of our men are falling, victims of the most shameful betrayal in history.

Mindful of the adage: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad", the conspirators have perverted the nation's minds through control of "education" and mass communication. We must open our ears, eyes and minds to the things that they do not want us to know, and suppress. Education, especially in the formative ages, must be made nationalist, patriotic and pro-Constitutional. For if the mind is warped in childhood to reject freedom and the Constitution that gave birth to it, and to accept the slavery of Rockefellerism, we are lost. We must eliminate censorship from all channels of mass information and make them common carriers of political thought, subject solely to the limitation of loyal support of the Constitution. Censorship of radio and television, reinforced by limitation of station licenses subject to political approval, are especially menacing. For stations are compelled to broadcast the conspirators' subversive propaganda

as "non-controversial" and loyal views that uphold the Constitution are barred as "controversial".

The Constitution gave our government the form of a democratic republic, a representative government in which, theoretically, all citizens have the right to vote. The conspirators have expressed their intent ultimately to rob the people, openly, of their franchise. Stealthily, they already have robbed the nation of its power to choose their representatives, and of any effective representation, by seizing control of all parties' nominating machinery.

For decades the candidates for important offices have been a "parade of Rockefeller dummies". The voters had no real choice at the polls, for the candidates of both parties were pledged to betray the nation into new Rockefeller "Crusades".

Voting machines that can be fixed as readily as the slot machines turned out by the same manufacturers, trick the voter and have made voting futile. All pretense of real opposition between the parties has been abandoned. Nominations are held by the parties, successively, in the same meeting places, for the acknowledged purpose of "saving expenses"—that are obviously defrayed by the same individuals. The nominations of "opposing" candidates are obviously idle gestures of the conspirators for contemptuous diversion of the "peasants".

In 1952 the conspirators are trying to give the nation a new version of "Hobson's choice", by imposing their puppet Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower on both major parties as "bipartisan" candidate" who could rapidly prepare the way for dictatorship if elected. To guard against miscarriage of their plans, all other nominees are also theirs.

Robert A. Taft, for instance, is bogus leader of the fake "opposition". He is of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, that has placed more than a dozen of its members in the White House, has played the role of America's Royal Family, and has misruled and mulcted the country for more than a century before the Rockefeller Empire joined forces with it. Like his father, he derives from Rockefeller's Ohio Republican machine, built by Mark Hanna. His record reveals him as a weak, ineffective rubber stamp of their New Deal. His "opposition" requires merely slight modification, for the record.

Taft's law firm has been counsel to Jack Kroll, 432

National Chairman of the CIO-PAC; and apparently his record has been quite satisfactory to the radical CIO. The "fight" on him was part of the sham of grooming him as star of the fake "opposition". A basically sound bill drawn up by Hartley, he did his best to emasculate for the CIO. The law that bears his name upholds the violations of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, justice and honesty that prevail in labor law and practise. The Taft Hartley Act is the Magna Charta of labor bosses and racketeers and protects the labor agitators and the apostles of class warfare in their illicit power.

Taft served Abby Rockefeller Milton in connection with the Charleston Shipyard and its lucrative dealings with the Government during World War II. He also served as Trustee of the Rockefeller-dominated Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, the refuge of Alger Hiss. He ranked as a Rockefeller "internationalist" long before "bipartisan" Sen. Vanderberg somersaulted to become bellwether of their cause in the Senate. Now, with "internationalism" become unpopular, Taft shams "opposition" to it but he shrinks from "isolation-ism", the conspirators' smear for nationalism and patriotism. He is merely a bit less "internationalist" and not willing to go "all out" in betraying the country.

On January 1, 1951, Taft announced that he opposed the sending of troops to Korea and Europe by Truman as un-Constitutional, and that he would fight it to the last ditch. He sounded like a good American, a patriot who would not blench at tthe "isolationist" smear. But on the next day he backed down and agreed to a bit of un-Constitutionality, and the sending of troops to Europe. Day by day he backed down, until eventually he advocated a European-troop program exceeding the original proposal.

His New Deal Rockefellerism emerged in his bill to socialize medicine and his housing bill in which his name was coupled with that of Rockefeller's chief New Deal agent, and staunch friend of the subversives, Sen. Wagner—the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill. He also supported the conspirator's Federal Aid to Education Bill.

Taft's Presidential nomination would spell extreme danger for our Republic because it would bolster the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty's pretensions

to divine right to rule the U. S. His case would be the second in the Dynasty of father succeeding son to the Presidency, the Adamases being the only other instance.

The "Parade of Rockefeller Dummies" has brought "One World", UN delegate Harold Stassen to the front, offering himself as a Presidential "joker" Xmas gift to the nation. His proposed platform is Rockefellerism modified by opportunism. He plans to make his Cabinet more completely than ever a Rockefeller agency by recruiting it from Rockefeller's Foreign Office, the Council on Foreign Relations, with such of their puppets as Ralph J. Bunche and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, to carry out policies dictated by Alger Hiss, Joseph E. Johnson, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Owen Lattimore, on behalf of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. In his every public act and utterance, Stassen has proved himself completely subservient to his Rockefeller masters, their "trained seal" in their bogus "opposition", a rubber stamp of their "New Deal" and a betrayer of our country. If our Constitution and our nation are to survive, he and all his breed must be ejected from public life. Gen. MacArthur and other real Americans whom he proposes to use as deodorants for his breed, should spurn this agent of the very forces that they are fighting.

Eisenhower, Stassen, Warren, Taft and all candidates of both the Republican and Democratic parties, nominated by the conspirators, will run, like Sen. Estes Kefauver, in the words of Walter Trohan, on a "Benedict Arnold platform."

The nation must repudiate all of these candidates of the group whom Harry Shippe Truman accused of "treason". It must seize the nominating power from the conspirators, however completely they have stolen it from the nation. If it is impossible to secure amendment of the laws in regard to nominations, the public can resort to "write-ins" for Presidential and other candidates. The situation is critical. It must be done now or never.

Control of nominations must be taken out of the hands of private cliques and given to the people, if our franchise is not to rival in absurdity the one-party tickets of the Soviets. Any honest loyal American who seeks to serve the nation would be preferable to any of the candidates groomed by the conspirators, and should be given an equal op-

portunity to offer himself and his program to the nation. Nomination and election campaigns should be financed by the Treasury, to avoid moneyed dictatorship, and monarchy. Public officers who betray their trust and fail to uphold the Constitution must be impeached under its provisions.

Freedom of life and other property rights assured by the Constitution and Bill of Rights, have been destroyed by the conspirators. The Constitution gives the right to draft life and property for the defense of the U.S. only. For more than three decades, men have been drafted, denied the freedom of life, and met death in the battlefields around the world, and the nation bled by taxation, primarily for the expansion of a hostile power, the Rockefeller Empire, and the support and defense of its allies, in violation of the Constitution.

Private property rights assured by the Constitution have been completely abrogated by the conspirators and the wealth of the nation confiscated in various manners. Farmers have been denied the use of their land for crops. Their losses were subsidized by the nation as a whole, because they constitute a vociferous majority. But property owners, who are a minority, have been forced to subsidize lower rents for the public, under "rent control", by outright confiscation of their property and other rights, by bureaucratic edict from which there is no appeal, in complete disregard of honesty, principle or the Constitution,—robbed as effectively as if a gun were held to their heads.

The slyest methods that the conspirators have adopted for looting the nation is Karl Marx's program of progressive income tax, which they have incorporated into the Constitution by the 16th Amendment, and inheritance taxes. An income tax can be the most just form of taxation if it is made to comply with the Constitution and if it is honestly administered by law, not by bureaucratic edict. As proposed by Karl Marx, and as adopted in our law, it is a device for confiscation of wealth and forcing a revolutionary "new social order."

Under its provision neither income nor capital belong to the citizen except by consent of Congress, whose power of taxation is unlimited. Capital is being confiscated by legal and bureaucratic interpretation of capital gains as current income. The nation has not suspected the extinction of property

rights until recently because the conspirators have gone slowly about the process of confiscation of wealth, until now it is faced with such wholesale looting by taxation that extinction of property rights is obviously imminent unless the Amendment and law are revoked.

As might be expected, the conspirators have exempted themselves from income tax and inheritance tax looting, by loopholes they have written into the laws and regulations. They have provided tax exemption for their bogus "foundations", for oil drilling, for earnings on foreign holdings, for their labor goons and racketeers and their union rackets, and an endless array of other devices the use of which they reserve to themselves. Through nepotism and corruption this income tax thievery has been converted into a means of rewarding friends and oppressing enemies. Blackmail of citizens by bureaucrats and their criminal associates is a natural outgrowth, and plays an important role in maintaining conspirators in power. The effectiveness of income tax in oppression and looting of the nation is enhanced by making evasion of income taxes the most heinous crime.

To make the tax more palatable to the "peasants", it has been made "progressive", or "soak the rich", class legislation that initially exempted a large section of the nation. The exempted were too shortsighted to realize that it would be merely a matter of time before they also would be victimized. In a special dispatch to the N. Y. Times on January 4, 1952, the Treasury issued another false attack designed to deceive the public in regard to the protection of property rights by limitation of taxes, directed against the Committee for Constitutional Government and the American Taxpayers Association. It falsely alleged that limitation of taxes would merely, benefit the rich.

For national salvation the entire income tax thievery and fraud must be wiped off the statute books. There must be written into the Federal and State Constitutions a limit of total tax assessable by the government of 10% of income. Multiplicity of taxes and hidden taxes must be abolished. Excise taxes on poisons, such as liquor and tobacco, that leads officialdom to encourage victimization of the public, also should be abolished as unethical, as well as futile. For in most instances these taxes



serve only to support the parasitic bureaucrats that administer them; and in more than one instance that cost amounts to more than the tax collected.

"The power to tax is the power to destroy" is an old adage, that is eternally true. Limitation of that power will do much to protect our government and ourselves from destruction by the enemies in our midst. The power to intensify tax looting in "emergencies" and wars is often the reason why the plotters precipitate wars, as in the case of Korea. In the words of John Foster Dulles, wars serve the purpose of keeping the nation "artificially alarmed" and creating "justification" for intensifying the looting. In this, the maneuvers of the Rockefeller Soviet Axis have served so well that the tax looted from the country during the Truman Administration, in the years 1945-51, have mounted to more than the \$260,000,000,000 tax levied by the Federal Government in the century and a half prior. In the meantime the conspirators have placed an ever larger number of employees on the Government payroll and made so large a proportion of the citizenry dependent upon it that their Marxist goal of making everyone the servant of a totalitarian State is rapidly looming in sight.

More subtle than even the income tax device for looting nations, is the control of currency. In these matters the Rockefeller Empire has been guided by the principal German agents of the Bismarxian conspiracy, Felix and Paul Warburg, sons of M. M. Warburg, representative of the Rothschilds and banker for the German governments, including Hitler's. The Warburgs became partners of Rockefeller's bankers, Kuhn Loeb & Co. at the beginning of the century, directly after their arrival in this country from Germany. With the cooperation of the Rockefeller interests, represented by Senator Aid-rich, they promptly set about creating the Federal Reserve Bank as a private corporation that, in violation of the Constitution, controls our currency system, and through it, manipulates and steadily absorbs the wealth of the nation for the conspirators, and dominates the industry, commerce and policies of the nation.

A quick understanding of the extent of the looting that can be accomplished by this control of the currency system by the conspirators, without going into the technicalities of the mechanism, can be

conveyed by one simple statement, to wit: The same conspirators, with the same mechanics that they are employing in the U.S., engineered the devastating inflation in Germany that wiped out the wealth of the citizenry and destroyed their freedom. They also planted revolution and Communism in Russia. Every device and method that they employed in those countries has been adopted in their domestic conspiracy. Every move that they make in their pretense of fighting inflation is deliberately designed to increase it and to hasten the debacle.

The staggering taxation, which they pretend will cut the purchasing power of the people and prevent inflation, is the most powerful factor in increasing inflation. Taxes are an integral part of cost, often multiplied many times. The increased revenue from taxes also increases the amount of money available for spending by the government itself, the most powerful factor in speeding inflation. On the other hand the conspirators block increased production, the only final deflationary force, even more directly, by rigid restrictions of production. To these devices they add the tremendous costs of a vast bureaucracy, of welfare and social security trickery, of increased wages fostered for their own advantages through class, "labor" legislation and "collective bargaining", deficit financing and by enormous and steadily rising appropriations for "defense", the Point 4 program and Marshall Plan and pretense of "fighting Communism" in Korea and Europe, most of which flows directly into the kitty of their gigantic swindle, and to the bolstering of the Soviets.

The value of ruinous inflation for the success of the totalitarian conspiracy was pointed out long ago by both Marx and Lenin. In one stroke the "new social order" can be attained by individual and national bankruptcy. Inflation by manipulation of currency, the squandering of the wealth of the nation, deficit financing and ruinous taxation must all be checked and the plotters ousted, if we are ever to recover our freedom and survive as a nation.

The solution of the currency problem is not a difficult one, if there arises a will to solve it. The solution lies in exactly the opposite direction from the measure imposed on the nation by the conspirators. It lies primarily in the direction of stimulating maximum production of the necessities of life, a

surplus economy instead of the present restriction of production and scarcity economy. Such maximum production is only feasible if provision is made for stabilizing the value of what is produced, and for storing it for long periods against time of need. It is the solution that Joseph offered Pharaoh, according to the Bible—the lesson that the conspirators do not wish their puppet economists to teach. The device has succeeded under normal conditions as applied to gold, in the form of the gold standard. It inevitably will succeed as well in maintaining the monetary value of other staples if the monetary standard is rationally extended to include all staples. Coupled with true freedom of employment that would eliminate all need for labor unionism and associated rackets that are operated in the pretended interest of the workers, it would enable us to attain the form of government that was envisaged by the wise authors of our Constitution. For a detailed discussion of an obvious solution of this problem, the reader is referred to the author's books, *Your Life Is Their Toy* and *The Strange Death Of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*.

The conspirators are rapidly converting government into a totalitarian tyranny. They are making our Government a device for harassing, oppressing, looting, and for executing citizens in wars cooked up by them. We are further from the Constitution and the Bill of Rights than the country was at the time of the Declaration of Independence.

Normal intelligence and regard for the security of the nation demands that only loyal, native-born citizens should be eligible for public office. For persons who would not feel some allegiance to the land of their birth, could not be expected to be capable of allegiance to their land of adoption, and they should be rejected, therefore, for citizenship. On the other hand, persons whose loyalty is divided, cannot be regarded as wholly dependable in conflicts involving the two countries. They, therefore, should be ineligible for public office.

Restricting public office to native-born, provably loyal citizens would serve to eliminate the presently widely prevailing practise of foreign governments sending their spies and agents here to become "naturalized", and to serve them in the capacity of bogus "American" citizens, often in top, policymaking capacities. Lauchlin Currie, for instance,

actually held public office before he became a citizen. He was planted in the White House as Assistant to President Roosevelt, where he was in a position to influence our national policies, and did so, to our sad disadvantage.

Our enemies defy us with impunity and our so-called "allies" and "friends" betray us, confident in the knowledge that their highly placed spies and agents, in our government and in the UN, will protect them from reprisals and render us impotent.

All public officers whose loyalty comes under the slightest question, must be driven out and prosecuted to the full limit of the law. Execution for treason must be restored to practise.

It is a sad commentary on the state of the nation that it is the women, led by the brilliant and courageous Vivien Kellem, and the patriotic, truly American housewives of Marshall, Texas, who alone have had the courage to revolt against the conspiracy that is rapidly betraying our country to ruin and destruction. Even sadder is the picture of the rejection of Kellem's candidacy for public office in favor of subversive puppets of the conspirators.

Unless the rank and file of the nation can be awakened and induced to slough off their excitement over forms of amusement such as so-called "sports", ball games, "fixes", movie stars and television and comics, and devote their energies wholeheartedly to the measures that spell their survival—life or death—our outlook is black. If, however, the nation can be as completely aroused, as are those intelligent and courageous women, past performance indicates that he cowardly conspirators will run for cover. Chameleon-like they will try to change color, much as they have when confronted with the nation's change of sentiment regarding Communism—they now all pretend to be "Socialists" or American Democrats for Action. The nation would be imbecilic indeed, if it permits itself to be deceived by those turncoats.

As for the master conspirators, and their ill-gotten gains, their fate can be entrusted to an aroused American public. The lives that they have cost our people can not be recovered. The wealth can be regained by the nation.

ANOTHER BOSTON TEA PARTY IS LONG OVERDUE!

## A CALL TO ACTION IN AMERICAN EDUCATION By Fred

H. Johnson

For many years American education has been infected by an "educational" conspiracy to "change our social order" the backbone of which is the "social studies" or "sciences", which scramble together history, geography, civics and economics, with a left wing twist.

"Socialization of the individual" is the aim of the social studies stated in the 1936—14th Year Book of the Dept. of Superintendence of the Rockefeller subsidized NEA (p. 6), and the taking of private property for public purposes without compensation is called "basic and imperative", (p. 8)

This continued teaching of legal larceny is a flagrant violation of the keystone of civil liberty embedded in the Ten Commandments, our Federal, and State Constitutions.

Constitutional taking of property by due process of law, without compensation applies to punishment only, for the Fifth Amendment, adopted 1791 says: "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law;" after which comes "nor shall private property be taken for public use without compensation."

Our Constitution embodies the principle of civilized government which is protection of life and property, not distribution or control, at home or abroad, in accordance with the ideas of the Rockefellers and their associates.

The bias of great wealth in Rockefeller and allied tax-exempt foundations is all on the side of the "social sciences", which discard moral law and established principles, putting everything but Socialism to the clinical test.

Organizations such as the National Council for American Education. The Friends of the Public Schools and the Educational Reviewer, are bucking the subversive tide with small contributions from patriots, and are the targets of a lavishly financed smear campaign waged by the NEA, its puppets and allies who pay no taxes.

The struggle to restore Constitutional principles and our national sovereignty is crucial. Every patriotic American must pitch into this fight against Rockefellerism and the "socialist" studies in his home school district.

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MARYLAND STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH—BALTIMORE, 18

CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

Reg. Dist. No. 215

1. PLACE OF BIRTH County: Montgomery MAYLAND		2. USUAL RESIDENCE (If not same as above, give address) DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
3. CITY OR TOWN (If outside corporate limits, write name of town) Bethesda (Md.)		4. LENGTH OF STAY IN PLACE 4. Days	
5. NAME OF HOSPITAL (If not a hospital, give street address) U.S. Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Md.		6. STREET ADDRESS 20 3rd St., N.E.	
7. SEX Male		8. DATE OF BIRTH May 2 19 57	
9. COLOR OF SKIN White		10. DATE OF DEATH 14 Nov. 1959	
11. USUAL OCCUPATION (Give kind of work done) U.S. Senator		12. COUNTRY OF BIRTH U.S.	
13. FATHER'S NAME Timothy Mc Carthy		14. MOTHER'S MARYEN NAME Reidest Tierney	
15. SOCIAL SECURITY NO. Yes 8-12142 to 2-20-45 Unknown		16. OFFICIAL New Record	
17. CAUSE OF DEATH (Enter only one cause for (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i) (j) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (p) (q) (r) (s) (t) (u) (v) (w) (x) (y) (z) (aa) (ab) (ac) (ad) (ae) (af) (ag) (ah) (ai) (aj) (ak) (al) (am) (an) (ao) (ap) (aq) (ar) (as) (at) (au) (av) (aw) (ax) (ay) (az) (ba) (bb) (bc) (bd) (be) (bf) (bg) (bh) (bi) (bj) (bk) (bl) (bm) (bn) (bo) (bp) (bq) (br) (bs) (bt) (bu) (bv) (bw) (bx) (by) (bz) (ca) (cb) (cc) (cd) (ce) (cf) (cg) (ch) (ci) (cj) (ck) (cl) (cm) (cn) (co) (cp) (cq) (cr) (cs) (ct) (cu) (cv) (cw) (cx) (cy) (cz) (da) (db) (dc) (dd) (de) (df) (dg) (dh) (di) (dj) (dk) (dl) (dm) (dn) (do) (dp) (dq) (dr) (ds) (dt) (du) (dv) (dw) (dx) (dy) (dz) (ea) (eb) (ec) (ed) (ee) (ef) (eg) (eh) (ei) (ej) (ek) (el) (em) (en) (eo) (ep) (eq) (er) (es) (et) (eu) (ev) (ew) (ex) (ey) (ez) (fa) (fb) (fc) (fd) (fe) (ff) (fg) (fh) (fi) (fj) (fk) (fl) (fm) (fn) (fo) (fp) (fq) (fr) (fs) (ft) (fu) (fv) (fw) (fx) (fy) (fz) (ga) (gb) (gc) (gd) (ge) (gf) (gg) (gh) (gi) (gj) (gk) (gl) (gm) (gn) (go) (gp) (gq) (gr) (gs) (gt) (gu) (gv) (gw) (gx) (gy) (gz) (ha) (hb) (hc) (hd) (he) (hf) (hg) (hh) (hi) (hj) (hk) (hl) (hm) (hn) (ho) (hp) (hq) (hr) (hs) (ht) (hu) (hv) (hw) (hx) (hy) (hz) (ia) (ib) (ic) (id) (ie) (if) (ig) (ih) (ii) (ij) (ik) (il) (im) (in) (io) (ip) (iq) (ir) (is) (it) (iu) (iv) (iw) (ix) (iy) (iz) (ja) (jb) (jc) (jd) (je) (jf) (jg) (jh) (ji) (jj) (jk) (jl) (jm) (jn) (jo) (jp) (jq) (jr) (js) (jt) (ju) (jv) (jw) (jx) (jy) (jz) (ka) (kb) (kc) (kd) (ke) (kf) (kg) (kh) (ki) (kj) (kk) (kl) (km) (kn) (ko) (kp) (kq) (kr) (ks) (kt) (ku) (kv) (kw) (kx) (ky) (kz) (la) (lb) (lc) (ld) (le) (lf) (lg) (lh) (li) (lj) (lk) (ll) (lm) (ln) (lo) (lp) (lq) (lr) (ls) (lt) (lu) (lv) (lw) (lx) (ly) (lz) (ma) (mb) (mc) (md) (me) (mf) (mg) (mh) (mi) (mj) (mk) (ml) (mm) (mn) (mo) (mp) (mq) (mr) (ms) (mt) (mu) (mv) (mw) (mx) (my) (mz) (na) (nb) (nc) (nd) (ne) (nf) (ng) (nh) (ni) (nj) (nk) (nl) (nm) (nn) (no) (np) (nq) (nr) (ns) (nt) (nu) (nv) (nw) (nx) (ny) (nz) (oa) (ob) (oc) (od) (oe) (of) (og) (oh) (oi) (oj) (ok) (ol) (om) (on) (oo) (op) (oq) (or) (os) (ot) (ou) (ov) (ow) (ox) (oy) (oz) (pa) (pb) (pc) (pd) (pe) (pf) (pg) (ph) (pi) (pj) (pk) (pl) (pm) (pn) (po) (pp) (pq) (pr) (ps) (pt) (pu) (pv) (pw) (px) (py) (pz) (qa) (qb) (qc) (qd) (qe) (qf) (qg) (qh) (qi) (qj) (qk) (ql) (qm) (qn) (qo) (qp) (qq) (qr) (qs) (qt) (qu) (qv) (qw) (qx) (qy) (qz) (ra) (rb) (rc) (rd) (re) (rf) (rg) (rh) (ri) (rj) (rk) (rl) (rm) (rn) (ro) (rp) (rq) (rr) (rs) (rt) (ru) (rv) (rw) (rx) (ry) (rz) (sa) (sb) (sc) (sd) (se) (sf) (sg) (sh) (si) (sj) (sk) (sl) (sm) (sn) (so) (sp) (sq) (sr) (ss) (st) (su) (sv) (sw) (sx) (sy) (sz) (ta) (tb) (tc) (td) (te) (tf) (tg) (th) (ti) (tj) (tk) (tl) (tm) (tn) (to) (tp) (tq) (tr) (ts) (tt) (tu) (tv) (tw) (tx) (ty) (tz) (ua) (ub) (uc) (ud) (ue) (uf) (ug) (uh) (ui) (uj) (uk) (ul) (um) (un) (uo) (up) (uq) (ur) (us) (ut) (uu) (uv) (uw) (ux) (uy) (uz) (va) (vb) (vc) (vd) (ve) (vf) (vg) (vh) (vi) (vj) (vk) (vl) (vm) (vn) (vo) (vp) (vq) (vr) (vs) (vt) (vu) (vv) (vw) (vx) (vy) (vz) (wa) (wb) (wc) (wd) (we) (wf) (wg) (wh) (wi) (wj) (wk) (wl) (wm) (wn) (wo) (wp) (wq) (wr) (ws) (wt) (wu) (wv) (ww) (wx) (wy) (wz) (xa) (xb) (xc) (xd) (xe) (xf) (xg) (xh) (xi) (xj) (xk) (xl) (xm) (xn) (xo) (xp) (xq) (xr) (xs) (xt) (xu) (xv) (xw) (xx) (xy) (xz) (ya) (yb) (yc) (yd) (ye) (yf) (yg) (yh) (yi) (yj) (yk) (yl) (ym) (yn) (yo) (yp) (yq) (yr) (ys) (yt) (yu) (yv) (yw) (yx) (yy) (yz) (za) (zb) (zc) (zd) (ze) (zf) (zg) (zh) (zi) (zj) (zk) (zl) (zm) (zn) (zo) (zp) (zq) (zr) (zs) (zt) (zu) (zv) (zw) (zx) (zy) (zz)			

Death Certificate of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. It states that the cause of his death was unknown. In view of assurance of Rockefeller CFR agent C. D. Jackson to the Bilderbergers (v. p. 172) that he would be assassinated a postmortem was legally indicated but never done.

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## PREFACE

**"FOR THE SAFETY OF THE REPUBLIC WE NOW DECREE THAT THE DANGEROUS CONSPIRACY MUST BE ENDED BY NOVEMBER 15, (1911)"**

Thus wrote the U.S. Supreme Court in its historic decision in the Rockefeller Standard Oil criminal prosecution by the U.S. Department of Justice. Unfortunately, the decree has been evaded and the conspiracy continues unabated and in ever more aggravated form.

"... the Standard Oil magnate, king of the North American oil trust . . . THE NO. 1 ENEMY OF OUR COUNTRY . . ." editorialized Brazil's newspaper O SEMANARIO, according to Rockefeller's pressagent and biographer, Joe Alex Morris. (8)

This author views as incorrect, the use of the term PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1 for the designation of those who commit crimes against individuals or organizations of relatively minor character, such as murder, rape and burglary, or bank robbery. He feels that it is more rightly reserved for those who commit crimes against society and the State, such as those charged by the above Supreme Court decree as engaged in a "conspiracy" that menaced "the safety of the Republic," who are the subjects of this biography. In that sense of the words, their usage by O SEMANARIO must be acknowledged to be correct; and they are so used here.

The heinous character of the crimes against society in question, the conspiracy to rob our society of liberty, justice and wealth and to destroy the Constitution and the Republic thereon based, which are our hard-won basis of security, would in themselves characterize the criminals in question as psychopaths. Additional evidence supplied by the central character of this biography and by his intimates, however, make the designation "criminal psychopathy" obligatory and beyond question.

Ex-President Harry Shippe Truman must be credited with more courageously and aptly describing the activities of those designated as "conspirators" by the Supreme Court. On March 27, 1942, as Chairman of a Senate Internal Security subcommittee, he said of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators:

"Even after we were in the war, Standard Oil of New Jersey was putting forth every effort of which it was capable to protect the control of the German government over vital war material.

"As Patrick Henry said: 'If that is treason (and it certainly is treason) then make the most of it'

**"YES IT IS TREASON**

**"You can not translate it in any other way."**

It was a treason that cost the lives of many of our GI's. One never ceases to wonder why these traitors whose activities cost so many lives, were not meted the same punishment as the Rosenbergs whose activities were relatively harmless and cost no lives.

This book has been written and published in a spirit of public service, in a sincere effort to preserve our liberty, and Constitution and Republic that were created to ensure it, against the onslaught of conspirators from within and from without, so that our country can once again become ". . . the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

This work was originally planned as a series of columns. It is hoped that the reader will overlook the consequent repetitions. The reader should bear in mind that the subject of Rockefeller gangsterism and brigandage alone, is far too vast for a volume of this limited scope that is intended to supplement the author's earlier work, **ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist," The Man Who Misrules The World**. The reader is referred to it and to the many volumes listed in the bibliography for further, but still very incomplete, records of the Dynasty's rascality and criminality.

## CHAPTER I

### CRIMINALLY PSYCHOPATHIC ANCESTRY "DOC" WILLIAM AVERY ROCKEFELLER— QUACK FELON

The rise of the Rockefeller Dynasty takes its place beside the growth of the thievish Illuminist-Socialist-Communist conspiracy as the outstanding and overshadowing developments of the past two centuries of world history. They are rapidly, and seemingly inexorably, casting a blight on the product of the American Revolution, human liberty, that was defined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and was intended to be given creation and form in our Republic. Both had their origins almost simultaneously with our Revolution. And curiously, both are counter-Revolutionary and are certain to destroy human liberty unless they are checked.

The Illuminist conspiracy cast its shadow on the American scene shortly after it was launched by the Jesuit, Adam Weishaupt, in 1776, less than three years after the Jesuit Order had been abolished by Pope Clement XIV, on July 21, 1773, in his breve "Dominus ac Redemptor". (1) It is reflected in the adoption of the Illuminist emblem as the reverse of the seal of the American colonies and the Continental Congress, that was later adopted as the seal of the United States. As such it has appeared since the mid 1930's, on the reverse of the silver certificates issued by the Treasury. Following the exposure of the nature of the conspiracy launched by Weishaupt, alias Spartacus, by the Bavarian Government after a raid on his quarters in 1785, he transferred the headquarters of the movement to the United States under the leadership of his adherents there. (1) In Europe, the organization was forced underground. And Weishaupt was forced to flee for his life and seek refuge in Saxe Gotha, because his records disclosed that he planned to destroy religions, other than the Church, and governments around



the world; and to make himself "One World" ruler through a "United Nations."

Of necessity, this revolutionary movement was forced to adopt different names whenever it again emerged from underground into the open. Usurping the designation "liberal" in its pretense of seeking human liberty, it was named at various periods: "Jacobin", "Fourierism", "Marxism", "Socialism", "Bolshevism", "Communism", "Nazarenism", "New Deal", "New Frontier" and numerous other titles, at various times and in various parts of the world. Though each of the groups laid claim to differences in their tenets, they all aim to communize property by the process of either surrender or looting, and to rule the world on one pretendedly "noble" pretext or another. That they call "internationalism". Their schemes are, in reality, nothing more than pseudo-philosophic justifications for wholesale thievery. It is quite natural that cunning thieves and gangsters fall in line with these thievish schemes for the purpose of fleecing the dimwitted imbeciles who are deluded by them. (1) After its success in forcing the Vatican to reestablish the Jesuit order, Illuminism remained under its direction.

Throughout early American history these "liberals" have been given the generic name of "communists". As early as 1831, Ebenezer Elliott revealed how well-known was the true character of communism in his jingle:

What is a communist?  
One who hath yearnings  
For equal division  
Of unequal earnings.  
Idler or bungler or both  
He is willing  
To fork out his copper  
And pocket your shilling. (2, p. 166)

Additional evidence can be found in the 1875 publication of Charles Nordhoff entitled THE COMMUNIST SOCIETIES OF THE UNITED STATES (1794-1875) that recently has been reprinted by Hillary House Publishers Ltd. (3)

The first of the progenitors of the Rockefeller dynasty who can be reliably identified, was a drunk by the name of Godfrey who is variously reported as the son of a Rhenish immigrant, and of a Hessian mercenary. He married Lucy Avery, of Great Barrington, and later migrated to Michigan Hill, not far from Apalachin, Tioga County, New York. The third of ten children of the marriage was William Avery Rockefeller who was born in 1810.

William Avery Rockefeller was the real, but unac-

knowledgeed founder of the Rockefeller Dynasty. He so firmly molded its character in his own image that the Dynasty has never swerved from the pattern that he gave it. Inasmuch as a knowledge of his character is essential for an understanding of the Dynasty, a biographic sketch of him that was published in 1929 and 1931 by the Vigilante Press under the title **THE ROCKEFELLER DYNASTY** is here reprinted. (6) The facts, as presented in it, are verified and in some instances amplified in the biography John D. **ROCKEFELLER** that the family authorized Prof. Allan Nevins to write and publish. (4) Additional data on the subject is supplied by William H. Allen, in his **ROCKEFELLER, GIANT-DWARF SYMBOL**. (5)

"In the year 1835, a peddler, apparently nearing his mid twenties and who pretended to be deaf and dumb so that communications with him had to be carried on by signs or in writing, made his first appearance in Richford, a small village of Tioga County, N.Y., located about twenty miles northwest of Binghampton.

"As soon as the supposedly deaf and dumb peddler had located the farm of his father, Godfrey Rockefeller, had satisfied himself that the coast was clear, and, visiting his parents, had learned that he was not being sought or wanted by the Sheriff or local authorities, he broke out, to the astonishment of the natives, with a voice of such great volume for song and story that he was later acknowledged as the champion singer and spinner of yarns, anecdotes, jokes and stories in the township. (6, p. 25)

"Large for his age as a boy and of a roving pleasure loving disposition, he quit school early and, with a scant education, started out to earn money in various ways. Objecting to handing over his early scant earnings, as was the custom in those days, to his father to be spent in the rum shops of Massachusetts, he left his home at an early age, to see and make his way in the world. He returned to visit home and mother at times when he was hard pressed or in difficulties.

"Shrewd and tricky, anxious and ever ready to make money, by hook or crook, to satisfy his money greed and miserly instincts which were noticeable even in his early manhood, he tried many occupations and lived as it were by his wits but preferred working for or with peddlers and vendors of quack medicines and cures for man and beast. He also worked for horse traders and horse doctors and what are known today as gyps, and later in his life operated as a horse trader himself, with unenviable reputation . . .

"Bill's early physical development was such, that before

he was nineteen he appeared in size and stature and strength as a full grown powerful man and when dressed in Indian fashion he was a striking figure, even as a boy and young man, when working the deaf and dumb racket to conceal his ignorance of the Indian language, and grunting his satisfaction as he passed out the Indian herbs and remedies and the great American oil medicine 'petroleum', 'Rock-oil' and 'Seneca oil' and received money in exchange . . . (6, p. 35)

"In 1828, the boy, Bill Rockefeller was engaged at Providence, Rhode Island by a master oil peddler who dressed up Bill partly in Indian and partly in trapper fashion. The 'high-pitchman' or 'Spieler' said that 'Bill' or 'Seneca' as he called him, had been found aiding the Chief-Medicine Man of a tribe of Indians in collecting a supply of 'Seneca Oil' from secret Indian springs. 'Bill could not speak the Indian language' continued the spieler! 'He was probably struck deaf and dumb through fright, when he was lost or stolen as a child. But he was certainly a healthy example of the curative power of "Seneca Oil"'. . .

"'Seneca Oil' and 'Rock Oil' was handed out by Bill at \$2 per bottle as medicine, to be taken as prescribed: three teaspoonfuls three times a day, for consumption, liver complaint, cholera morbus, etc. A thick mixture was offered as liniment." (6, p. 34)

This is the obvious root of the Rockefeller interest in oil, drugs and medical practise and "research". It has been a profitable tradition for them!

"William Avery Rockefeller, better known as 'Doc' or Bill, had no legitimate trade or calling and disdained to do farm work. He was generally well supplied with cash, and his clothes and horses were of a better class than those of his neighbors. He was liked, loved and adored by the ladies and returned their affection when possible. He was addicted to all the vices that the country sports indulged in, but showed no marked weakness for alcohol. He became the companion of the most notorious sports and men of the countryside and was ever ready to join them in gambling or carousing parties. He was the associate of gamblers, tricksters, horse thieves and bad characters and was looked upon as a 'suspicious' or 'dangerous' character by the respectable members of the community.

"His mysterious disappearances for long intervals, his invariable return with replenished pockets, the stories concerning him that leaked in from afar, coupled with local gossip and knowledge, caused some to look upon him as a professional gambler, others as a quack doctor, and still others as an agent or dealer in stolen horses, and to this

day 'Rockefeller ravine' near Lake Owasco, is pointed out as the place into which horses gathered from many parts, were driven and where they were held until they were again driven away to be sold or traded off in parts and places other than those from which they had come. Three of his companions were indicted as members of a gang of horse thieves at Moravia in 1850. (6, p. 36)

"Shortly after the dumb peddler had regained his bel-  
lowing voice and acute hearing, and considered it safe to  
venture forth on further purse replenishing expeditions,  
he did so. In 1837 he returned from one of his treasure  
seeking expeditions not only with a well filled purse, but  
what was of still more importance to the future John D.  
dynasty, with a treasure, in the person of Eliza Davison,  
daughter of a farmer of Moravia, N.Y." (6, p. 27)

Nevins quotes from a clipping from the Elmira Tele-  
gram found among Rockefeller's papers that, a short time  
prior, "Doc" Bill had built a house in the Richford woods,  
furnished it and put in charge of it a young woman, Nancy  
Brown and her two illegitimate children that he had fa-  
thered, according to information given by John D.'s cousin  
Mrs. John Wilcox. It was to this fouled nest, it was re-  
ported, that William Avery Rockefeller brought his bride,  
to share it with his mistress. (4, pp. 20-1) This is reminis-  
cent of the housing arrangements made for his wives by  
Nelson Rockefeller.

"Folks who live nearer to the scenes of the elder Rocke-  
feller exploits give other details that include allegations of  
illegitimate children and gambling. Of several illegitimate  
children, one is said to have been proud of her bar sinister,  
or at least its source, while another was tragically unhappy.  
'He had to be mighty smart to get away with that,' said one  
relative. 'I fear I have many cousins round here who don't  
go by the name of Rockefeller', said another. (6, pp.  
52-3)

"It is said that Eliza married the irresistible Bill against  
the opposition of her parents. She bore him six children:  
first Lucy; then on July 8, 1839, John Davison, as the sec-  
ond born child and eldest son now known the world over  
as John D. the First; William, the next, was also born  
at Richford, Mary and the twins, Frank and Frances, were  
born on a farm near Owasco Lake and their mother's  
home town Moravia, where Frances died in infancy. (6,  
p. 27)

"After the indictment of three of Bill Rockefeller's pals  
on horse stealing charges, John D. the First, then in his  
eleventh year, was obliged to give up his profitable turkey  
raising enterprise at Moravia to go with his father, who

thought it best to seek new pastures, many miles away on a large farm near Owego, N.Y. There he left his family, while he traveled about the country working the Indian Medicine Oil racket and peddling other cure-all quack remedies, which proved so profitable that he not only kept his family liberally supplied with cash, but that he was able to provide his sons, out of these quack medicine profits, with the cash capital required to establish them in business . . . (6, pp. 34-5)

"In 1842, salt wells located at Tarentum, near Pittsburgh, owned and operated by Samuel K. Kier, flowed so much oil up with the salt water that it proved to be a serious nuisance, until the owner began to bottle it as Medicinal Oil, as a business, at Pittsburgh.

"By 1850, Kier's Petroleum or Rock Oil was sold all over the United States. The Crude Petroleum put up in 8 oz. bottles . . . and wrapped in circulars lauding its many virtues as a cure for the many ills recited, with explicit directions for its use, and accompanied with many testimonials of its efficacy as a cure, practically ruined Doc Rockefeller's 'easy Indian Medicinal Oil graft'. This caused him to take up other lines of quack medicines and he then majestically decreed and diplomaed himself Dr. William Rockefeller, the celebrated cancer specialist, and continued to represent himself as such until John D's commission business brought him back into the oil profiteering business. (6, p. 42)

"In 1922 The Fiddlestick, a local magazine published at Bainsbridge, New York told the following story about the medical practise of Rockefeller's father:

"A Moravia boy named Hewitt who was twenty seven years old at the time the Rockefellers moved there found Rockefeller's father fascinating as well as mysterious. He went off with Rockefeller senior as a deaf and dumb physician with magic powers. He was 'the celebrated Dr. Livingston'. He kept up the pretense throughout his life until just before his death when he became mildly insane and actually believed himself deaf and dumb.

"The reason for the hoax was that, as Rockefeller's father told him and as experience proved, the Indians had a superstitious awe of a person who lacked one or more senses. They believed the gods compensated such a person by giving him occult healing ability . . .

"Sometimes the two Moravians, Rockefeller's father and their neighbor Hewitt, traveled together as Dr. William May and the celebrated Dr. Livingston, a money-making precedent for Rockefeller's substitution of cooperation for competition . . . (6, p. 38)

"An itinerant peddler of quack medicines and sure cures for man and beast, he was known as Bill or Doc. Rockefeller by his friends on his rare visits to his known home towns . . . Away from home he was more widely known in his old stamping grounds in the middle west and other districts, as 'Seneca Bill' or 'Seneca Doc' the 'Indian Medicine Peddler', 'The Petroleum Cure Doctor' and the 'Rock Oil Feller', and after migrating to Ohio in 1853, as 'Dr. William A. Rockefeller, the celebrated cancer specialist', as he grandiloquently dubbed himself in his business cards and handbills, adding: 'All cases of cancer cured unless too far gone and then they can be greatly benefited.'

"Doc's usual dose for internal use was 3 teaspoons or 1 tablespoon 3 times a day, as he had been taught in his Indian cure days. His cancer cure medicine was made up of a few well known diuretics and water.

"He sold with the medicine his wonder-working cancer liniment, also at \$2 per bottle. This cancer-cure lotion was practically his old Indian horse liniment 'good for man and beast.' It consisted of crude petroleum, with lighter oils boiled out, so that practically only the lubricating oil and paraffine or heavy constituents remained. He also had a black or so called tar liniment. This was made from crude oils with an asphaltum base instead of the paraffine base oils of Pennsylvania.

"Doc was the envy of his class as a master spieler, high pitchman, grifter, and Quack Doctor, as he worked his petroleum and medicine rackets on sick 'suckers' during the many unaccounted for days of his frequent, long and mysterious though profitable absences from home . . . (6, pp. 35-6)

"Owego rumor says Rockefeller's father came home only in night times from the wandering that took most of his years; announced his return by tapping on the chimney pipe; gave each child a five dollar gold piece, saying that he would get it away again if he could; wore fancy clothes; said nothing about his business but talked engagingly about almost any other topic; paid all store bills and was off again. (6, p. 53)

"John D. himself, writing on 'The Difficult Art of Getting' wrote; 'To my father I owe a great debt, in that he himself trained me to practical ways. He engaged in different enterprises; he used to tell me about these things, explaining their significance; and he taught me the principles and methods of business'. (7, p. 33)

"Doc Rockefeller himself intimated just what these principles and methods were when he confided to an Ohio pal that he wanted to make his boys sharp. 'I trade with

my boys and skin 'em. I beat 'em every chance I can. I want to make 'em sharp'. (6, p. 59; 4, I, p. 93)

"Rockefeller either in his own story or that of his official biographer says that his father practised medicine away from home; that he took long trips for this purpose; that on those trips he also practised trading, that he loaned money at high rates of interest in which Rockefeller says that he believed at the time and has always believed that money is worth what borrowers will pay. Miss Ida Tarbell . . . refers to the horse-stealing story only as neighborhood gossip. She does say, 'There's an indictment for something worse than horsestealing'.

". . . The old indictment, dated July 26, 1849, by twenty jurors of the court of oyer and terminer, reads:

"That William A. Rockefeller late of the Town of Moravia in the county of Cayuga, on the first day of May in the year of the Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, with force and arms at the town of Moravia in said County, in and upon one Anne Vanderbeak (v. Nevins) in the Peace of God and the people of the State of New York then and there being, violently and feloniously did make an assault on her the said Anne Vanderbeak then and there violently and against her will feloniously did ravish and carnally know against the form of the Statute in such case made and provided, and against the Peace and dignity of the People of the State of New York". (4, I, p. 52)

"Rockefeller's father left the county before he could be arrested. We know this from another old document on file in the Auburn court house which earlier investigators do not mention. Perhaps they never saw it. County officials claimed ignorance of it in 1926, nor did they know if Rockefeller's father was ever tried. However the Auburn Daily Advertiser carried a paid notice on its back page for six weeks in August and September, 1849, which pointed to a civil suit and eventually to this old record.

"Four days after the criminal indictment of William A. Rockefeller, his father appeared in Auburn and sought judgement against him for two overdue notes dating from August 2, 1845 and October 7, 1846, totaling \$973.57 plus interest. The reason given for invoking the court's aid was that Rockefeller's father had told the father-in-law on 'Wednesday of last week' that he had heard that he was indicted for rape and hoped that his father-in-law would go his bail. The father-in-law said he was 'too old to go bail for any one', whereupon the indicted man told him he would never see him again, by which the deponent understood that Rockefeller's father 'intended to abscond



from this state and never to return to it again'. The wife said he had already absconded. The father-in-law believed that the intent was 'to defraud his creditors' and therefore asked that 'some personal and real estate' left behind be attached. The next day, July 31, the sheriff and an assistant went to the Rockefeller home near Moravia; made an inventory; had two neighbors, Eliza and Thomas Vanarsdale, appraise the property; and attached it. On February 9, 1850, the judgement was satisfied . . . (6, pp. 55-6)

"After he left New York . . . he rented two farm houses for his family in Strongville and Parma, Ohio, and at least one year in Cleveland . . . He sent Rockefeller money to loan at high rates of interest. He advanced son, John D., \$1,000, the coming-of-age present he intended making two years later, and loaned \$200 more—all at 10% interest—for buying a partnership in a grain commission business. After his wife's death in 1889 he occasionally made short visits to Rockefeller in Cleveland and at least once at Pocantico Hills. (6, p. 56)

"After his indictment in New York in 1849, Doc under the alias of Dr. William Levingston, operated from his Philadelphia headquarters. "In Philadelphia Doc and Bissell both interested in Rock-oil or petroleum met in 1854 and were soon discussing oil springs, larger supplies and Kier's saltwater oil well and medicine oil trade that had killed Doc's oil-peddling business.

"In 1854, George H. Bissell . . . on a visit to Dartmouth College was shown by a professor a laboratory specimen of Rock-Oil obtained from oil springs on the farm of a lumber firm, Brewer, Watson and Company, near Titusville, Pa.

"These old Indian oil springs had for years yielded oil, regularly collected and sold for medicinal purposes. Later, the oil was also used for lighting and lubricating purposes in the local mills.

"Bissell, impressed with the commercial possibility of petroleum, organized the Pennsylvania Rock-oil Company, leased the land on which the springs were located, sent a quantity of the oil to Professor Silliman of Yale College, received a highly satisfactory report on its illuminating, lubricating and other qualities, and so started the first oil company in the United States.

"But Doc was interested in medicine oil only, and took no stock in exploiting oil for industrial purposes. He sought therefore to obtain control of the Company, in order to utilize it for his own base purposes as a peddler and prescriber of quack remedies. By means of his usurious loans

and advances on the shares and interest of the others, he almost succeeded in obtaining control.

"As a result of Doc's plotting the Company was soon in financial difficulties, and no progress was made in its well drilling operations, the specific object of its organization.

"The usurious Doc was putting the screws on his associates in Pennsylvania Rock-Oil Company. He induced them to change the Company's name to 'Seneca Oil Company'.

"Some of Doc's old pals, who had worked with and knew him as 'Seneca Bill' and 'Seneca Oil Doc' . . . knew that he was indicted for a felony and then a fugitive, incensed by his refusal to assist them financially, informed the officials of the Seneca Oil Company of Doc's crooked antecedents.

"This knowledge obtained at a critical moment enabled them to free the Company and some of its stockholders from the clutches of the grasping crook, Levingston.

"In this case his greed and crooked extraordinary profits denied opportunities in which he would have shared, had he played straight and aided the Pennsylvania Rock-oil Company to drill the first oil well, even though he could not have shared publicly in the glory, because of his aliases, his indictment, his bigamous marriages, etc., etc.

"Bissell, the founder of the world's first Oil Company, and Col. Drake, the driller of the world's first oil well and other shareholders in the 'Pennsylvania Rock-oil Company' were not anxious to publish to the world the fact that the notorious swindler and quack, Doctor William Levingston, had been associated with them for a time, had loaned money at usurious rates and almost ruined some of them and their company, had caused them to change the name of the company to the 'Seneca Oil Company' to facilitate his medicine oil schemes, and who had almost obtained complete control of their company before they discovered that he was a notorious swindler and indicted fugitive from justice.

"In the Spring of 1859, Col. Drake visited Kier's well at Tarentum, purchased a crude well drilling outfit, engaged an experienced driller, brought them to Titusville, sunk a well near the end of August, 1859, struck oil, pumped twenty-five barrels the second day, and so caused the great oil rush of '59. (6, pp. 44-7)

"Doc, under the alias of William Levingston, homesteaded 160 acres of Government land in Dakota on October 8, 1883. On Sept. 25, 1884, he assigned the receipt to John D's sister, Laura E. Briggs (. . . of Cleveland, Ohio); and gave her a quit claim deed in March 28, 1885.

He again obtained title but under his right name, William A. Rockefeller by a warranty deed on June 23, 1886, and in October 10, 1889, deeded it to his son-in-law and purchasing agent of Standard Oil, Pierson D. Briggs. (6, pp. 48-9; p. 57)

"The first clause in this deed is: 'I William A. Rockefeller, widower.' At this time he was living at Freeport, Ill. under the alias of Dr. Levingston with his Canadian wife whom he married in 1885, and with whom he continued to live as husband and wife until his death and burial from their home in Freeport in 1906. His will bequeathed all his property to his widow Mrs. Margaret Allen Levingston.

"When he deserted the Rockefeller dynasty in 1854, he was in fact 'keeping company' with his 19 year old Canadian sweetheart, Miss Allen, when the timely death of his alleged first legal wife (not John D's mother) left him free to consummate his marriage to Miss Allen, Doc's desertion of John D's mother and family caused John D. to apply for assistance to Dr. Emerson E. White . . . (6, p. 49)

"His Canadian wife, Margaret L. Allen of Norwich, Ontario, was misled by an alleged bigamous marriage and lived with him from 1855 for over 50 years before she learned of his deceit as a result of an accident. On Jan. 25, 1904, old 'Doc' broke his arm. For weeks he was near death. In his delirium he often said to her, 'You are not my wife, where is Eliza?' And when delirious moments carried him back to New York and Ohio and the days when he was Doc Rockefeller, he babbled the name of his wife Eliza, and also John, William, Frank, Lucy and Mary, sons and daughters of the Rockefeller-Davison union. (6, p. 48)

"John D's mother died on March 28, 1889, at the residence of her son, William at 689 Fifth Avenue, New York City, but was buried as a widow at Cleveland, though John D's father continued to live for a further 17 years as the husband of Miss Allen under the alias of Levingston. (6, p. 49)

"The New York World in its issue of 1908, speaks of Miss Allen as his second wife, and refers to the second marriage as bigamous, assuming of course that his first wife was Eliza Davison, the mother of John D. whom he married in 1837 . . .

". . . William Avery Rockefeller . . . died May 11, 1906, at Freeport, Illinois, where he was buried in an unmarked grave as Dr. William Levingston, aged 96 years, 5 months and 28 days.

"Seneca Bill's indictment for rape in Cayuga County,

N.Y. on June 28, 1849, his bigamous marriages, his numerous infatuations and affairs with women whom he desired to possess and did possess by bigamous marriages, by felonious assaults, by seductive promises, or by other methods and his winning ways, all bear evidence of the fact that Bill Rockefeller was 'woman-mad', as his son was 'money mad'." (6, p. 50)

This account of the founder of the Rockefeller dynasty is verified by Nevins (4) with amplifications from data provided him by the members of the family. It is not cited in full for the purpose of scandal-mongering, but because it serves a useful purpose in giving insight into the mentality and activities of the present generation who dominate the world scene and rule its destiny. In particular it enables us to fathom the character of his great-grandson, Nelson A. Rockefeller, who in so many respects resembles "Doc" Bill, and is a throwback to him. The inordinate greed, the contempt for law, the insistence on being a law unto himself, the trickiness and treachery, the pose of "good fellowship" that mask innate ruthlessness and the sexual and marital vagaries, are present in both to a greater degree than it has appeared in the other members of the Dynasty.

Possibly it is because Nelson so deliberately patterns his attitudes on those of his grandfather, but exhibits as dominant traits the characteristics of his great-grandfather, that accounts for what he is. His grandfather also acknowledged his debt and training to his father. But the religious piety in which he was drilled by his mother served to mask and camouflage the more obvious evil traits of his father. And the rest of the members of the Dynasty have patterned their conduct on that of their grandfather. In any event, the criminal psychopath, Seneca Bill, has left his stamp on the Rockefeller Dynasty and through them a curse on the nation and on the world.

## CHAPTER II

### CRIMINAL PSYCHOPATHY WITH A RELIGIOUS CAMOUFLAGE JOHN D. THE FIRST

The basic psychopathic criminality of the Rockefeller Dynasty changed in its manifestations in successive generations. These changes were highly purposeful. They were adaptations to changing environment and steadily widening goals. The crude criminality of "Doc" William Avery Rockefeller, swindling, horse thievery, bigamy and rape, were directed against individuals. They involved a good chance for inordinate advantage, gain and loot in a frontier, pioneer society in which the lot of a fugitive from justice was not materially harder than that of the law abiding citizenry, but often was easier and more secure. Escape was easy and the danger of apprehension was almost nil for one lacking in humanity and devoid of personal attachment.

John D. Rockefeller learned well the lessons in sharpness and criminality about which, as related, his father boasted to his cronies (4, I, p. 93) That he cherished it, is evident from the fact that he extended the same type of discipline, training and education to his children and made it a family tradition that was passed down to each succeeding generation.

However, his experience led him to view his father's criminal escapades from a different perspective, that of personal security. Neither he nor his descendants were endowed with the personal physical prowess and courage of "Doc" Bill. Nevertheless there had been instilled in him by his father the urge to outstrip him in his criminal vocation. To attain this goal while not jeopardizing, but steadily enhancing, his personal security required some device or agency that would camouflage his activities.

John D. found ready to hand the traditional device for masking criminal and anti-social activities—religion,—in the piety which his mother imposed on him. Eliza Rockefeller's piety was signalized by an extraordinary breadth of tolerance. It was manifest in her contentment

with living in the same home as a mistress (or was it a wife?) and children of her lusty "Doc" Bill, and bringing up her own children by him in that environment. Such "piety" is rarely to be found even in a Mormon household! That elastic type of "piety" was coupled with an ostentatiously painful charity in the form of tithing, contribution of one tenth of his acknowledged earnings to his church. How painful this tithing was to miserly John D., and how purposeful, is evident from his detailed record-keeping of it, and from his preservation and elaborate press agenting of it. It was preserved as "Ledger A", the family's prize exhibit. It assured winning the support of the minister and a standing in the congregation, and through it in the community. That served to neutralize the odium attached to the blatant criminality of the father. And in those days when there was no Dun & Bradstreet to provide ratings, such "piety" served to establish credit ratings and afforded contacts of high commercial value. But, press agent Manchester relates, John D. never "permitted piety to block the main chance." (9, p. 106)

This "piety" was coupled with intense penury and inherited miserliness that intensified the contrast with the pretense of "charity" that was involved in tithing, and clearly indicated its anticipated profitability. Coupled with a Uriah Heapish, feigned humility, it served to mask merciless ruthlessness that proved far more dangerous to others and remunerative to himself than his father's roguish criminality. His tithing removed the stigma from his Civil War illicit sale of the unstamped liquor from Harkness's stills, bootlegging, which with the capital loaned him by his father yielded him his first inordinate, shady "profit"; and won for these activities the approval of a church dedicated to temperance and prohibition. Likewise his practise of moneylending and usury on behalf of his financier, his father, at rates as high as traffic would bear, was lent an aura of holiness. (8, p. 36; 5, p. 174) "Dr." William A. Rockefeller, as he was listed in the Cleveland directory, was guiding the career of his son, with whom he lived for a while at 35 Cedar Avenue; and though contemptuous of everything for which religion stood, he impressed on John "the advantages of a pious cloak" that has become a tradition in the Dynasty.

John D's cardinal virtue, his thriftiness, he exaggerated to a vice, under the tutelage of his father. Money became his God. And the power with which money endows, he dedicated to the accumulation of more golden godliness. All his waking hours were devoted to the quest for ever larger gains by any available means no matter how un-

scrupulous, provided that he could manage to get away with it without too serious a scrape with the law. This attitude did not imply that John D. had any less contempt for the law, government and the people, or that his intent was any less criminal, than had his criminally psychopathic father. It meant merely that he lacked "Doc" Bill's blatant daring, recklessness and defiance; that in cowardly manner, he sneaked and cringed until he had gained the upper hand and could crack the whip mercilessly. He was, in reality, far harder, more cruel and treacherous than his blustering sire. No petty vice or deceit was too low for him to adopt to get to the top of the heap. He was cold, calculating, slimy, reptilian, underhanded and treacherous. His character was a sublimation of the bold, overt criminality of his father. This has become the tradition of the Dynasty, until they manage to get the upper hand, by gaining control of the government and dictation of the law and its administration.

As soon as John D. had acquired sufficient wealth to do so, he set about taking over control of the government and the administration of the law by various devices including patronage, bribery and corruption. By these devices he converted into his agents Presidents, legislators and judges, including more than one Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. And under this shelter, he proceeded, through his criminal agents, to engage in gangsterism on a nation-wide scale, resorting to flagrant crimes to attain his felonious objectives, including arson, murder, robbery and the "protection" racket. When his Standard Oil Co. undertook to stop competitors shipping kerosene into the overseas markets, the Maffia was called in to take over control, in the late 19th century, of the waterfront of New York and Brooklyn. The Maffia which was thus introduced into domestic commerce and industry, has been used more than once by the Rockefeller patrons for the purpose of attaining criminal objectives. Labor unions, under gangster control, were effectively used in 1877, to force the powerful Pennsylvania Railroad to cease and desist from competing with Rockefeller's monopoly of transportation of oil over pipelines. The strike, that was engineered for this conspiratorial purpose, was characterized by violence, murder, arson and extensive property destruction. It continued until the Pennsylvania Railroad was forced to sell its competing pipeline to Rockefeller interests on their own terms. (9, p. 80) Railroads were bludgeoned and blackmailed into transporting the oil of the Rockefeller interests at ruinously lower rates than those charged competitors; and the railroads were forced to rebate to the Rocke-



feller interests part of the ruinously higher rates paid by competitors and pay them "protection money" in the form of drawbacks. Oil fields were stolen, as were whole enterprises, by forged documents and deeds, with the full collaboration of bribed and corrupted public officials and judges. Oil drillers were habitually bribed to improperly drill, or to ruin in other manners, valuable and productive oil wells and to withhold information from their employers. John D's influence is credited with converting the development of the domestic oil industry into a gigantic crime wave. And that influence still prevails.

John D. and the Rockefeller Dynasty were rudely shocked and awakened to the fact that mere corrupt control of public officialdom could not assure them security in their criminal activities. He discovered that such security could be assured them only by control of public opinion when the South Improvement Co. conspiracy exposure, in 1872, turned loose public resentment and violence against him and his associates. Public reaction to Rockefeller's criminal activities erupted, in 1878, in an endless series of indictments, investigations, court actions and legal enactments directed against him, his associates and the Standard Oil Co. The nation and the world had become acutely aware of Rockefeller's psychopathic criminality that had expressed itself in crimes at which "Doc" Bill would blush. No crime was too heinous or sordid for him, that would yield a profit. He and his associates emerged as the top gangsters of history. He stole an empire.

John D. and the Rockefeller Dynasty retaliated the hatred and opprobrium heaped on them with a little suspected but devastating form of vengeance. He operated the Standard Oil Co. virtually as a bank. Nevins quotes John Moody as correctly stating that it ". . . was a bank of the most gigantic character, a bank within an industry . . . continually lending vast sums to needy borrowers, on high class collateral, just as other great banks were doing." (4, II, p. 439)

Needless to say, resort was had to the usual Rockefeller usury that "Doc" Bill made a dynastic tradition. What was more important for the financial status of the nation, Rockefeller learned early in his criminal career the devastating effects of using his vast loot for manipulations of gold supply and withdrawals of gold from the Treasury. These operations, which were engaged in either in association, or in conflict, with others, have repeatedly brought the U.S. Treasury to the suspension of gold payments and have precipitated financial panics, depressions and vast

unemployment. When he had garnered the loot that he desired and was sated with the misery and ruin that he had caused, Rockefeller would assume a piously benevolent pose and "philanthropically," return some of the gold to the Treasury that he had withdrawn, and sometimes shipped abroad, to restore its solvency until he was ready to repeat the withdrawal process and precipitate another panic and depression. Almost entirely unsuspected this bogus, nauseatingly "pious" so-called "philanthropist" was the most important gold manipulator and depression and panic precipitator of his time. Nevins specifically mentioned his role in supplying twenty million dollars of gold to the Treasury in 1894, after the panic had wrought its misery, making possible its restoring gold payments and its solvency. (4)

To facilitate these gruesome maneuvers of his, when his monopolistic control of national finance through gold was threatened by the campaign for the monetization of silver that was led for the producers by William Jennings Bryan and "Cash" Harvey, Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin of his University of Chicago was given the task of discrediting that movement and putting over the Gold Standard Act of 1900. (28) The author, in his book entitled THE "FEDERAL" RESERVE CONSPIRACY & ROCKEFELLER, relates how the Rockefeller Dynasty have amplified and developed this financial conspiracy down to the present time and describes the menace and threat to our Republic and the world that it constitutes. (10)

These gold manipulations and "corners" of the Rockefellers have been the principal mechanics of their colossal brigandage that periodically net for them the theft of vast enterprises and the looting of entire industries. In the panics that he engineered in the 1890's, John D. grabbed whole industries at the bargain basement prices that resulted from the depressions. He literally stole, "lead, copper, iron ore, railroads, banks and business enterprises of a thousand kinds" (8, p. 148)

John D. showed the usual Rockefeller contempt for the public's resentment and detestation of him and for court actions against him and his interests. For he was protected in his racketeering and gangsterism by hosts of corrupt public officials, politicians and political machines. He calmly went about carrying out his conspiracy to loot the oil producers of the nation by the simple device of setting up a monopoly of transporting and refining oil, through associates and subsidiaries of his Standard Oil Co. and through crooked deals with railroads and other transportation facilities. In his insane drive for money and

power, he sacrificed his health and personal well being. His digestion became impaired to the point that it tolerated only mothers' milk and he literally nursed at women's breasts. This, incidentally, is an old Japanese custom that rests on the belief that old men's mentalities are better preserved when they nurse at the breast of woman. He was a psychopathic, Mephistophelean monster who craved only ill-gotten wealth and sought, like a vampire, to drain the life's blood, the resources, of the nation. The relatively benign psychopathy of his petty larcenous father had blossomed out in the son, into a paranoid compulsion to steal everything in sight. That has become the guiding "principle" of the Rockefeller Dynasty.

Rockefeller's principal political lieutenant was Sen. Mark Hanna, boss of Ohio. The assassination of Pres. McKinley who was derived from Hanna's Ohio political machine, brought to the Presidency an adherent of Rockefeller's opponent, J. P. Morgan, Theodore Roosevelt. The subsequent death of Mark Hanna robbed John D. of his "protection" in the highest echelons of the government. This left Roosevelt free to join the attack on Rockefeller and his Standard Oil crimes. In August 1907, Judge Kenesaw M. Landis handed down in the Federal Court in Chicago, against the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, a guilty verdict on fourteen hundred counts of rebates from the Chicago & Alton Railroad, and set the fine at \$29,240,000. The verdict was appealed. The fine was never paid. Simultaneously, a suit was brought in the Federal court in Missouri to dissolve the Standard Oil Co. In May, 1911, the Supreme Court, on appeal, confirmed the decree ordering the dissolution of Standard Oil Co. expressing their sentiments and those of the nation in the words:

"For the safety of the Republic we now decree that this dangerous conspiracy must be ended by November 15."

Directly after the imposition of the fine by Judge Landis, John D. vengefully vented his spleen on the nation and settled scores with some of his opponents by precipitating another of his "tight money" panics. In this he was aided by the Gold Standard Act that he had had placed on the statute books in 1900 for the purpose of tightening his grip on the Treasury and the finances of the nation.

Following the Rockefeller habit of never overlooking opportunity for further looting, he managed, through his press agents and pawns, to use the panic which he had precipitated, and the unemployment and depression which it caused, as a pretext for launching a campaign for measures that would enable the Dynasty and its pawns to constantly and mercilessly loot the nation through the agency of the

Government itself. These measures were both introduced by the Republican leader of the Senate, Nelson Rockefeller's maternal grandfather, Sen. Nelson Aldrich. They were: the XVIth Amendment, the un-Constitutional basis for an unlimited tax by the Federal Government on incomes, (that was quickly extended by bureaucratic edict of the conspirators into a capital tax that violates the Bill of Rights); and the Act that set up the fraudulent private banking agency that was sardonically named by them the "Federal" Reserve Bank (in order to delude the nation to believe falsely that it is a public, governmental agency). (10)

In the interim, in 1905, the Rockefeller conspirators had financed a Communist Revolution in Russia, headed by Lenin and Trotzky, through their banker Jacob Schiff, of Kuhn Loeb & Co. Their purpose was to gain control of the Baku and other Russian oilfields for which their Standard Oil Co.'s most formidable competitor, the Royal Dutch Co., had a monopolistic concession. It gave (11; 92) them fierce competition in the Eurasian market. The Russian revolution was intended to break the hold of the Royal Dutch Co. on the monopolistic oil concession. Schiff, the Jewish banker, was used for the purpose of creating suspicion on the part of the Czarist regime, in case the revolution should fail, that the Jews who controlled Royal Dutch were planning to destroy Russia. In addition, the conspiratorial writings of Adam Weishaupt, outlining his Jesuit plot to destroy all governments and make himself ruler of the earth who would reassert the Church's pristine claim to ownership of the earth and everything on it, were translated into Russian and published under the name of a Captain Linus as THE PROTOCOLS OF ZION. Henry Ford was duped into distributing it in the U.S., used for the purpose by the conspirators exactly as his descendants have been used since.

Theistic Communist concepts were not new to Rockefeller. He professed adherence to the Baptist Church, a Nazarene sect that avows itself to be the most leftwing of the Christian sects. It has been so recognized by the Soviets who have never hampered its activities since the Russian Revolution. According to Maurice Hindus in his most recent book on his latest visit to Russia, A HOUSE WITHOUT A ROOF it is the fastest growing sect in the USSR. Nor were even more overt forms of theistic and so-called "atheistic" Communism unknown in the U.S., as has been related. (2; 6; 14; 51) In reality, Rockefeller interests have been furthered by the transplanting of Communism from the U.S. to Russia.

If one bears in mind that the true nature in practise of Communism implies thievery on the grandest conceivable scale, of everything, and enslavement of everyone except the inevitable dictator, one can readily understand the appeal of Communism to the Rockefeller psychopath. This appeal would inevitably serve to reinforce the Nazarene tradition to which they profess allegiance. And it makes perfectly understandable the alliance of theirs with the Soviets, that has come to be known as the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis (11, pp. 204-31) and their dedicated adherence to the conspiracy's *sine qua non*, "internationalism" and "One World."

The Soviets serve as unsuspected agents of the Dynasty. The Rockefeller Dynasty, in return for the monopoly of oil exported from the Soviets and full collaboration, have reciprocated 1. by fostering the subversive Communist doctrines through their bogus foundations and the Philanthropic Foundation Trust through which they control all the foundations that are sufficiently richly endowed; 2. by infiltrating with Communist agents the "Popular Front", or "New Deal" Administration that they set up under their pawn, Pres. F. D. Roosevelt, whom the conspirators have openly acknowledged was "advised" personally and closely by Nelson Rockefeller (12); 3. by securing for the Soviets recognition by the U.S. and industrialization and rearmament at the expense of the American taxpayers; 4. by betraying the U.S. into World War II for the support and protection of the USSR; and 5. by full collaboration with the USSR, in their so-called "United" Nations, in blocking interference by any power with the expansion of their Rockefeller-Soviet Axis around the world. This is the fixed policy of the Rockefeller Dynasty that has launched on a campaign to attain a "One (Rockefeller) World" totalitarian Empire based on expansion of their Soviet agency over the whole world, especially over the U.S.

This insane program was launched by "money mad" psychopath John D. for attaining the ultimate achievement in thievery, ownership of everyone and everything in a supercapitalistic super-dictatorship that invariably is the ultimate development of Communism. It has become the fixed policy of the Rockefeller Dynasty. Rockefellers established themselves as the ringleaders of world Communism, and of the wave of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movements that have plagued the world. Their agents have been busy overthrowing every government in the world that they do not directly dominate absolutely or indirectly through their Soviet partners, with the ultimate

objective of attaining their thievish, malign goal. Their spokesman Rovere has named them THE ESTABLISHMENT.

Their dedication to "internationalism", the basic tenet of Communism, and to revolution, has been reaffirmed by each successive generation of the Rockefeller Dynasty. Most recently it has been reiterated by Gov. Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller in an article apparently written by one of his Red "ghostwriters", entitled much like a Papal bull, PURPOSE AND POLICY, that he published in the official organ of the Rockefeller "Foreign Office", of its Council on Foreign Relations, FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (13) In it, Gov. Rockefeller commands that we make ourselves worthy of this "revolutionary period" in which "one revolution is piled on another—the political revolution giving birth to new nations, the population explosion, the chain of scientific discoveries" by dedicating ourselves to support it and make a success of it. (13, p. 370). Rockefeller psychopaths have repeatedly made it clear that they rate nothing as a "success" unless it is fantastically profitable to themselves and yield unlimited booty. Violent crime, revolution and war serve that end.

The periods of criminal prosecution, public revulsion and hatred had a startling influence in modifying the basic psychopathy of John D. and the Dynasty. They intensified the fear of poverty. John D., the multi-billionaire gangster who dominated commerce, industry and finance, unabashedly stood up before his colleagues in the Standard Oil Club, at 26 Broadway, New York City, and told them that he would awake in a cold sweat at night, fearful that he had lost his billions of loot, his empires and his fortune, and was reduced to poverty. Fear of poverty became the absurd motive force of the Rockefeller Dynasty, instead of the lusty joy in crime of "Doc" Bill, the founder of the family fortune, and crafty, cowardly, mean and contemptible swindling and other crimes of John D. himself.

This absurd, but very real fear of poverty John D. succeeded in inculcating in his predatory clan has had some strange consequences. His daughter, Bessie Strong, Nelson Rockefeller's aunt (their press agent biographer, Manchester, reports) ended her life "with the pitiful fear that she would die penniless." (9, pp. 91-2) The author has at hand a letter of the director of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital confirming the psychopathic condition of Winifred, Nelson Rockefeller's cousin, about a decade before she murdered her two children and committed suicide because of fear of poverty. Another cousin, Gladys, when

hospitalized for her mental condition, saved after each meal every crust of bread and scrap of meat for fear that she could not afford another meal. She secreted the scraps of food under her pillow, refusing to trust them to the nurses. Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller, in an interview given the *Journal American* on November 19, 1961, stated that her husband is, despite the income of a million dollars a minute, more penny-pinching and penurious than his grandfather. She related that he is affected by the familial psychopathy.

This insane fear of poverty is the psychologic basis of Rockefeller support of Communism. Though for the average individual, Communism represents the concept of sharing of wealth, the more materialist minded Rockefellers discern in it the concentration of control of all of a nation's wealth and populace in the hands of one man, the dictator. They discern the thievish, the dominant, aspect of Communism in the light of "security" of an ideal character. The poverty-fearful, Dynastic psychopaths yearn for Rockefeller "security". And from that viewpoint, what more perfect "security" can there be than to be "permanently rich" through acquiring the power to instantly loot whole peoples, whole nations and whole states, by using their governments to rob them of everything that they have and to enslave them personally? One can discern that to such psychopaths no more perfect form of "security" is conceivable than the supercapitalism and superdictatorship of Communism. In a Communist totalitarian state, perfect "security" is had by the dictator, so long as he remains dictator. All others are completely robbed of any security of either life or property. This may serve to explain Rockefeller support and fostering of all forms of totalitarianism, especially of Communism. This explains the drive that the Dynasty has instituted and maintained for Sovietization of the U.S.A. as a preliminary for converting our Constitutional Republic into an absolute, hereditary monarchy, that will dominate the world—"ONE (ROCKEFELLER) WORLD". And it puts in its true perspective Nelson Rockefeller's strenuous drive for the Presidency.

The Rockefeller mania for their personal "security", motivated by their psychopathic fear of poverty, lies behind the setting up of their pseudo-philanthropic foundations and a whole, vast array of institutions that have, and do, serve them in subverting and destroying our Republic with the avowed objective of making it an absolute monarchy that is to be ruled by themselves. Rockefeller



was advised, as early as 1887, by his son-in-law (husband of his aforementioned daughter, Bessie) Prof. A. H. Strong, that "only by a conspicuous pose of Philanthropy could he hope to win over and seduce public opinion". (11, p. 69; 4, II, p. 208)

In the character of John D. and of the Dynasty there is as little of the true spirit of charity or philanthropy as there is of patriotism and loyalty to our country. This is illustrated by his reply to a letter from his mother asking for help for his cousin, that is cited by Nevins (4, II, p. 177):

"I decided that (I) would not comply with the request contained in it. I want to know surely, in giving, that I am putting the money where it will do the most good."

It was not until a soliciting Baptist minister, Frederick Taylor Gates, had conclusively demonstrated the swindles that could be perpetrated with a pose of pretended charity and philanthropy cloaked by a sham of religiosity and piety, by helping swindle the Merritt brothers of their holdings of iron deposits in the rich Mesabi range for a pittance, that John D. began to "see the light"—to realize the enormous potential profit in the fraud of a bogus pose of "philanthropy". The swindle netted Rockefeller a profit of several hundred million dollars when, shortly after their acquisition, he sold the mines to U.S. Steel Co. that was then being organized. (94)

Convinced by this swindle that Rev. Fred Gates was "a wonderful business man" who could make fraudulent "philanthropy" net plunder even greater than could he through gangsterism, and make it serve to evade and flout the law, John D. "saw the light". Under the guidance of crafty Rev. Gates, John D. launched his shady "philanthropic" frauds. They soon served John D. for the same *quackish* purposes as the "Seneca Indian Medicine" had served his father, "Doc" Bill—to dupe the public and exploit them ruthlessly and enormously profitably. But they were planned to go further than to swindle the public of relatively paltry fractions of its wealth and possessions.

The conspirators openly avowed their intent to brainwash and enslave the nation, in Occasional Letter No. 1 that Rockefeller and Gates issued to state the purpose of their General Education Board. It reads:

"In our dreams, we have limitless resources and the *people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands*. The present educational conven-

tions fade from our minds, and *unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk.* We shall not try to make these people or any of their children into philosophers or men of learning, or of science. We have not to raise up from among them authors, editors, poets or men of letters. We shall not search for embryo great artists, painters, musicians nor lawyers, doctors, preachers, politicians, statesmen, of whom we have an ample supply. *The task we set before ourselves is very simple as well as a very beautiful one, to train these people as we find them to a perfectly ideal life just where they are. So we will organize our children and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way, in the homes, in the shops and on the farm."*

All the vital elements of Weishaupt's conspiracy are found in this letter. First, there is the pose of "philanthropy"; second, the intent to brain-wash, or "mold"; third, the abandonment of tradition, science and learning; fourth, the dictatorship objective; fifth, the intent to regiment the peasantry into a caste system—"just where they are"; sixth, the intent to reduce national intelligence to the lowest common denominator and to destroy parental influence (which has been so successful that it has given the country a terrifying wave of juvenile delinquency); seventh, contempt of the "peasantry" (who were also called "our children" by the tyrannic Czar, the "Little White Father"); seventh, the element of deceit (that entered the situation when the too frank avowal of the true purposes of the foundation became recognized shortly after it was founded, and the Rockefellers belied their intent to reduce intelligence to the lowest denominator, and posed as patrons of art, letters and science); eighth, the element of subversion and un-Americanism—the avowed intent to overthrow accepted customs and institutions to serve the purposes of the Rockefeller sponsors and to further their plots and schemes; and finally, "perfectibilism", the "perfecting of human nature", Weishaupt's sham.

Rockefellers, and the "Philanthropic" Foundation Trust that they have contrived, are beyond any doubt the most effective advocates, executors, and missionaries of Weishaupt's Illuminist-Socialist-Communist dictatorship program. The "brain-washing of the U.S.A., begun in 1904 through all channels of education and mass communication, over which they have usurped complete control, has been so completely effective that the American public has

no suspicion or intimation of the fact that they can only think as Rockefeller wishes them to think—that they have been “trained” and “perfected” to serve Rockefeller’s purpose. (1, pp. 17-19)

At the beginning, public hostility aroused by this brazen statement by Rockefeller of his intent to subvert our government and institutions, compelled temporary deviation from the conspirator’s plan. And a pretense was made of doing the reverse. Sight was never lost, however, by the Dynasty of the avowed treasonous purpose of this “philanthropy”. Its objective is to pervert and warp the native intelligence of the public, whom they scornfully call the “peasants”, through the conversion of education, from its very start in childhood, to their subversive propaganda. The end goal is that they acquiescently accept as “a new social order” the imposition on themselves of a progressively more totalitarian state dominated by the Dynasty; and accept the status of “mass man”.

Curiously, the process was materially furthered by reversion of the Dynasty to the medical quackery of “Doc” Bill through the establishment of the Rockefeller Institute for the ostensible, represented purpose of “medical research”. Instead, it was designed and has served to control medical practise and direct the drug industry in channels which afford maximal profits to the Dynasty. This phase of the conspiracy has effectively deluded the “peasants”. It has made even viciously poisonous drugs and remedies immensely more profitable to the Dynasty than “Doc” Bill’s Seneca Indian Oil; and has made every phase of medical care infinitely more costly to the public and profitable to themselves. This tremendously increased profit to the Dynasty conspirators, and exorbitantly increased cost to the public has characterized every activity into which the “philanthropists” have entered. Especially is this true of medical care and education. These are becoming one of the richest sources of plunder and loot for the Dynasty, that are little suspected by the “peasants”. The conspirators have gained complete control of every agency involved and make enormous profits on every phase.

Before they had succeeded in effectively brainwashing the nation and before they had gained control of every medium of mass communications, John D’s bogus “philanthropies” and their treasonous intent were correctly evaluated and denounced by well-informed individuals. They were vigorously attacked on the floor of Congress by members who had not been “reached” and were not

subject to Rockefeller discipline. On January 26, 1917, for example, Sen. Chamberlain of Oregon said:

"The Carnegie-Rockefeller influence is bad. In two generations they can change the minds of the people to make them conform to the cult of Rockefeller or the cult of Carnegie, rather than to the fundamental principles of American democracy."

And on another occasion, Sen. Martine, of New Jersey said;

"I hope that the United States can be spared from living on contributions from Rockefeller and Carnegie."

Sen. Martine was in error when speaking of grants from Rockefeller Foundation as being Rockefeller contributions. The moneys of the Rockefeller Foundation and other foundations are actually grants to them by the people and the Treasury. For they are tax-exempt funds, funds that are legally the property of the Treasury but the disposition of which has been yielded by it to the Rockefellers. It is in reality the people, it is you and I, who are the real philanthropists. For as Congressman Wright Patman has pointed out in the report of his Select Committee On Small Business On Tax-Exempt Foundations and Charitable Trusts (15, p. 133):

"We must start with the fact that when an organization is tax-exempt, it means that all other taxpayers must pick up the tab."

The use of moneys remitted by the Treasury to foundations, which is the meaning of tax-exemption (they are therefore really contributions of the public to the foundations) is hedged by legal restrictions regarding their use. First, the law bars their use for personal profit of the party whose taxes have been exempted. Second, the funds must be used for the benefit of the nation, of the people who, in a very real sense of the word, are the philanthropists who have contributed the funds. Third, the funds must not be used for political purposes. A violation of these rules regarding the use of tax-exempt funds is a felony as real as any other income tax fraud. And under the law, it is punishable by imprisonment and/or fine. That is the situation in the case of any violators of the law other than the Rockefellers and a few other folks of similar influence in our government, who are a law unto themselves and safely hold the law in contempt.

There is really no justification for exempting from taxation the Rockefellers or anyone else who undertakes to pose as "philanthropists" at the expense of his fellow men. The one service that the philanthropist can render his fellow man and the nation, is to first bear his full burden of

taxation and not shift it onto the shoulders of the rest of the community. If true philanthropist he wishes to be, let him use the funds that he has available after paying his full share of taxes. That is the only true form of philanthropy. What is now known as "philanthropy" is defrauding the community and the nation.

All of the Rockefeller so-called "philanthropies" however, follow the Dynasty pattern of looting the citizenry and the nation in every conceivable manner. Not only do they take full advantage of dishonest tax-exemption, but they use the funds deliberately to promote schemes that increase the burden of taxation on the rest of the community and the nation, as well as for hostile and often treasonous enterprises and plots that betray the interests of the nation. A large part of the funds of the various Rockefeller foundations as well as those of all the other rich foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, over which the Dynasty has usurped control (11, pp. 347-52) through their control of the Treasury, is used for personal profit and political purposes in clear-cut violation of the law.

Rockefellers and their foundations have never tried to hide the fact that their funds are used in violation of the law for political purposes, for influencing domestic policies in directions required by them and their interests; in additional violation of the Logan Act, in influencing the international relations of the U.S. with other lands; and for the treasonous purpose of subverting our government and influencing the dealing of other lands with the U.S. for their own nefarious and generally thievish purposes. The Rockefeller Foundation and the various agencies that it finances and supports, as well as the Ford Foundation and its subsidiaries, such as the Fund For The (Betrayal Of) The Republic, that the Rockefellers control through their agents and interlocking directorate and trustees (11, pp. 341-59) regularly report in boastful vein of their activities in these directions in their annual reports.

The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Rockefeller Foundation contributed more than two million dollars to the subversive Institute of Pacific Relations between 1926 and 1950, as its principal supporters. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported in 1952:

"The net effect of the IPR activities on the United States public opinion has been such as to serve international Communist interests and to affect adversely the interests of the United States."

"Persons associated with the IPR were influential in 1949 in giving United States far eastern policy a direction that furthered Communist purposes." (16, p. 225)

This characterization of the Rockefeller agency that supplied spies to the Richard Sorge spy ring that induced the Japanese to attack the U.S. at Pearl Harbor that cost the lives of thousands of our boys and the loss of our Pacific Fleet, and was parent organization of Amerasia, a magazine that the "philanthropists" induced the Federal Government to finance for the purpose of spying on it, stealing top secret documents from its vital war agencies and supplying them to our enemies, is extraordinarily mild. The reason for this mildness may be found in the fact that the Rockefeller brothers were personally involved in these activities. (11, pp. 274-299) The Rockefeller interests reluctantly ceased openly supporting this treasonous agency only after the Senate Committee ordered an investigation into

"The extent to which contributions by American charitable, scientific, and educational foundations have aided Communist or pro-Communist activities in the United States." (16, p. 226)

The Rockefellers and their foundations have been, and are, the main supporters of the subversive Council on Foreign Relations, which they have used in the capacity of the "Foreign Office" of their Rockefeller (One World) Empire. Between 1927 and 1949, they were its chief supporters, contributing more than a million dollars to it. In addition to the Rockefeller brothers, David, John D. the Third, and Nelson, and their kinsmen, the Dulles brothers, it harbored their traitorous agents Alger Hiss and Frederick Vanderbilt Field (the editor of the Communist magazine NEW MASSES); also Owen Lattimore (editor of their Government-financed AMERASIA magazine). (11, pp. 237-72; 17) The role which these and numerous other subversives play in the Rockefeller agency is indoctrination of the Dynasty's puppets and agents who are groomed for holding the highest offices in the nation and/or occupy them. The conspirators openly boast of the success in indoctrinating the members, their agents, in preparation for serving in the government, in the Report of the Director for 1949-1950 (pp. 39-40):

"The primary purpose of the Council discussion groups is to keep members informed . . . But very often the groups serve, as well, as *training ground for members called upon to serve the government in important positions*. Such instances are too numerous to record here, but members who have recently undertaken official posts include: Thomas K. Finletter, . . . Philip C. Jessup . . . Charles M. Spofford . . . and George N. Shuster . . ."

Among the numerous foreign pawns of the Rockefellers who were summoned to indoctrinate the Rockefeller Council on Foreign Relations agents have been: V. K. Krishna Menon (17, 1957, p. 34); Anastas Mikoyan, Kwame Nkrumah, Oscar Lange and Fidel Castro (17, 1959, pp. 32, 31, 38, 33), Herbert Matthews (17, 1960, p. 30), their N.Y. Times correspondent who "promoted" Castro, and their invited guest, and agent, Nikita Khrushchev.

The array of minor subversive organizations and Communist fronts set up, financed and supported by the Rockefellers and their foundations, such as their Foreign Policy Association (which was headed by their unfortunate cousin Winifred's husband, Brooks Emeny) and the Bilderberg conference (20, p. 333) are far too numerous to list here. For a partial list the reader is referred to the author's ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist". It is noteworthy that few subversive organizations and Communist fronts failed to receive Rockefeller support.

**IT IS ASTONISHING TO FIND, HOWEVER, THAT ABSOLUTELY NO RECORD CAN BE FOUND OF THE SUPPORT BY ROCKEFELLERS, OR THEIR FOUNDATIONS AND OTHER AGENCIES, OF A TRULY NATIONAL, PATRIOTIC AMERICAN CAUSE.**

These subversive activities netted the Rockefellers the complete domination and service of the Government in Washington. John D. boasts of this in the volume published under his name, entitled RANDOM REMINISCENCES OF MEN AND EVENTS (7, p. 63), as follows:

"One of our greatest helpers has been the State Department in Washington."

But John D. was not content with the trifling job of using and destroying his adversary at home, the U.S. Government. Lord Beveridge, the British, Fabian Red author of the "cradle to grave security" program, has published a letter of John D. Rockefeller's to him in which he offered his personal support in the financing of England's hotbed of Marxist Fabianism, the London School of Economics and Social Sciences, in addition to the rich support that was given it by his foundations. (18, p. 199) It has contributed more to the destruction of the British Empire than any one other factor.

For a more detailed story of the subversive uses made by Rockefellers of their foundations, the reader is referred to the author's ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist". (11, pp. 89-91; 147-9)

The coordinated control by the Rockefeller-Soviet con-



spirators of minorities and of the various groups and organizations into which people divide themselves could be expected to be of material advantage. Control was readily obtained by the "philanthropists" by contributions of sums extracted from the public and the Treasury by tax-exemption. The process has greatly delighted John D. and the Dynasty because of the irony involved in the bribing and seducing of people and their opinions with what in reality is their own money.

Arch-criminal, bogus "philanthropist", John D. Rockefeller, craftily succeeded, with the support of these agencies serving as confederates, in converting the U. S. Government into an agency to serve him in mercilessly looting the people without let or hindrance, and without limit. This he accomplished by supplementing his control of the Government that he attained in various manners: by patronage, bribery and corruption of elected and appointed public officials and by the planting of his, generally criminal, agents in all its levels, especially the highest; by perverting, twisting and distorting both law and Constitution through bribed and corrupted legal agents on the benches of the "sacrosanct" courts; by unconstitutional amendments to the Constitution forced through by hyperintensive propaganda by his press agents, such as the Volstead Act and the XVIth Amendment; by lobbying the passage by Congress of unconstitutional and illegal acts, such as the Gold Standard Act of 1900 and the fraudulent "Federal" Reserve Act; and by deliberately engineering "crises" and wars into which he arranged to dragoon the nation to fight as self-paid mercenaries in the service of the expansion of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and the Rockefeller Empire.

Exempted from taxation by the laws that were drawn up by his agents, and virtually immune from all government obligations and processes, he and his Dynasty have been and are free to loot to their hearts' desire and to profit from every disaster that they inflict on the nation and the world. They have been allowed to carry out their criminal conspiracy and to fully confirm the alarmed predictions of the Supreme Court, under the mask of bogus "philanthropy".

Thus did the relatively simple criminal psychopathy of "Doc" William Avery Rockefeller, founder of the Dynasty, blossom out into the megalomaniac madness that aims to conquer the world by subversion, overthrow of governments of the world by wars, revolutions and various forms of attrition with the ultimate objective of looting the whole world and everyone in it. The avowed

ultimate objective is attaining that status of hereditary world monarch and absolute dictator, with the help of a "United" Nations, of "One (Rockefeller) World" that will give "absolute security" to the Rockefellers only.

It remained for Nelson A. Rockefeller, and his brothers, to add some finishing touches to this mad conspiracy, including corrupt use of foundation and government funds plus other illegal devices for the promotion of his subversive political career for the purpose of forging his way to the American Presidency and dictatorship.

At the turn of the century, John D's homeopathic physician, Dr. Biggars, warned him to slow down his activities. Most probably because it suited his purposes to divert or deflect the attacks that were being continually levelled against him, he pretended to retire, and to abandon all connection with Standard Oil Co. and his other businesses. The deceptive nature of his "retirement" is revealed by his press agent Winkler. (8, pp. 234-5)

"... while the papers are speculating upon the health of a great diplomat or the possible overthrow of a foreign government, he has already been informed of the latest developments (Ed. which as often as not he himself had precipitated or ordered precipitated) through direct wires leading from Pocantico Hills to Standard Oil offices and, indirectly, to the remote places of the earth. There are over a hundred telephones at Pocantico, forty of them local, suburban and long distance lines.

"... He has never lost his interest in finance. During the period we are describing he was very keenly interested in various deals of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. Through representatives, he advised the transaction by which the New Jersey Standard cut its capital cost by retiring \$200,000,000 of preferred stock and floated a new issue of \$120,000,000 in debenture bonds. His information about this and other matters that interest him is invariably accurate."

The ugly spider sat in his lair ready to pounce on all who were trapped in the net that he had woven about the earth.

Congressman Wright Patman, in his Report To The Select Committee On Small Business of the House, (87th Congress) on the subject of TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS AND CHARITABLE TRUSTS: THEIR IMPACT ON OUR ECONOMY, (15) pointed out that the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators thumbed their noses (figuratively speaking) at the Supreme Court and the nation. They have continued their menacing conspiracy under the guise of their bogus "philanthropies" and

have brought our Republic to the brink of disaster. Patman stated in his 1962 report:

"Now the multimillion-dollar foundations have replaced the trusts which were broken up during the Theodore Roosevelt administration. It is a well-known fact that the Rockefeller family controls the Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), and the Rockefeller-controlled foundations own a substantial part of the corporation . . .

"The use of subterfuge—in the form of Rockefeller-controlled foundations—in effect produces the same result as if Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) owned substantial stock interest in Continental Oil, Ohio Oil, Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), et al . . .

". . . It is my hope that our studies will encourage the American people to take a close look at this tremendous concentration of economic power. The White House has taken an important step by putting together an intergovernmental group to study this problem." (15, pp. v-vi)

Can we depend on a Rockefeller as President to cut the conspirators' throats?

\* \* \*

The sexual psychopathy of John D., as might be expected, assumed a different pattern than that of his father rapist-bigamist "Doc" Bill Rockefeller. Quite as lecherous, and "double-gaited", he was too miserly to spend any money on his desires. The former Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller, in her interview given the New York Journal American, remarked that he treated his household help badly. (95) His employees reported that in addition to nursing at a woman's breast, in advanced years, he expected them to gratify him. And they reported, he would prowls around at night, trying their doors. An open door invited invasion of privacy. John D. the First also indulged in the practise, that they report became a Rockefeller tradition, of spying on the help to make sure that they did not eat too heavily. Those whose appetites exceeded the limits set by his penuriousness were dismissed. Mrs. Rockefeller stated that Nelson Rockefeller treated his household help worse than did his adored grandfather. Color is lent her statement by the subsequent course of events, by his later marriage to the wife of an employee, Dr. Murphy.

## CHAPTER III

### JOHN D. THE SECOND MONSTROUS, PIETISTIC, PSYCHOPATHIC "SHADOW"

John D. Rockefeller Jr. grew up as a shadow of his monstrous father. And as is the case of shadows, he was a grotesque exaggeration in his every trait. He was more penny-pinching and penurious, more conniving and ruthless, more grasping and greedy, more humbug in his poses of "piety" and "philanthropy", more precise and exacting, more dull and drear, more evil and hypocritic, and more psychopathic and criminal than even his father.

As an only son, he became the cherished disciple of his mad father. He benefited from a high intensification of the Fagin-like training that had been a tradition of the Dynasty that had been instituted by his criminally psychopathic grandfather, "Doc" Bill Rockefeller. Winkler aptly describes him as:

" . . . almost a replica of his spectrelike, sepulchral progenitor. The junior Rockefeller is as steady and as emotional as a clock. He firmly believes that he was brought into the world to perpetuate the mental, moral and spiritual qualities of his father, and he is doing his level best to fulfil his destiny. Twice daily he sinks to his knees and beseeches the Heavenly Father to bless his earthly father. Without conscious irreverence, he draws little distinction in deification. . . . They share a deep and unshakeable belief in work, Godliness and their own brand of righteousness. The latter includes, of course, the righteousness of making money." (8, pp. 180-1)

The delightful irony and humor of this Rockefeller press agent undoubtedly escaped his employers. It aptly expresses the grotesqueness of their psychopathy. They believe themselves to be gods.

John D. Jr's biographers give some amusing illustrations of the grotesque exaggeration that he presented of his father's dementia. Whereas John D. made it his practise to limit his tips to dimes, Junior long made it his practise not to tip at all. But on one occasion, a barber rendered him extraordinary service in an emergency.

Junior broke down and to the great astonishment of all, actually gave him a tip—a nickel! The nickel was promptly framed and labelled with the caption: “John D. Jr.’s Best Tip”.

Though John D. Jr. did come under the influence and “charm” of his grandfather, “Doc” Bill, it was his father who had the greatest influence in molding his character and whom he sought to emulate and outdo. (21, p. 27) His mother’s influence served him as a veneer to camouflage the “genius” of his paternal ancestry, with such items as abolitionism, religiosity and temperance. The superficiality of the latter is indicated by many of his subsequent activities.

From the very start of his business career, John D. Jr. became a partner and full-fledged accomplice in the subversive, criminal activities of his father, that had become a proud tradition of the Rockefellers. Whenever public resentment, antagonism and hatred rose high with respect to Rockefeller criminality, John D. Jr. served as a foil to deflect it with his hypocritic pose of “piety” and humility, while the gangster activities of the Dynasty continued unabated.

How well this sham was used by the Rockefeller press agents and confederates is illustrated by his widely publicized role as Sunday school teacher in the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church. His homilies were quite frankly efforts to cloak the Dynasty’s mad criminality with the sanctity of the Gospels interpreted in the light of its paranoid, self serving tenet: “Wealth, no matter how acquired, is Godliness”. This is well illustrated by one of his most widely quoted homilies that began with the explanation that Jesus did not mean what he said about it being “harder for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle”, because “conditions now are different”; nor did He mean what he said when He taught: “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth.” He instructed the Sunday School class:

“A man may possess great wealth on earth, and at the same time build up treasures in Heaven . . . The growth of a large business is merely the survival of the fittest. It does the greatest good for the greatest number, although perhaps at the expense of the few. The American Beauty rose can be produced only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it. *So the growth of big business is merely the working out of the law of God and of nature.*”

John D. Jr.’s homilies evoked justifiably acrid comment, such as: “With his hereditary grip on the nation’s pocket-

book, his talks on spiritual matter are a tax on piety" (22) Bishop Charles D. Williams commented in a sermon at New York's St. Bartholomew's Church:

"A young scion of wealth and greed, possessed of more dollars than ideas, recently used the figure of the pruning of a rosebush . . . A rose by any other name would smell as sweet, but the odor of that rose to me smacks strongly of crude petroleum." (23)

The situation was so ludicrous that swindling, pressagent, Rev. Fred T. Gates, who was one of Junior's mentors, advised him to cease and desist his pietistic exercises. The excuse was offered that Junior had had a "nervous breakdown" of the type that so often characterizes the psychopathy of the Dynasty. (21, p. 127; 8, 205) But he continued the classes and periodically showed the characteristic sensitivity on the matter of money that bears no exorbitant return, in his admonition:

"Many misguided persons think the true test of friendship is whether the friend will lend money. Don't you believe it. If you have any friendship for people, don't you spoil it by trying to borrow money from them." (8, p. 196)

The monomaniac religious "principle" of the Rockefellers is: "Money is the most sacred of all things, and must be most precious guarded." Biographer, pressagent, Fosdick characterizes the attitude as a "principle" of sacred trust that is neither miserliness nor the worship of Mammon. (21, p. 108) He undertakes to justify, however, the abandonment by John D. Jr. and his father, under the guidance of Reverends Gates and Faunce, of tenets and basic "principles" of their orthodox Baptist faith, including: denial that Christ had founded the Baptist or any other faith, or intended to do so; that He or his disciples had ever performed baptisms or conceived of Church communion; or that the Baptist faith was based on His teachings. And he relates that this change in faith was brought about by the realization that sectarianism stands in the way of the most vital, sacred to Rockefeller interest and "principle", the gathering-in of money under their "trusteeship". (21, pp. 204-5) In short, the Rockefellers are reported to have espoused "higher criticism" and "liberalism" to the point of advocating for others, not for themselves, the Communism that characterized the Nazarenism of early Christianity. Fired with zeal by a huge sum, \$202 millions, gathered by a cooperative, non-sectarian United War Work Campaign under his chairmanship, John D. Jr. launched immediately after the Armistice, in cooperation with the Board of Foreign Mis-

sions of the Presbyterian Church and the Interchurch World Movement another drive with the objective of raising, or extracting from the public the trifling sum of \$336,777,572.00. It is noteworthy that levying huge and ever larger tolls and taxes on the public, the "peasants" has always delighted the Rockefellers. That money-raising campaign failed. But as is quite usual in Rockefeller enterprises, it was not abandoned. It was merely set aside and revived at a later date on a less ambitiously money-grabbing scale. (21, pp. 207-12)

As in the case of his father, there was little about the religiosity and "piety" of John D. Jr. other than the concept that "money is sacred". They acted in accord with the teachings that St. Paul so often reiterated in the Gospels: that the Ten Commandments do *not* apply to Christians. And the Golden Rule has been ignored. Religion has been persistently used by the Rockefellers to promote their business and personal advantage and interests, and to camouflage their criminality. His participation in the Institute of Social and Religious Research served to win the Dynasty the gratified support of a number of Protestant sects while swinging their attitudes further to the Marxist Left in support of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in Soviet Russia. An investigation of Asiatic missions by an interdenominational group that was largely financed by Rockefeller, served as a pretext for his withdrawing support from the Northern Baptist Convention and influencing the swing further to the left of the various denominations engaged in the usual commercial exploration that was of interest to the Dynasty in that section of the world. How far to the left was John D. Jr. is indicated by the fact that "the Baptist movement inheritor of the extreme revolutionary left wing (Communist) of the Reformation" swung under his influence into the frankly Communist ranks it was acknowledged by Harry Emerson Fosdick at the opening, in 1930, of the Dynasty's Riverside Church. (24) The Riverside Church became notorious as a meeting place of the Communist Party during the 1930's, the period when the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis was taking form. In the furtherance of their commercial interests the Dynasty waved the whole gamut of religious banners, including those of the Communist "faith" as they now wave the Mohammedan.

That is the significance of the speech that John D. Jr. made before the Baptist Social Union, on December 11, 1917, entitled "The Christian Church—What Of Its Future?" (25) This address was delivered by him about eight months after the Rockefeller Dynasty had maneuvered

the entry of the U. S. into World War I, that they had deliberately precipitated for the expansion of the oily Rockefeller Empire in Saudi Arabia, Baku and other Near East points, following the engineering of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. And he repeated the same speech after the Dynasty precipitated W. W. II. It is notable that although John D. Jr. was of an age at which many misguided but patriotic citizens volunteered to sacrifice their lives to serve the interests of the conspirators, he remained comfortably at home raking in the profits that piled up from the war efforts, giving sententious addresses that had been written for him by hired ghost-writers.

John D. Sr. had likewise scorned patriotic military service in the Civil War. He remained at home to profit from the sale of unstamped, bootlegged, Harkness liquor to the soldiers, in the tradition of "business as ever, profiteering as never before" in war. When his brother Frank volunteered for service in the Union Army, John D., in contemptuous fury, refused to lend him seventy-five dollars for the purchase of a uniform; and earned his undying hatred. This Rockefeller tradition has rarely been broken by the Dynasty except in token, undoubtedly profitable service in swivel-chair jobs far from the front, in the spirit of "Theirs is NOT to do and die, but to live and profiteer."

The crux of John D. Jr's solution of the religious problem, of the problem of Christianity, was that like the religion of Communism, Christianity also must become the "Church of the Living God". In that version of the address and in its repetition before the Protestant Council of the City of New York, on January 31, 1945, during World War II, there lurked the implication that he would make a good God. In it there emerged the delusional, megalomaniac Roman concept of "Rex, Imperator et Deus". This represented the development of a more advanced phase of the Dynastic psychopathy that had fed and waxed on the intensive fake press agency and propaganda relative to the bogus "philanthropies", and on the blind and stupid adulation that it had engendered among certain elements of the public (whom the conspirators mockingly call "mass man" and "peasants") deluded by their own cupidity and hope of sharing in the pelf. (25, 11)

This consequence of the so-called "philanthropies" was the very design and purpose for which John D. Jr. and swindler-almoner, Rev. Fred T. Gates had collaborated in urging John D. Sr. to set up as a bribe to public opinion and as "institutional advertising" for the Dynastic conspirators. This is clearly stated in a letter cited by Fosdick



(21, p. 119) advocating that they be set up with "funds . . . so large that their administration . . . be as much a matter of public concern . . . as any function of government . . ." and ". . . as to attract the attention of the entire civilized world . . ." What made the fraud all the more delightful to the crafty conspirators was that it was accomplished free of cost to them, other than the relatively minor initial cost, by the device of tax-exemption which compelled the duped "peasants" to bear the evaded tax burden of their own deception and betrayal. As Chairman Wright Patman stated the situation:

"We must start with the fact that when an organization is tax exempt, it means that all other taxpayers must pick up the tab. Correspondingly, when any taxpayer reduces his tax by a deduction for contribution to a foundation, it means that all other taxpayers must make up for that tax reduction."

Furthermore, the bogus "philanthropists" retain financial control as well as direction of the foundations and use them: to flaunt the law in the conduct of their private business; to secure tax-exempt income for themselves; to mask bribery of public officials; to corrupt and subvert our governments; to pervert public opinion; to convert education to insidious propaganda; to foster their desired forms of totalitarianism including Communazism; to impose "internationalism" that served the interest of their oily Empire; to break parental discipline thereby fostering juvenile delinquency, adult criminality and breakdown of law and order as a pretext for establishing the dictatorship that they avowedly seek; to Sovietize the U. S. and the world; and to attain numerous malign objectives including systematic looting of the U. S. and the world. All of this was planned, and is being carried out under the pretense of benevolence, that has been made ultra-profitable for the fake "philanthropists" through control of medical and hospital practise and of the Drug Cartel, or Trust, by way of perversion of "medical research" for that purpose, and an endless array of other devices.

The cruel deception involved in this bogus "philanthropy" is obvious in every activity which it has corrupted in the process of "sponsorship". Thus education has degenerated under the influence of Rockefeller's General Education Board to the point where graduates of primary and secondary school learn neither reading, writing nor arithmetic, but are only schooled in the socialist "science" of Communism. This illiterate process has been mockingly named by the conspirators "Progressive Education". And its cost has mounted in geometric proportion to its

deterioration. Collegiate and professional education has increased in cost from the nominal figure averaging two hundred dollars a year to the exorbitant level of eight to ten times that figure, under the stimulus of Rockefeller "philanthropy". Sen. Hartke (D. Indiana) has attacked the usury of "education loans" as high as 60% a year. (141) Likewise, the cost of illness, hospitalization and medicine have become so cruelly inflated under the same influence, that of Rockefeller "philanthropy", as to condemn many unfortunates to death, as the less costly way out. Under Rockefeller's Milk Trust, the cost of milk has mounted from six cents a quart to four to five times that figure. (26, pp. 93-120; 27) But the direct and indirect profits to the extortionate "philanthropists" have risen proportionately in every instance, as it has in these. The bogus "philanthropies" are swindles of even more ruthless type than those perpetrated on a smaller scale by "Doc" Bill.

John D. Jr. fell in line with the fixed Rockefeller tradition that it is their function and prerogative to loot all mankind, the "peasants" (by which term they mean all others than themselves). He and his father-in-law, Republican majority leader of Congress, Sen. Nelson Aldrich, launched the movements that provided the principal weapons for that looting: the XVIth Amendment that is the un-Constitutional (violative of the Bill of Rights) basis for the unlimited looting made possible through the Federal income tax, and the capital tax made possible by their bureaucratic edict that capital gain is current income in varying degrees; and the "Federal" Reserve Act that is the fraudulent basis of their private stock corporations, the so-called "Federal" Reserve System, that gives them control of the Treasury as well as of the private credit of the rest of the nation, and through it, of the world. These were the initial moves of the Dynasty in the takeover of the Government to put a stop to its "interfering" with their criminal activities. And they served the purpose, with the aid of their German agent, Paul Warburg (who was brother of the chief of espionage and intelligence of Germany), of financing the entry of Germany in World War I, thereby precipitating it. (10; 28) These phases of the conspiracy served to enhance the power that the Dynasty had usurped through their "philanthropy" and tax exemption rackets. It made it possible for them to use the Government for the purpose of looting the nation on an unlimited scale. For it provided them one of the essential agencies for control and manipulation of national and personal wealth that made it more readily possible for

them to create at will, booms and depressions that served handily to enrich themselves and impoverish others.

Their bribed and servile agent in forcing the passage of these fraudulent measures for control of wealth was the lecherous scoundrel, Pres. Woodrow Wilson, whom they put in office after entering into an agreement with him in the Westchester home of Frank Vanderlip (29) when they found themselves confronted by the obstinacy of their in-law, Republican leader, Sen. Nelson Aldrich. He refused to introduce for them, as far too thievish, a bill that they desired. They decided to oust the Republican regime and to put the Democrats in power for the purpose of accomplishing their nefarious purposes. They accomplish this end by the traditional Rockefeller tactics of destroying the Republican Party from within by financing a split in the Party. For this purpose they used Theodore Roosevelt and his Bull Moose Party, so-called "liberals". This is merely another instance that forcefully illustrates the fact that the only "loyalty" of the Rockefeller Dynasty is to themselves. (10)

The arrant hypocrisy of the Rockefeller pose of religiosity and piety, and the fraud of their pose of "philanthropy" and "humanitarianism", is further emphasized by the murderous Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. strike. Control of the company was held by Rockefeller interests. John D. Rockefeller Jr. was a key director of the company, while actively engaged in Sunday School and other religious activities. The company workers were receiving a starvation wage that prevailed following the Rockefeller-engineered, revenge-dictated panic of 1907 that they had used to advantage in promoting their "Federal" Reserve fraud. The workers' circumstances were further reduced by costs in the "company town" and "company stores" to which they were compelled to resort for the purpose of yielding the Rockefeller interests additional loot. In desperation, the workers organized in 1913, and went out on strike.

The management, directed and supported by "pious" "philanthropist" John D. Rockefeller Jr., according to Rockefeller-Hearst editors, Lait & Mortimer in their U.S.A. CONFIDENTIAL (p. 183) sent in their Mafia gangsters and gunmen (135, p. 312) to strike fear into the hearts of the strikers, and to serve as strike-breakers. This "philanthropy" was accountable for the death of numerous strikers and many of their women and children, following the destruction of the colony on public land in which they were living, by arson. Public indignation rose high against the brutal criminality of the affair.

John D. Jr. followed the customary Rockefeller practice of flaunting the law and public opinion so long as they can "get away with it". But when aroused public opinion forced action by the authorities and investigation by Congress, he retreated in fear of criminal prosecution as accomplice before the fact, behind the shield of a "benevolent" and "philanthropic" pose. With the help of two press agents, William L. Mackenzie King who later became their Premier for Canada, and Ivy Lee, and an immense volume of publicity and propaganda, John D. Jr. condescendingly visited with the surviving workers assuming a pose of sympathy and piety. Under the pressure of public opinion he met their grievances with some concessions and proposed the setting up of a company union. This was represented to the public as Rockefeller support of unionization. And it was accepted as such by venal labor "leaders" in spite of the fact that it was recognized widely that his act represented the beginning of the Rockefeller takeover of unions as a device for attaining monopolies of industry that are within the law.

As part of Rockefeller's publicity buildup as a champion of labor by his propagandists, a book (no doubt ghosted for him by King and others) was published in his name under the title of PERSONAL RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY (30). It advocated the so-called Colorado Plan. Stupid persons who pantingly adore wealth in the hope of getting some crumbs from the table, accepted the lame dodge as sincere, and as atoning for the villainy. But it did not take long for the Dynasty to establish their Mafia and other criminal agents as Labor barons (misnamed "labor leaders"), their partners in enslaving and levying tribute on the workers in unions dominated by them. They used them to establish monopolies in restraint of trade and violation of public and national interest, that by law are prohibited to industry. That is the current product of Rockefeller "philanthropy" in Labor. "Labor's" Federation Bank & Trust Co. of New York, for example, is in effect, a minor subsidiary of Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank. And even a casual study of the matter reveals that the interests of the Rockefeller Dynasty are well served by their Labor Barons. It is notable that Jimmy Hoffa announced his support of Nelson Rockefeller instantly.

Another example of Rockefeller hypocrisy that illustrates the sham of their "philanthropy" that is attested to by Nelson Rockefeller and his pressagents, is the pose of support of temperance and prohibition. It can not be questioned that the passage of the Volstead Act and the

18th Amendment was largely due to Rockefeller support of the temperance movement during two generations. But the characteristic "breadth" of conscience of the Rockefeller Dynasty in no wise interfered with John D. Sr. making his first big money by bootlegging Harkness's unstamped liquor to Civil War soldiers. Likewise pressagent Morris (31, pp. 39-40) acknowledges the truth in the story that relates that Nelson Rockefeller pointed out to his father that he was giving shelter to bootleggers in numerous speakeasies, tenants of his properties in mid-Manhattan, and made a mockery his "support" of prohibition. John D. Jr., like his father, did not have any scruples, it is related, about profiting from bootlegging.

It would be interesting to know whether the Dynasty's role in bringing on Prohibition had the oblique motive, so characteristic of the Rockefellers, of gaining control of the distilling and liquor industry at bargain basement prices by bankrupting them. How extensive their present holdings are in the liquor industry, their nominees will never reveal. This would help explain Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's refusal to raise the New York State minimum drinking age, on the urgent request of the Governors of New Jersey and Connecticut, from eighteen to twenty-one years in the interest of cutting down motor casualties of drunken, teen age drivers. If it could be determined whether the Dynasty derived other profits than merely the rent, to which Nelson Rockefeller referred, from the criminal element, the "Syndicate", the Unione Siciliano, or the Maffia and its Murder Inc., its bootlegging activities and associated narcotic smuggling and vending, its White Slave and black slave trade, its gambling activities and numerous other sordid crimes,—a better understanding could be had of the immunity under which the criminals, the so-called "syndicate" or Cosa Nostra, operate and the magnitude of their "take". It is said to exceed the total income of all legitimate business and industry in this country.

One must not permit oneself to be deluded by Rockefeller pretension of opposition to prostitution and "white slavery" that he adopted when he was appointed foreman by Judge O'Sullivan, in 1910, of a grand jury to investigate New York City vice, any more than one need delude himself with regard to Rockefeller's attitude toward profiting from bootlegging. (21, pp. 137-40) One of the traits of the Rockefeller Dynasty of which they are proudest and which they have their pressagents blazon most intensively, is their capacity for deceit and treachery. Thus pressagent Manchester relates John D.'s practise of pre-

tending to fight organizations that he completely controlled and entrapping his real competitors who join forces with those controlled organizations. (9, p. 80) The strange accuracy with which Tom Dewey was informed of the activities of "Lucky" Luciano, the Maffista head of the White Slave trade in New York, when embarrassing legal developments with the regard to the American Bond & Mortgage Co. frauds required a diversion of newspaper headlines, is as illuminating as is Luciano's subsequent release from jail after serving a brief fraction of his sentence. It was effected by intervention of Murray I. Gurfein, a Rockefeller lawyer prominent in the Republican Party, who had participated in the prosecution of Luciano; and as a reward for this "distinguished service," he became an honored member of Rockefellers' top coterie of agents, of the Council on Foreign Relations. The situation is highlighted by Luciano's strange assassination when he was about to be returned to the U.S. to testify in an investigation of the narcotics racket. These facts give pause for thought on the powerful "protection" he enjoyed.

More food for thought in this connection is to be found in the report by Rockefeller-Hearst editors, Lait & Mortimer, in their U.S.A. CONFIDENTIAL that the favorite haunt of the Unione Siciliano, of the Maffistas, has been what was then known as the Patio Bruno, now the Italian Pavilion, at 24 W. 55 Street, New York, on Rockefeller property. It directly adjoins Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's New York City political headquarters, at 22 W. 55 Street, and is diagonally behind his secret headquarters in John D. Jr.'s former home at 13 W. 54th Street. When Rockefellers built their homes on W. 53rd and adjoining streets, they were not exactly at the height of their popularity. Their pressagents had not yet brainwashed the public with regard to them. They feared for their lives when walking the streets. As a precaution, they built underground tunnels between their homes, that still exist. No doubt this was the inspiration of the underground tunnels connecting the buildings of Rockefeller Center. It is quite obvious that these tunnels could prove quite a convenience in hiding conferees of shady character. (32, p. 312)

It is an extraordinary fact that none of the hundreds of millions of Rockefeller "philanthropy" or of the other foundations controlled by the "Philanthropic" Foundation Trust that they have set up, has ever granted, so far as can be determined, a single penny for the study of the disease of narcotic addiction to determine the changes in the chemistry of the body that creates the craving for nar-

cotics, or how to correct it. This is one of the major causes of narcotic addiction and crime in the country, and one of the chief sources of recruitment of criminals by the "Syndicate." This failure to make grants for the study of addiction (and crime) indeed correlates most startlingly with the avowed purpose of the Rockefellers, stated in the Occasional Letter No. I of their General Education Board, viz., to break parental influence and lay the basis for the juvenile delinquency that prepares the way for adult criminality. (33)

The Rockefeller "philanthropy" that is most incredible to most folks, is their dedicated support of Communism. If it is borne in mind, as has been related, that Communism is a pseudo-philosophic justification for thievery on a nation-wide and world-wide scale; and that the Communist dictator enjoys the position of super-capitalist super-dictatorship that affords him the maximum of "security" so long as he remains dictator, one can more readily discern its appeal to the Rockefeller psychopathic mentality with its fear of insecurity and its mad dread of poverty. In addition, as applied to the American scene, it might have come to be enjoyed by them as vengeance for the rightful but ineffective prosecution of their criminal activities by the Government, which they regarded as "persecution".

A more pressing motive for precipitation of the first Russian Revolution of 1905 rested in the fierce competition of the Royal Dutch company with Rockefeller's Standard Oil in the European market on the basis of the former's monopoly of oil in Russia and the British sphere of influence. When Rockefeller's banker, Jacob Schiff, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. was questioned by a Congressional committee, he acknowledged that he had furnished the Russian revolutionaries under Ulianov, alias Lenin, and Bronstein, alias Trotzky, with funds. Knowing better than to do so, the members of the Committee pursued the matter no further. They did not ask him whose money he had turned over. Had they done so, they would have found that the basic motive of the revolution was seizure of Russian oil that was monopolized by Standard Oil's strongest competitor. But Schiff was not in the oil business. Had they questioned further, they would have found that following the failure of the revolution, Lenin and his followers were "placed in storage" by the conspirators in Switzerland. Bronstein, alias Trotzky, was living without visible means of support, on Rockefeller-Standard Oil property at Constable Hook, Bayonne, New Jersey, the site of a refinery.

By curious chance, directly prior to the outbreak of the first Russian Revolution, there was widely circulated in Russia a translation, under the name of a mythical Capt. Linus, of a book outlining a conspiracy to take over the world. It had originally been published by a Jesuit named Adam Weishaupt, as the program of the Communist conspiracy that he launched in Germany, on May 1, 1776, under the same name as that originally borne by his Jesuit Order, the Order of Perfectibilists. He later renamed it the Order of Illuminati. The translation attributed to "Capt. Linus" bore the title **THE PROTOCOLS OF ZION**. It was obviously intended to impair the status of the Jewish principals of Royal Dutch, including the Rothschild, Sassoon, Isaacs and Samuels families, who shared its control with the British and Dutch crowns. The conspirators failed in their purpose of getting the Czarist regime to cancel the Royal Dutch concessions. It merely brought about the death in widespread massacres in Russia, of thousands of Jews. No one would accuse Jacob Schiff, himself a Jew, of seeking that objective, no matter how unscrupulous he may have been. It was a characteristic activity of the "pious" Rockefeller "philanthropists", that was in some measure paralleled by their Colorado Fuel & Iron "benevolence".

Resourceful and unscrupulous, the conspirators, after the failure of the revolution and murderous libel, used their German agent, Paul Warburg, for the dual purpose of arranging a deal with Kaiser Wilhelm to finance the seizure of the Middle East oilfields by Germany through the construction of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad. In return they required a monopoly of the oil. They also agreed to aid the financing Germany's entry into World War I (96, p. 160; 97, II, 1577) through the fraudulent "Federal" Reserve System that they had lobbied through Congress, after ousting the Republicans from power, as has been related. (10) They did this in full knowledge that grabbing control of the Middle East from Great Britain, inevitably would mean war. The Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests provided Germany with the oil that was essential for the conduct of the war. When in 1916, before Verdun, the British awoke to a realization that they could not win the war without American aid, Winston Churchill offered the Rockefeller oily interests the rich Saudi Arabian oil concession in exchange for forcing the U.S. entry into the war.

Before Rockefellers' German partners got wind of their planned betrayal, the German General Staff was induced to pass Lenin, Trotzky and their Bolshevik crew through



Germany in a sealed coach, and plant them in Russia to belatedly carry out the Revolution of 1917 which they hoped would give their Standard Oil interests control of the Russian oilfields. On the train, the Bolshevik revolutionists were provided, according to Col. Nikitine, with hundreds of millions of counterfeit ten ruble notes with which they purchased the votes of the soldiers and sailors and thus carried out the revolution for the conspirators. After the entry of the U.S. into the war, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests treasonously continued to supply the German Army with oil by way of their Spanish agent, Juan March.

In the meantime, Communism had become a "holy cause" of the Rockefellers and their foundations. Rockefeller profits are always a "holy cause" with them. It was through the agency of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, set up in the name of John D. Jr.'s mother and directed by his agent Beardsley Ruml, that the Rockefellers first openly supported Communist and other Red causes in 1923. Among these given grants by the Memorial were the Russian Student Fund Inc., the Russian Zemstvos and Town Relief Committee, and the Institute of Pacific Relations. (11, pp. 223-4) Shortly after the setting up of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis on the basis of a Rockefeller-Stalin deal, the Rockefeller "philanthropies" were exclusively dedicated to the support of Communist causes and fronts. It is as impossible to find a patriotic, American cause supported by the Rockefellers and their foundations (other than purely commercial enterprises, to profitably lure the tourist trade, such as Williamsburg) as it was to find a Communist or Red "front" cause that they failed to support.

With world control of oil as a goal, John D. Rockefeller Jr. openly announced his objective of world domination and his adherence to the basic tenet of Communism, "internationalism", in an address that he delivered at International House, in New York, on November 8, 1924, that is quoted by Fosdick (21, p. 390):

"... some day ... no one will speak of 'my country', but ... of 'our world'". The import of John D. Jr.'s advocacy of the Communist, "internationalist", "One World" conspiracy can hardly be overestimated. As Daniel A. Poling, editor of the CHRISTIAN HERALD, remarked in another connection (34, pp. 3, 26):

"It is a serious thing for one man to release so powerful an influence ...". It is questionable whether John D. Jr.'s personal and open support of the Communist "internationalist" cause did not outweigh in the influence on

its advance the moneys of the foundations that he converted to its support. It inevitably spurred, by personal precept and example, the repudiation of patriotism and the advocacy of treason.

Miscarriage of the conspirators' plot for control of Russian oil that they had engineered World War I to attain, was threatened by the defection of a tool of Rockefeller's Ohio political machine led by Mark Hanna, Pres. Warren Harding. Harding supported Harry F. Sinclair in his deal with Lenin that would have given him control of Russian oil. This threat was met by the Rockefellers with their usual slimy craftiness.

The steal of Teapot Dome Naval Oil Reserve was rigged by their agent, Col. Robert W. Stewart, the President of their Standard Oil of Indiana. Sinclair was lured into the deal by the conspirators, doublecrossed and thrown into jail, in order to prevent his concluding the deal with Lenin. In the meantime, both Harding and Lenin were poisoned and disposed of, in order to make sure that they could not come to the rescue of Sinclair.

John D. Rockefeller Jr. dramatized the favorite Rockefeller ruse, over which they and their biographers gloat, pretending to fight an organization that they dominate and control, with an air of "righteous indignation". He volunteered to testify before an investigating committee of Congress, hypocritically expressed his pretended indignation at the deliberately planned and executed crime. He staged a well-publicized and dramatized act of ousting his obedient agent, Col. Stewart, amidst an accolade of propaganda launched by his pressagents. Col. Stewart was richly rewarded for playing the role of "villain" with a pension that was reported to be fifty thousand dollars a year. And his two sons were given equally remunerative executive positions in the company. (84, p. 172)

The advance to dictatorial power of their agent Stalin assured the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests the control of Russian oil for which they had plummeted the world into the holocaust of World War I. A deal entered into then has constituted the basis of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis by which the world has since been ruled. Some of the terms of this deal can be gleaned from the book written by Rockefeller's pressagent, Ivy Lee, who was sent to Russia for the purpose of paving the way for its acceptance here. The first edition, published privately shortly after his return from Russia in May, 1927, appeared under the title THE USSR, AN ENIGMA. It was privately circulated by the conspirators to their agents, including their key agents who constituted their "Foreign Office" and

are there indoctrinated and trained to serve them in the Government in Washington, their Council on Foreign Relations. Six months later, a revised edition for public deception was published at the instance of the conspirators by the Macmillan Co. under the title of **PRESENT DAY RUSSIA** (35).

The terms of the unpublished Rockefeller-Stalin deal can be surmised from the course of subsequent developments and the current course of world history. These were outlined by the author in his biography **ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist"** (11, pp. 204-31). They included the recognition, industrialization and rearmament of the Soviets; fostering the spread of Communism on a more intensive scale through their foundations and control of all media of mass communication; and the setting up of a Red, "Popular Front" government in the U.S.A. No one can deny that the Rockefeller conspirators have dedicated themselves to living up to their end of the deal at the expense of the U.S. and the world, and that they are still assiduously pursuing that objective. Nor can it be questioned that their activities have been very largely responsible for the spread of Communist domination around the world; and currently, especially in our Western Hemisphere.

The panic and depression which the Rockefeller conspirators engineered with the help of their fraudulent, so-called "Federal" Reserve Bank, materially helped them set up their Communist-infested "New Deal" under the agency of their puppet, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This was the "Popular Front" promised Stalin by them. Its imposition on the U.S. might have come earlier, if the Rockefeller-Soviet conspirators had had their way, because of Japanese hostility to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests that had barred them from producing the oil that they had discovered in China in the 1920's. It threatened to upset the Rockefeller monopoly of "oil for the lamps of China".

The Japanese returned to China in the early 1930's, to seize it and their oil by force; and to avenge themselves on the Rockefeller interests by systematically destroying their property in China. By 1931, the cost of this destruction to the Rockefeller interests was enormous, amounting to billions. Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes has reported in his pamphlet, **THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT** (36, p. 43; 11, p. 362), the overtures made by Rockefeller attorney-agent, Henry L. Stimson, then Secretary of State, to Rockefeller Presidential agent, Herbert Hoover, to induce him to declare war immedi-

ately on Japan in order to bring American G.I.'s to the rescue of their property in China; and the subsequent successful overtures made by him to the delightedly acquiescent Franklin Delano Roosevelt were the determining factor in FDR being given the Presidential nomination. (99, p. 43; 98, p. 244; 11, p. 224-5) James Farley, in his **JAMES FARLEY STORY** attests (37, p. 39) that Pres. Roosevelt was so anxious to make good on this deal with the conspirators that he was dissuaded only with great difficulty from immediately declaring war on Japan at his first Cabinet meeting after inauguration in 1933.

While thus engaged in seeking profit from a world-wide monopoly of oil, advancing the world-wide spread of Communism and the expansion of the Soviet Empire, and laying the foundation for World War II for the purpose of outstripping the thievery and loot of his forefathers and advancing the avaricious objectives of theirs to new and higher goals of psychopathic attainment, John D. Jr. and his interests by no means neglected their program of converting our government into a totalitarian device for looting and dominating the nation.

The basic plan of the conspirators was drawn up and published by their "social philosopher" and intimate friend, Hoffman Nickerson, in his book **THE AMERICAN RICH** (39). His mentality can be gauged from his admiration of the Inquisition as a "governmental institution". This is expressed in his book **THE INQUISITION** (40). He is an honored director of the Institute for Medieval Research, who is reported to speak of all persons outside of his "exalted" social circles, as "peasants". The book, published in 1930, presents the conspirators' plan for their forthcoming "New Deal".

The scheme of the conspirators, as presented for them by their sociologic adviser, Nickerson, is to destroy our Republic and nullify the Constitution by pretending to adhere to their form; and to sneakily convert our Government by deceit, cunning and trickery, into an absolute monarchy. Nickerson accords fully with the ecclesiastical view that representative government is "the work of Satan", and must be destroyed. (100, p. 7) He and his confederates speak of the republican form of government as an absurd "cult of equality", that can not possibly be good government. He agrees with the ecclesiastics in the concept that governing is the prerogative and function of a special ruling class. He is a bit more frank and honest in his description of that class than are the churchmen who describe them as "rulers by divine right". He defines the ruling class as the predatory plutocratic element who are

"perpetually rich" by virtue of usurpation of the power to loot the populace and dip their hands into its pockets, at will, through their control of the government. It is to the peculiar interest of the plutocratic "perpetually rich" thieves to establish a form of government that is good for themselves and will perpetuate them in power as governmental thieves. And, he concludes, the only absolutely perfect form of government is a hereditary absolute monarchy. In this respect he is fully in accord with the orthodox ecclesiastics. But, he says (39, pp. 301-2) that it might be wiser, at the start not to violate American sentiment regarding the elective principle by undertaking to impose on the U.S. an openly hereditary monarchy. He expressed himself as doubting that the idea of hereditary transmission of office would be accepted soon by Americans, when he wrote the volume in 1929. Within a period of three decades, the acceptance by the public of the concept of hereditary transmission of public office has been brought to full fruition by the conspirators' propagandists, though it seemed inconceivable to Nickerson that this could be brought about. In this, as in all other respects, the Rockefeller conspirators have outstripped in performance their own plotters' and planners' programming.

Nickerson's program was to build up the ringleader among the American Rich as an "indispensable man". This was to be accomplished by dividing the people in groups, minorities. Behind the scenes he would be busily engaged in setting them at each others' throats in violent dissension. In each case the ringleader was to pose on the public scene as the only man who composed their differences. The "indispensable" plutocratic ringleader would thus make himself the darling of the masses; and he would be elected to the Presidency, and repeatedly reelected so frequently that his election would become a popular habit and he would be undefeatable.

The conversion of the role of the "indispensable man" from that of President to absolute monarch, Nickerson related, is a simple matter for the conspirators. It merely requires the elimination of the checks and balances on the power of the President that the framers of the Constitution "unwisely" and "reluctantly, under pressure" incorporated into it, to convert his role to that of absolute dictator. These restrictions and checks consist, principally, of the division of power: the power of Congress to initiate and pass legislation, especially the power of the House of Representatives to initiate budgetary legislation; and the power of the Judiciary, especially of the Supreme Court, to interpret and to rule on the validity of that legislation.

The elimination of these restrictions on the monarchic, dictatorial power of the conspirators' "indispensable man" who is repeatedly reelected to the Presidency, Nickerson pointed out, is quite simple and readily accomplished. By his power under the Constitution to appoint the Justices to the Supreme Court, he could "pack" the court with agents of the conspiracy. And he could do so without arousing the suspicion or opposition of the nation if he were patient and went about it cautiously and slowly. The elimination of the check and balance constituted by Congress and its powers would be even simpler and more rapidly accomplished, and that body converted into a powerless "advisory" body whose advice the monarch could and would disregard.

The key to emasculating Congress and converting it into a mere "rubber stamp", Nickerson related, was already at hand. (39, p. 261) It was the "executive budget plan" that already prevailed in thirty-four of the forty-eight states as a result of the planned and plotted activities of the conspirators and of their treasonous, Sovietizing "1313" agencies. In seven of the states, including New York, the conspirators had already succeeded in restricting the budgetary powers of the legislatures. The conspirators would merely have to extend this plot to the Federal Government and to Congress to accomplish their subversive purpose. If the Presidential elective monarch would present to Congress, year after year, budgets so huge and costly that no member would dare add to it, so detailed and complex that members could not possibly find the time to read it and certainly could not manage to make a detailed study of it, and so richly provided with graft and so-called "pork barrel" for each and every member of Congress that none of them would dare to sincerely attack and expose it for fear of losing their shares in it—Congress would get into the habit of accepting the dictated budget, would abdicate and eschew the powers granted it by the Constitution and would by accepted custom surrender those powers to the President-become-monarch.

The mere surrender of the power to initiate budgetary legislation, Nickerson related, had established the "principle of monarchical initiative" (39, p. 271). The Presidential monarch would easily rob Congress of its Constitutional power to initiate any legislation by the simple device of repeatedly sending messages to Congress, under the pretense of faked and contrived "emergencies" and "crises", demanding the passage of legislation desired by the conspirators and represented as urgent. This could be

done under the provision of the Constitution which directs the President to send a message to Congress on the state of the nation. By sending innumerable messages to Congress under the aforesaid pretenses, the President could keep it so busy introducing and considering legislation desired by the conspirators that it would not have any time for initiating any legislation of its own. After a lapse of years of abdication of its Constitutional power to initiate legislation, it would have become established and accepted custom that all legislation be initiated by the Presidential monarch.

The program enunciated by Nickerson became the blueprint of the Rockefeller-directed "New Deal" that was put in force by Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt and their other puppets and agents under direct Rockefeller direction and supervision. The victimized public paid the cost to the conspirators by way of tax-exemption of the Rockefellers and their foundations. Almost simultaneously, this same "New Deal" dictatorship pattern, that the conspirators were testing overseas through their agent, Stalin in the Soviets, was imposed by other agents of theirs: Hitler, in Germany and Mussolini, in Italy.

Under the direction of John D. Rockefeller Jr. the familial criminal psychopathy assumed an even more evil, Mephistophelean and Satanic "internationalist" cast tinged with treason. He maintained the Dynastic tradition which requires that each generation must outstrip the preceding in its attainments in both "muscle", or racketeering power, and loot. He established indirectly the absolute power of the Dynasty over the U. S. and the USSR. And he got under way the conversion of the U.S. to a Rockefeller Duchy, and impressed its wealth and "peasants" into service for conquering the world for the Rockefeller Empire. In the meantime, Americans were duped, by Rockefeller's pressagents, into the absurd belief that they are "benevolent philanthropists".

So cunning has been the false Rockefeller propaganda that only the rare, intensely acute observer discerned the facts and the true situation that had developed. Thus Grand Duke Alexander, of Russia, reports in his autobiography entitled *ONCE A GRAND DUKE* (41, p. 242) that when he visited the U. S. in 1913, he observed that the Rockefellers had already converted the country into a colony, or province, of the Rockefeller Empire.

Eloquent proof of the development of Rockefeller chicanery and its refinement within a generation, and of their mastery of the government for the looting of the nation by taxation while exempting from any tax levy

their booty, can be discerned in a comparison of the handling and treatment of the respective estates of John D. Sr. and of Jr. In 1905, it was estimated, competently, that John D. Sr. was already worth more than five billion dollars. In the crash of 1907, the inflation of World War I, the operation of the fraudulent "Federal" Reserve Bank, the panics of 1921 and 1929, and the intervening booms, the Rockefeller fortune grew many hundredfold. The process was in no way retarded by the Federal income tax that the Rockefellers had maneuvered to impose on the rest of the nation for their enrichment by numerous devious governmental processes, while they virtually completely exempted themselves. Nevertheless, John D. Sr.'s total estate was reported to be merely twenty-five million dollars, and that report was unquestioningly accepted by the Treasury and tax officials. Some tax was paid by the estate.

A quarter of a century later, John D. Jr. terrorized by Nelson's brazen activities died under hush-hush circumstances in an institution in Tucson, Arizona, and under strange circumstances, was hurriedly cremated within hours after his death, May 11, 1960 before the entire family had assembled. (136) It was reported that anxiety had led him to resort to drink with resultant aggravation of his psychopathic mental state.

The "New Deal", World War II and the Korean War had enormously increased the Rockefeller fortune. The Dynasty had gained control of the entire array of war industries as well as the leading industries in every other field, to add to their control of oil and finance, throughout the world. Its income has been estimated at more than a million dollars a minute, a trillion dollars a year. This estimate of their income emerged in spite of their efforts to withhold the facts regarding it from the public by such devices as designating minor capitalists whose total wealth is less than their daily income, such as their victimized dupe, Jean Paul Getty, as "the richest man in the world." The entire estate of John D. Rockefeller Jr. was nevertheless reported to be a trifling one hundred and fifty million dollars. And it was baldly announced directly after his death, that not a single penny of taxes would be paid on it to any government. And no inheritance tax whatsoever was paid on it!

By way of contrast a minor millionaire died at about the same time, leaving an estate that was valued at about ninety million dollars. His estate was taxed by the Federal and State governments more than eighty-four million dollars, leaving his heirs about six millions.



It has been estimated that if John D. Jr.'s wealth had been honestly required to pay a full inheritance tax prescribed by the law, the Treasury would be so enriched that income taxes could be suspended for the next half century with honest administration. But Rockefeller's agents, including Beardsley Ruml, did not write tax laws that would require them to pay anything but nominal taxes, thanks to an endless series of exempting loopholes. Even in death the "philanthropic" conspirators defraud the nation! (101)

## CHAPTER IV

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S PSYCHOPATHIC ANCESTRY

Nelson Rockefeller is a natural product of his strange ancestry. On the paternal side was the originally Turkish stock of the Hessian mercenary, Roggenfelder (the name means "rye fields" in German, and was perverted to Rockefeller), who apparently deserted the British forces, as did so many of them during the Revolutionary War, for the proffered bribe of a section of land in New Jersey. Its criminally psychopathic character has been related.

On the maternal side were the New England, Yankee Aldriches. They included in their ancestry a background of religiosity that traces back to the Nazarene fundamentalism of William Aldrich of the odd pre-Revolutionary, Rhode Island sect known as Jemimakins that, in theory, was ascetic and Communist. (45, p. 79) They worshipped a woman named Jemima Wilkinson as a "messiah" and "reincarnation of Jesus". Aldrich became involved with her sister, Marcy, and eventually married her after the birth of her illegitimate child.

The tribe's religiosity, however, constituted no barrier against engaging in the traditional trade of seafaring New Englanders, the rum, slave and molasses trade, in which many Yankee fortunes were made. Following the War of 1812, the slave trade became a capital offense that carried the penalty of hanging. Yankees who prized their necks, then turned to the cotton and wool milling business. They soon discerned that the slaves that they had sold to

Southern planters constituted cut-throat competition with their lowly-paid labor.

Thus impelled, they linked their residual Nazarenism with the Weishaupt and Fourier inspired Illuminist Communism that was rampant in New England as elsewhere in the land, (45; 51, pp. 65-74) with the Jesuit inspired insurrections of the Negro slaves (aimed at destroying the "work of Satan" constituted by our Republic) (100, p. 12) into the Abolitionist movement. Yankee concern with principal and profits was converted to the commercially dictated "principle" of freeing the slaves and desegregating them. Simultaneously their Nazarene "fundamentalist" Communism that, whether theist or atheist, taught "Poverty is Godliness" was supplanted by its antithesis, "Wealth is Godliness". And many of the Yankee "intelligentsia" abandoned theism and the worship of a mythical God, for the "atheism" of Communism, which is in reality the worship of a "living God".

Sen. Nelson Aldrich was the very cream of New England aristocracy. A miserly skinflint, he acquired great wealth and political power in Rhode Island. Elected U.S. Senator, he and his kinsman, Sen. Greene, long controlled the political destinies of that State.

As Republican boss of the Senate, he introduced, and dictated its adoption, at the instance of his Rockefeller in-laws, the two most important subversive and Communist-inspired measures for converting the Government into a thievish machine to serve their purposes. He introduced the un-Constitutional XVIth Amendment that makes possible unlimited, direct looting of the people by the Federal Government; and the deceptively named "Federal" Reserve Act that established a private stock corporation that enables the conspirators to usurp the control of the money, credit and wealth of everyone and of the national Treasury.

Because Sen. Aldrich refused to make the F.R.A. as thievish as his Rockefeller in-laws wished it, possibly because he distrusted them, and insisted on pushing the bill that had been drawn up in his name in conjunction with Rockefeller's German agent, Paul Warburg, he was ousted together with the Republican Party, by his kinsmen, (47; 10) in the manner that is their custom. To accomplish their thievish purpose, Rockefeller's agents met with unprincipled and corrupt Gov. Woodrow Wilson in the home of their associate, Frank Vanderlip, and offered him the Presidency of the U. S. as a bribe for arranging the passage of the more dishonest form of the "Federal" Reserve Act that had been drawn up by their agent, Pro-

fessor J. Laurence Laughlin. (10; 46; 47) Their corrupt political power enabled them to oust the Republican administration and replace it with Democrats led by Pres. Woodrow Wilson, who promptly called a special session of Congress to force the adoption of the thoroughly dishonest and thievish, so-called "Federal" Reserve Act.

Sen. Nelson Aldrich was a bogus "philanthropist" of much the same stripe as his Rockefeller in-laws. He joined Duke, Ryan and the Rockefellers in forming the Tobacco Trust with the aid of their agent, Bernard Baruch. After its organization, Aldrich showed the measure of his "milk of human kindness" by ordering that there be provided smoking rooms in the public grammar schools of Rhode Island, where for the purpose of stimulating the sale of tobacco products, school children were encouraged to begin smoking at the age of eight years.

This muddled mental environment was faithfully reflected in Abby Greene Aldrich, the Yankee lass who became the mother of Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. She instilled in her sons that odd Abolitionist fervor that delighted in selling Negroes into slavery for profit, but demanded their liberation and desegregation when it interfered with their profits. To her influence can be traced the Rockefeller implication in enslavement of Negroes in Saudi Arabia while financing and instigating the desegregation movement at home and supporting the NAACP and Urban League. These Rockefeller fostered activities are proving almost as disruptive as the Civil War that their Abolitionist ancestors instigated. Their desegregation drive avowedly has as its treasonous goal the secession of Southern States to form a Negro State, accomplish the disruption of the Union at which it aimed, and enable the theft of some of the richest oilfields in the country.

Mrs. Rockefeller was so successful in teaching her children to love the Negroes, that some of them have accepted her teachings literally. When Winthrop Rockefeller was asked, by Harry Reasoner in an interview on a television network, why he left New York and went to Arkansas to live, he leeringly answered that because his Army boy friend would not come to New York to live, he went to Arkansas to be with him. During more than a quarter of a century, Jim Hudson, who is now his Petitjean (Arkansas) farm superintendent, has been at his side, it has been noted by Ebony magazine.

Court decisions have shielded Rockefellers against exposure of their key role in the support of the NAACP and other Negro organizations that have been involved in the Little Rock affair and the nationwide desegregation riot-

ing that can only end in damaging the status of the Negro and are deplored by intelligent Negroes who are not dedicated to the Communist cause. In New York, however, where desegregation is not a political liability but is an asset, Winthrop Rockefeller openly presented the Urban League with a building located at 14 East 48th Street, for their headquarters. In the lobby of the building he placed a plaque stating that it was a gift from him and his associates. And in the League's board room, on the second floor, he hung a plaque dedicating the gift to his mother, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.

Rockefellers' true sentiments with regard to the Negroes is apparent from the fact that, though they have formed attachments and liaisons, none of them has married a colored person as have the daughter of Marshall Field and other scions of wealth. Their marriages are, by marked preference, with Nordic whites or Philadelphia "mainliners". But the Rockefellers, as exemplified by Nelson and his son Rodman, condescendingly mingle with the Negroes when it serves their profits and political advantages.

The same schizophrenic "conscience" that led the Yankees to trade in Negroes and sell them into slavery, still characterizes their Rockefeller descendants. In Saudi Arabia, where the Rockefeller oil interests are dominant, Negroes are still provided for sale in the slave market, mulcting the Arabs of their oil royalties. Most of the unfortunates are provided by the same slavers who supplied the Yankees in olden days—the Negro Ashanti tribe of Nkrumah in Ghana. This undoubtedly explains why Ghana was the first vaunted "democracy" set up by Rockefellers' U.N. in Africa. It also explains why Ghana and Nkrumah seek to dominate the "free world" of Africa. That would undeniably facilitate the capture of more Negroes for the slave markets and would help in the capture of kidnapping of the weaker, unfortunates for delivery to Arabia.

Interference with this Saudi Arabian Negro slave trade has been effectively blocked in the U.N. by Rockefeller's associate and Foundation trustee, U.N. Assistant Director Ralph J. Bunche whenever the matter has been brought up. Several reports have been independently published on the topic of this slave trade, including Sean O'Callaghan's **THE SLAVE TRADE TODAY** (107) which gives a detailed account of the horrible brutality of the trade. And they have been brought up on the floor of the U.N. and of Parliament. But the conspirators have always been successful in blocking any action aimed at stopping this trade.

An insight can be had into the motive for inciting de-

segregation in the U. S. in the widely published reports of the extensive trade that also goes on, for the Saudi Arabian slave market under the same auspices, in white girls and women. The white slaves are recruited in all parts of the world, in the usual manners: seduction, kidnapping, fake marriage, lure of "employment" as "entertainers", and numerous others. Young white girls command relatively high prices in the Arabian slave market. According to a report made to the U.N., the price ranges with age. Girls under eight years of age command a price of three to six hundred dollars. Between the ages of eight and fifteen years, the price is maximal, between six and nine hundred dollars. And for women over the age of thirty years, the traders think themselves lucky if their "merchandise" commands three hundred dollars.

"Desegregation" is the Rockefeller fostered treachery that is most dangerous to the nation, but offers the basis for the greatest potential for "making money" to the conspirators. It is motivated by no more sincerity of affection or regard for the Negro than the Arabian slave sales of theirs. The "desegregation" agitation is aimed at carrying out the subversive conspiracy behind the Civil War: destroying the Union and effecting the secession of some of the South. The objective of the present-day conspirators, and their purpose, differs from those of the Civil War breed. The section of the South that the NAACP, the Urban League and the Black Muslims demand, with the support of their Rockefeller financiers, is the South that is rich in oil, including Louisiana and Texas. Some of the "inspired" agitators demand for the Negroes the Rocky Mountain oil producing States. This is the motive behind the support and financing by the conspirators of the "desegregation" drive. As in Africa, the conspirators are using the Negroes to effect the theft by treasonous agitation that is intended to lead to revolt, merely to be looted themselves.

The Negroes who are so unwise as to fall into the trap baited by the conspirators, are disregarding the lessons taught by history, both past and current. They blindly accept the pronouncements of their treacherous, generally Red or Communist leaders, both religious and lay, that an "injustice" has been done them because they were sold into slavery and brought here in chains; and that they must be repaid for the "injury" done them. It is true that they came to this country in bondage as did many of the white settlers in sections of the country, including Georgia and Louisiana, as prisoners and apprentices.

It is also true that a wrong was done the Negroes by

their enslavers, their fellow Negroes. Often they were members of the same tribe or even of their own families. It is still not unheard of for a Negro in some parts of Africa, to sell into slavery his parents, or his children, to Moslem slave traders. In a considerable proportion of cases, being sold into slavery was a blessing in disguise for the victim. It resulted in the saving of his life because of the investment made in him by the purchaser. As a relative weakling, had he not been sold into slavery, he might well have ended up in the boiling kettle as a meat dish; or killed by a poison arrow to serve in the production of a freshly shrunken skull.

By way of contrast, the Negro sold into slavery in the South fetched a high price in the slave market, not infrequently as much as five thousand dollars. He was costly and valuable property, and was solicitously and well cared for by sane owners. Some slaves, it is true, fell into the hands of madmen and brutes. But even at their hands, none of them suffered from that savagery that might have befallen them at the hands of their fellow Africans, such as the Ashantis of Ghana, and the Balubas.

These facts were well recognized by the Negro slaves themselves. Slaves who were liberated by their masters prior to the Civil War not infrequently undertook to serve their fellow Negroes by engaging in slave trade. There were a number of such cases in Charleston, South Carolina, where the slaves were distinctly better off in many instances than were the "poor white" laborers.

The liberation of slaves began to be agitated actively in the second decade of the nineteenth century, by a number of variously motivated groups. By far the largest group were those who, as at present, sought to destroy the Union from within by use of the slavery issue. Most prominent in this group were the Jesuits, with their Order of St. Leopold, who were pledged to carry out the terms of their Treaty of Verona by destroying representative government, the "work of Satan", in our country; and their Illuminist, or Communist, pawns. (60, pp. 9-27) There were also those, especially the Yankees, who were commercially motivated Abolitionists. And some were visionaries with or without principle. One of the earliest riots staged by Negroes in the U.S. was that staged in the early 1820's by Denmark Vesey, under Jesuit influence. After a riot of murder and rape, he and his followers were captured and hanged.

Following the Civil War, the "carpetbaggers", under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, deliberately agitated among the Negroes and stirred up the more thoughtless

among them against the whites. Stevens' motives become more readily apparent when one considers his family history. He was kin of the female Communist agitator, Mother Bloor. She, in turn was mother of Hal Ware, after whom was named the most notorious of the New Deal Communist cells in the Roosevelt Administration, that was led by Harry L. Hopkins. Stevens conducted a typical Communist "hate campaign" against all whites, as "capitalists". As a result of his agitation, whites were barred from public office in some parts of the South, and all offices including Congressional, were occupied by Negroes. Whites were brutally discriminated against by the "carpet-baggers" and the Negroes. In some sections the whites were barred from the use of the sidewalks by them. This vicious, brutal agitation among the Negroes created a legacy of hate among the whites, from which the South was beginning to escape, when the present-day conspirators again deliberately launched their "desegregation" and "civil rights" campaign that can only serve to open up old wounds and stir up fresh hatreds.

One of the ugliest aspects of the current commercially and politically motivated "desegregation" agitation is its irrationality and its reversion to savage emotionalism, its disregard of the lessons of the past. Is it not the height of irrationality to represent as "civil rights", uncivil wrongs? Is it a "civil right" to be denied the choice of one's associates? Is it rational for some Negroes to refuse to associate with other Negroes whom they regard, rightfully, as beneath them in social and cultural level, but to demand that whites associate with the very Negroes whom they themselves spurn? Can the use by Negroes of their children to front in riots or in school strikes be regarded as any less savage than some aspects of African savagery? Would not the activities of the agitators not be better spent in putting an end to the ruthless exploitation of the Negro by their fellow Negro, and raising their level of civilization and culture? "Desegregation" obviously implies that Negroes resent association with Negroes.

Such rational and beneficial attitudes would not serve the various malign and selfish interests of the agitators. Such "religious" leaders as Rev. Luther King prefer to serve the Rockefeller-Soviet conspirators to serving their fellow Negroes. For abandoning the teachings of Christ for those of the Weishauptian-Marxist conspirators, he has been financed by Rockefellers and extended the "signal honor" of being entertained with his fellow agitators in that Rockefeller sanctuary, their Pocantico Hills estate, as noted in the N.Y. Times article of March 1, 1964, en-

titled: DR. KING, AT ROCKEFELLER ESTATE ADDRESSES URBAN LEAGUE RALLY.

The obvious objective of the conspirators' "civil rights" agitation is the breakdown of law and order in another direction, for the purpose of justifying the Nickerson-patterned dictatorship that they are furiously plotting. The eyes of their Negro victims might open widely if they should read the chapter in Nickerson's book *THE AMERICAN RICH*, on the subject of *THE RACE QUARREL*. (39, pp. 141-60)

In final analysis what can be gained other than loss of freedom and dictatorship by the agitation among the Negroes? Can the elimination of the poll tax and the gaining the right to vote be regarded as a victory and advance, in view of the fact that elections are stolen by the conspirators through the use of rigged voting machines that deprive both whites and blacks of their franchise? Does not the strife created by the conspirators' agitators serve merely to blind the nation to the devices whereby they are robbing us all of our liberties? Have not the agitators served the conspirators in building a trap into which we all are falling? Would it not serve us all better to leave the solution of the problems involved to the natural process of evolution than to be destroyed by revolution? Can the "desegregation" and "civil rights" agitation serve any other purpose than aggravation of the issue and rekindling old hatreds and violence that will serve the conspirators in their treasonous objectives? (1)

The conspirators' traffic in black and white slaves raises the question whether the desegregation conspirators do not contemplate the reduction of all of us to the same level of serfdom, rather than the pretended goal of "desegregation" of the Negroes. Communist affiliations of some of their key agents confirm this view.

The evidence indicates that Abby Aldrich Rockefeller was in some measure accountable for the scheme originally conceived by her husband, John D. the Second (Jr.) to dedicate the "educational philanthropy" that developed into the propaganda agency, the General "Education" Board, solely to the "education" of Negroes. Allan Nevins, in his biography of John D. that was authorized by the family, reported:

"The younger Rockefeller had gone (South with Baptists associates, in a special train) because his father and he were now keenly interested in the possibility of giving to Negro education . . . (4, II, p. 483)

"After his talks with Baldwin, (John Foster) Peabody, and others, John D. Rockefeller Jr. realized that it was im-



portant to give assistance to the whites no less than to the blacks." (4, II, p. 484)

The Nazarene-Illuminist-Socialist-Communist doctrines that have characterized the "first families of America", with its rigid, illiberal dogmatism, came to be known by semantic perversion of the term, as "liberalism". True to her family tradition, Mrs. Rockefeller was such a "liberal". And she raised her family in that tradition. As a "liberal", she gave her support to the subversive doctrines in education that were advanced by Prof. John Dewey as "Progressive Education".

The idea underlying so-called "PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION" is that originally advanced by the Jesuit Illuminist conspirator, Adam Weishaupt and advocated by his disciple, Marx. The objective is to break down and to destroy parental influence as well as traditional discipline, for the purpose of making the young receptive to subversive indoctrination. "Progressive Education" requires only that the child conform to the group pattern imposed by the conspirators. In all other matters, the child is to be free and unrestrained, to do only what it wishes: to remain totally ignorant if it so desires; to be undisciplined, insolent, megalomaniac and even criminal if that be its inclination; even to kill its parent, if it so desires. The professed objective is to avoid the Freudian "disaster" of "developing a complex" and warping its mentality so that it will not serve the subversive purposes of the conspirators—the establishment of a "new" social order, a totalitarian dictatorship.

With the exception of John D. the Third, Nelson Rockefeller and his brothers all attended the "Progressive" Lincoln School, Teachers' College, Columbia University. There they escaped the normal training and discipline that had been traditional. They came under influence of the "Progressive Education" that was richly supported by taxpayers' money through Rockefeller tax-exempt support. They did not, however, join the ranks of the less fortunate of their schoolmates who came under no other discipline and were left to join the ranks of the illiterates and juvenile delinquents that blossom into the rank and file of the criminal elements that plague the world.

The Rockefeller children received the "benefits" of the traditional, criminal Fagin-like "education" and training imposed on the Dynasty by "Doc" Bill Rockefeller. This they received at home. At the hands of their mother, they received indoctrination in other phases of the so-called "liberalism" that was being imposed on Russia as a result of the Revolution. Mrs. John D. the Second (Jr.) had

joined Helen Roger Reid, spouse of the owner of the traditionally Red New York Tribune, with other wealthy women, in fostering and sponsoring the Communist movement in the U. S. John Reed, the most violent of the native American Communists, testified that his Communist activities were supported by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. and her friends.

Her sons have given ample evidence that their indoctrination in Red "liberalism" was quite effective. Each of them has made signal contributions to the advance of Communism through personal activities in such Red agencies as the treasonous Institute of Pacific Relations and its Amerasia subsidiary, through their support of the Communist cause by their foundations as well as personally, and through their subsidy and affiliations with such key Reds as Gerhardt and Hans Eisler, Alger Hiss, Owen Latimore and numerous others.

Her influence on her sons in the direction of Red "liberalism" has made itself manifest in many directions. In the instance of Nelson Rockefeller, the influence of her patronage of so-called "art" is especially notable in its subversive and injurious influence on the country and the world. As a disciplined "liberal", she would only purchase "art" that, in the jargon of that element, had "social significance". The conspiratorial code of Communist "liberalism" requires slavish submission of its adherents to the dictates of its ringleaders in all matters, including thought, taste and appreciation of art. Their censorship in these matters is absolute. It is an exercise in discipline of the conspirators to require their cohorts to pretend to believe and to "see" as ordered. Their method is much the same device for breaking the spirit of their subjects as Petruchio employed with Katherine the Shrew. Another analogy is the requirement of other religions of their followers that they accept the incredible and impossible—as a matter of "faith".

When a ringleader of the "liberals" orders his cohorts to regard a canvas bespattered with unsightly blotches of paint as the portrait of a "beautiful woman", they are required to accept his dictates or be stamped as "illiberal", reactionary, conservative and a "traitor to the cause". This so-called "modern art" is alone deemed by these "liberals" to have "social significance". Its chief significance, however, is the reduction of "art" to the lowest common denominator of idiocy. It is a manifestation of the supreme form of dictatorship, that requires of its brainwashed followers suspension of human intelligence and denial of what their senses attest.

Abby Rockefeller bought much of her "modern art" from Alma Reed's Delphic Gallery, located then on Fifth Avenue, New York. Alma Reed, for reasons of sentimentality as well as "liberalism" sponsored only Latin American Communist "artists" such as Orozco and Diego de Rivera. She tells a pathetic story about Mrs. Rockefeller's art shopping methods. Mrs. Abby Rockefeller lived in a constant state of terror. This description of her mental state is confirmed by a citation from one of her letters to her son Nelson then at college, that is cited by press agent, Morris, as follows:

"I can't tell you how grateful I am to you for your telephone messages. I hope that you telephone from the office and get it put on the bill there for I am sure that your dear father would be shocked if I started telephoning freely to you, which I have a great desire to do." (43, p.72)

She would have her secretary or maid call up and order Alma Reed to clear everyone out of her gallery and lock the doors. Shortly thereafter, Alma related, a group of Rockefeller employees would arrive at the gallery and stand guard at all its doors. Finally, after she was notified that the gallery was empty and "safe," Mrs. Rockefeller would arrive with a bodyguard, to shop for "art".

Whatever price Alma Reed would ask for an item that she assured had "social significance" (a puerile absurdity) Mrs. Rockefeller would invariably protest and plead that she could not afford it, and bargain for a reduction in the price. The "socially significant art" thus purchased, constitutes the nucleus of the collection of trash that Nelson Rockefeller calls his "art collection". Much of it hangs in the Communist founded Museum of Modern Art in New York, that was built on the site of the former Rockefeller home for the purpose of securing tax exemption for it as a future Rockefeller Center building site. In the Museum, of which he is Director, Nelson Rockefeller is associated with some of the Red crew who originally founded the Museum before Rockefellers took control of it. These facts make it evident that in the Rockefeller ancestry runs a pathetically absurd "liberal" strain coupled with ruthless, grasping greed, cupidity, miserly penuriousness and a hereditary tradition of outrageous criminality, coupled with inbred psychopathy.

sentations regarding his budgets. However, it leaves unexplained his rigid penny-pinching in his private finances except on the ground that his budgets deal with "other people's money" that is favorably colored by private profits. That he graduated from Dartmouth U. with highest honors attests to the extent of prostitution of "education" at that institution.

3. "Grandiose ideas" (43, p. 14) and delusions of grandeur are symptoms of a number of forms of insanity, including the syphilitic condition, general paresis of the insane. According to pressagent Morris, Nelson Rockefeller acknowledges that he has long had "grandiose ideas"; and that it has been only his brother, Laurance, who has been able to shake him out of them, when he was a youngster. Now that he is grown up and has fully developed a dictatorship complex and has the trillions with which to indulge it, one might well wonder if anyone can shake him out of his "grandiose ideas". It is quite usual for persons so affected to fancy themselves Napoleon, Hitler or Mussolini; or even all three rolled in one and God as well. Since John D. the Second fancied himself as God (25), it would hardly be unexpected that his heir might share that delusion.

Psychopathic stigma is the term used in medicine to describe signs and symptoms of disordered mental states and of insanity. They may also be precursors of those disorders, evidence of early stages of dementia.

The Rockefellers pride themselves on the early manifestation of their innate, grasping, insatiable greed and the craftiness of their psychopathic, skinflint ancestors, almost in infancy. A proud family story that centers about Nelson's childhood relates:

"The proprietor of a candy store that the children patronized showed his Christmas spirit by offering the children a handful of candy. When Nelson was told that he could have his handful of candy, he wagged his head and refused. On the following day, Nelson returned with his father. Once again the proprietor offered Nelson his handful of candy, and again he refused. But this time, he talked up and said: "Let father take it. He has bigger hands."

His deliberate cultivation of the familial traits and character, is related by pressagent Morris. (31, p. 33) A Rockefeller boy, obviously Nelson, he relates, informed his mother, while he was at college, that he was training himself in the tradition of "Doc" Bill and John D. (and in his words) "to be cold and calculating" for the purpose

of preventing sentiment or feeling from interfering with the extraction of maximum profit, the last drop of blood, in the spirit of a Shylock, from the misery and misfortune of others. Morris also relates that Nelson shied away from making friends at college for fear that they might derive some advantage from association with him and the name of the Rockefeller family (43, p. 35). But Morris reported on behalf of his employers, Nelson and his brothers, that they seek only profits, and maximal profits, inordinate profits, in whatever they do. And he made it clear that Nelson, in particular, has required that his every activity must yield him high monetary profits. (31, p. 33) He put the situation in a light that is more favorable than the truth warrants when he stated that the Rockefeller brothers "have made use of all the *legitimate* financial and business advantages . . . Rockefellers possess" to make profits. Whatever terms may be applied to many of their activities, "legitimacy" is not one of them.

The natural, innate greed and rapacity of Nelson was intensified in childhood by the traditional Rockefeller Fagin-like training. He proved an apt and able disciple of it and learned at an early age to "scratch and scrape" for himself to qualify for initiation in the family villainy. In the literature which he issued under the title MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER, under the auspices of his agency in the quest of the Republican Presidential nomination, he presented this training in penury in a favorable light.

"When he discovered as a child", he dictated to his propagandist ghostwriter, "that his weekly allowance didn't stretch far enough he began raising rabbits and selling them at a profit for pocket money." (44, p. 1)

But the explanation offered for this quest for profits in Nelson's political campaign material is a bit less than honest and differs radically from the propaganda that Morris was authorized to issue on behalf of the brothers. It falsely represents that "the mere acquisition of money was secondary in their scheme of things". (44, p. 3) It would never do to let the voters know that candidate Nelson Rockefeller, the "philanthropist", whose platform promises them all the things that they most desire, is more greedy, grasping and rapacious, and in quest of personal profits than the most corrupt of the rank and file of politicians; and that he had been studiously trained, from childhood, how to grab them. It was not made clear in the campaign literature, as it is in Morris's biographic propaganda, that "the Rockefellers almost never give presents of much value" and "deemphasize" money in

that connection (i.e., rarely, if ever, give any of their own money). (31, p. 34)

In his disclosures to his biographer-propagandists, Nelson Rockefeller has clearly revealed the peculiarities of his inherited psychopathy. The "cute" story that Morris tells of schoolboy Nelson aptly portrays his delusional "grandiose ideas", and his mentality, his arrogantly insolent "take charge" attitude which has been and is his to this very day. When introduced to a new teacher, at the age of ten years, in the Lincoln School, he advised her that "he knew the ropes around the school and if she had any questions he'd be glad to help her". (43, p. 18) The same conceit dictates his attitudes and actions in governmental affairs. He is convinced that the Founding Fathers of our Republic lacked his "wisdom" to guide them; and that the Constitution which they wrote is defective because it does not accord with his desires and interests. And therefore, he dictates, it must be discarded as "obsolete" and must be replaced by a Constitution that conforms with his wishes and dictates. His attitude is the same with regards to the Constitutions of the States and the laws of the land. Unfortunately for the nation and the world, the power for corruption that he wields through control of the Dynasty's swag has enabled him to force his psychopathic whims on the nation and the world. The consequence has been turmoil and disaster, war after war, crisis after crisis, panic after panic.

Since childhood, Nelson Rockefeller has manifested a paranoid dictatorship complex. Aggressive and domineering, he craftily masks his orders and commands with the expression: "Let us get organized". (44, p. 5) This childhood practise of his still survives in the form of organization of "Committees" and "Commissions" of his agents and pawns to echo his commands as their "considered decisions". (43, p. 18) He presented a problem to his father, especially on the score of demanding more authority in family affairs, and was a source of concern to him. (43, p. 66) Nelson insisted on being boss, "top man on the totem pole". (43, p. 58) Nelson Rockefeller, like John D., his racketeering father, "is a man who wants to have his own way" said a diplomat of him in later life; indicating that age has not changed him. (43, p. 296)

Mentally shallow, he was too poor a student to gain admission to the larger colleges of his choice. (43, pp. 4, 5, 24-5) At Dartmouth, he barely got by until he presented his theme lauding John D. and his Standard Oil activities, and identifying himself with them. He received a high mark in his course in economics from a professor

with an eye for the "main chance", with a Phi Beta Kappa key thrown in. (43, p. 43) Awareness of his intellectual limitations probably accounts for his high suggestibility from chosen individuals and sources. Thus he acquiesces readily in the puncturing of his "grandiose ideas" by his brother Laurance. (43, p. 14)

He submitted to disciplining, guidance and instruction by his publicity man, Francis A. Jamieson, a reporter who had been recommended to him by his brother Winthrop. Jamieson became in effect his "alter ego", and virtually did his thinking for him, (43, p. 138, 145, 307) and was also his ghostwriter and mentor. Others, including Wallace K. Harrison, a kinsman, exercise a similar influence. It may be that he is open to suggestion from those who let him think that he originated their ideas. These "alter egos" who ghostwrite his speeches and publications do not do his thinking for him, however, on the subject of greedy money grabbing! With other persons, he is characterized as cocky and self-confident (43, p. 29), bull-headed, iron-willed (43, p. 144) and stubbornly determined (43, p. 281). Lacking the wits or patience to carry out plans, plots and schemes, whether sound or "grandiose", he commands the power and means to buy the brains to do his chores and dirty work. The power with which wealth and position endow him, and the fear of his vindictiveness and vengefulness (43, p. 181) serve to suppress any opposition to his wishes and commands; and they make for the appearance of ability to "dissolve controversy". (43, p. 311)

Physically, Morris depicts Nelson Rockefeller, presumably on his say-so, as "chicken" and a coward. This may account for his evasion of the draft, after he had played a significant role in putting over military preparedness and military draft in order to provide the Rockefeller Empire with self-paid mercenaries. Another factor in the draft evasion is the Rockefeller scorn of patriotism, and their "internationalism", a family tradition. (43, pp. 107-8) But when his life is endangered, he reacts frantically. (43, p. 108)

Nelson Rockefeller makes it a point to advise all his biographers that in all that he does, he seeks a maximum of personal advantage and monetary profits. He and his clan, they explain, are generous only with things that cost them nothing, such as words and sympathy, or other people's and taxpayers' money and possessions. (31, p. 34) This is especially true of their so-called "philanthropies", which are moneys that they have empowered themselves to withhold from the Treasury, the people's money.

Biographer Morris makes it clear on behalf of his subject that his prime interest is "making money" (31, p. 33) in whatever enterprise he engages by whatever means serves his grasping purpose. And his record proves that no enterprise is too low, mean, sordid or vicious to engage in, on condition that it provides inordinate profits. Nelson Rockefeller has never required either guidance or advice on the matter of wringing the maximum profit and loot out of any enterprise in which he engaged. To this end, he has learned to pose and act. In connection with his political campaigns, he hired "Pat" Sylvester Weaver, former N.B.C. producer, to teach him to put on his act. He has learned to present an engaging personality that is extremely deceptive. He successfully poses as gracious—unless he is crossed and does not get his own way. But if he is crossed, his true meanness and vindictiveness and ruthless character emerges in spite of all training and discipline. This is especially true if interference with "making money" or looting is involved.

Nelson Rockefeller is presented by one of his publicists, Stewart Alsop, in an article in the SATURDAY EVENING POST of September 1959 entitled THE ROCKEFELLER NOBODY KNOWS, as a "Jeekyll and Hyde" character. Alsop relates (49) that to friends, Rockefeller is most gracious—provided that it costs him no money. As an example, he cites that Rockefeller offers his friends, when they are ailing, samples of tranquilizers that are distributed by drug firms, that the family control, free of charge for advertising purposes. But he himself takes none of these poisonous drugs that yield the family interests the 8,000% to 10,000% profits that Sen. Kefauver exposed. His friends, Alsop intimates, regard this "generosity" as unique and "out of character". But, relates Alsop, those who do business with Nelson Rockefeller must exercise their utmost caution. For they discover that he is utterly ruthless. They become, unfortunately, too well aware of his success in training himself to be "cold and calculating".

Cowardly, acquisitive, scheming, calculating, designing, suspicious, vengeful, vindictive, rapacious and ruthless (43), Betancourt, President of Venezuela, thus characterized Nelson Rockefeller; also as a "gangster and bird of prey". (31, p. 187; 43, p. 245) That was before Nelson Rockefeller adopted the traditional familial, masking pose of "philanthropy" and "piety". That the pose of "piety", "religiosity" and "tolerance" is as false as that of "philanthropy" will be made clear.

Publicist Morris points out on behalf of his client that



in Nelson Rockefeller there can be observed "a trace of all his ancestors". (43, p. 4) The broadest "traces" are those of his criminally psychopathic ancestors: of the lusty "horse thief, swindler, bigamist and rapist", "Doc" William Avery Rockefeller who revelled and prospered in exploiting human misery; and of John D. regarding whose activities the U. S. Supreme Court decreed:

"For the safety of the Republic we now decree that the dangerous conspiracy must be ended by November 15 (1911)." (8, p. 154)

Nelson Rockefeller's pose of religiosity is as much a sham as was that of his paternal ancestors, merely serving in "making money". He fosters "ecumenism" primarily because it will eliminate the religious barriers to "making money". Though he has played a role in fostering the "brotherhood" of Christians and Jews, his familial, Baptist bigotry emerged to light in the actions of his son at Princeton in excluding Jews from the dining clubs and in forcing the expulsion of the Catholic chaplain, Father Halton; and in the fate of Catholic agents suspected of defecting.

When "making money" in Arabian oil is concerned, Rockefeller's paramount loyalty is to Mohammedanism. Languishing, poverty-stricken Mohammedanism has been enriched and fortified by Rockefeller interests to the point where it challenges Christianity in Asia and Africa, and indulges in a Holy War against it. News of it has been carefully suppressed. The only report of this war on Christianity that has penetrated the rigid censorship of the conspirators, was carried in the shipping news section of their New York Times, on page 51, of its July 17, 1956 issue. Under the headline **CRUCIFIXIONS REPORTED IN ASIA**, it stated in a dispatch by its correspondent, Stanley Rowland Jr., from the Silver Bay Conference on Christian World Missions:

"... 'religious nationalism' in parts of Southeast Asia . . . is making missionary work difficult . . . crucifixions are reported to have occurred in the Celebes . . . The victims were said to be native Christian pastors and elders of established churches that carried on works of mercy in remoter sections of the Celebes. The violence was ascribed to a Moslem group of anti-Christians known as Darul Islam. The executives who hold responsible posts with major Protestant organizations **WITHHELD NAMES AND DETAILS FOR FEAR OF REPRISALS.**" (142)

The Jews likewise have found themselves betrayed to the Arabs in the partition of Palestine that was planned by the Rockefellers as a route for the originally planned

Trans-Arabian Pipeline, because they rightfully did not trust their Arab partners and wished to put the pipeline through non-Arab terrain. When the Israelis later undertook to stop harassment by the Arabs by invasion of Egypt, and were joined after their initial successes by the British and French intent on protecting their investment in the Suez Canal, Rockefellers acting through their agency, the U. S. State Department, and the Rockefeller-Soviet "United" Nations agency, came to the rescue of the badly defeated Egyptians and the regime of their renegade Jewish agent, Nasserbaum, alias Nasser. It has been reported that the Rockefeller interests were rewarded with a profitable long-term lease on Suez Canal. The affair established a precedent for the seizure by their Axis partners of the Panama Canal, that is now threatened. The promise made to the Israelis in return for their giving up the Egyptian territory that they had conquered, assured them of freedom from further harassment by the craven Egyptian agents of the conspirators. It has been honored solely in its breach. This characteristic double-dealing of the Rockefellers parallels that dictated by them to their puppet Pres. Roosevelt when he dealt on their behalf with Saudi Arabian King Saud.

## CHAPTER VI

### ROCKEFELLER BECOMES ROOSEVELT NEW DEAL "ADVISER" & BOSS

Directly after graduation from Dartmouth, Nelson Rockefeller qualified for sharing in the family loot by acquiring his own, by marriage to a wealthy Philadelphia mainline heiress, Mary Todhunter Clark. Their honeymoon trip around the world partook of the nature of a tour of royalty. And the tourists enjoyed the prerogatives of royalty wherever they went. The Rockefeller Dynasty had come to be recognized, after more than two decades of behind the scene control of the U.S.A. and of the world, as all-powerful and uncrowned world rulers whose wealth and influence exceeded that of any other royalty. For they had succeeded in accomplishing what all other monarchs had failed, making themselves rulers of the

U. S. This was recognized by them as early as 1913, as revealed by Grand Duke Alexander of Russia. (41, p. 242)

The Rockefeller honeymoon was a triumphal procession around the world. The considerable honeymoon entourage, which Nelson Rockefeller has since made his practice, was bizarre. Rockefeller reported for the edification of American "peasants", the course of this regal, nay imperial honeymoon, and their reception by royalty and nobility wherever they went. With Standard Oil executives supplementing the local American Ambassadors, the honeymooners floated on a sea of oil into palaces around the world. His Imperial Majesty, Nelson Rockefeller, accepted the homage of his regal vassals.

On his return from his honeymoon, Nelson Rockefeller took over control of the Dynasty's Rockefeller Center development in the role of Real Estate Director of the family-controlled Chase National Bank. The Center is grossly misrepresented by the Rockefellers and their pressagents as a Rockefeller "philanthropy" that they undertook in a period of depression, at considerable risk. (44, p. 2; 31, pp. 58-68) Actually it was, exactly like other of Rockefeller bogus "philanthropies", a malignly conceived and executed mercenary enterprise that could not fail to be enormously profitable.

The project had been launched by John D. the Second (Jr.) as a pretended "cultural center" that would furnish a new home for the Metropolitan Opera Company and other forms of performing arts, in much the same manner as there was launched by the Dynasty, several decades later, their Lincoln Center. Public support and contributions were solicited for it. The project (naturally merely incidentally) would serve to enhance the value of the Rockefeller homes and adjacent property that they had purchased in the neighborhood that was beginning to be run down. Whether any of the funds that the public was solicited to subscribe for financing the supposed "cultural center", which is a gimmick that is habitual with the Rockefeller "philanthropies", was ever returned to any subscribers or what may have happened to that money, is not clear from the record.

Shortly after the timely launching of this venture, the conspirators precipitated the 1929 crash and panic. (10) And "unfortunately", if one trusts their pressagents and propagandists, this so-called "white elephant" (44, p. 6), that constitutes the very heart of New York City and its most strategic and valuable property, fell into Rockefellers' exclusive possession. That is a "misfortune" that few

of us would begrudge ourselves. It gave the Dynasty a gilt-edged investment at bankruptcy prices, into which to stow away a small fraction of their plunder from the panicky and depressed nation.

Nelson Rockefeller used Rockefeller Center to "sell real estate short" and to extend to it the panic that the conspirators had created in the stock market by their "Federal" Reserve System manipulations. He deliberately precipitated the foreclosure of some of the most valuable property in the country, New York City office buildings, by conspiring to empty them by luring away their tenants. This resulted in a distrust of real estate finances and mortgages that precipitated an endless wave of foreclosures of properties. As a consequence, millions of people lost their property, their homes, farms, businesses and savings.

Rockefeller's subservient agent and pawn, Sen. Robert F. Wagner, ably served the conspirators in this vicious plot by pushing through Congress during the last hour of the last session of the 72nd Congress, Public Bill No. 296. The bill made Rockefeller Center a free-port. This enabled Rockefeller to offer tenants that he lured from other buildings into the Center, the added advantage of being able to import merchandise for display without paying duty on entry. This meant that firms moving into Rockefeller Center required less capital to do business than did their competitors across the street, thanks to the dishonest and un-Constitutional law that the conspirators had had passed for their malign purposes.

This vicious activity at Rockefeller Center that cost so many million folks the foreclosure of the homes and farms during the depression, and forced them into the ranks of the homeless and destitute, is represented by Nelson Rockefeller and his pressagents as "philanthropy". It is indeed representative of the true character of all of Rockefeller's bogus, so-called "philanthropy" which invariably covers up plundering, tax evasion, subversion, treason and other forms of criminal activities. They present it in his campaign literature (44) as a "boon to mankind" and the nation that "justifies" putting our fortunes and our destinies in his hands as our Presidential Dictator and Fuehrer.

It is interesting to note that Nelson Rockefeller omits from his campaign propaganda, any mention of the "ten percent" or kickback racket which he organized as his first "business venture" to "make use of Rockefeller influence" for assuring himself of questionably "legitimate" profits in Rockefeller Center and, later, Government con-

tracts. No doubt the exposure and disrepute of "ten percenters" during kinsman Truman's regime, and their criminal prosecution, accounts for this omission. Can it be that Rockefeller influence accounted for escape from exposure of his activities? Pressagent Morris, however, gives Rockefeller's proud account of his activities in the field of what is known as "cheap chiseling" and "ten percenting". While engaged in the building of Rockefeller Center, in the early 1930's, Nelson Rockefeller organized under the name of an associate (a common Rockefeller practise), Fenton Turck, a former American Radiator Co. vice-president, in partnership with him and with Webster Todd (son of a director of Rockefeller Center) this "unusual business enterprise". (31, pp. 58-9; 43, pp. 93-4)

With keen sense of humor, Morris relates that Rockefeller's connection with the Center, with the Chase National Bank, with Standard Oil Co., and with other enterprises controlled by the Rockefeller Empire, was "an advantage to Turck & Co." After a highly prosperous year, Nelson Rockefeller followed the usual practise of the Dynasty and "induced" his partners to turn over this entire, highly profitable enterprise to his exclusive ownership. He changed its name to "Special Work Inc." and made it a unit of the "philanthropic" Rockefeller Brothers. This variety of enterprise is now highly favored by the Rockefellers, especially in connection with Defense Department contracts. It may prove to be the "nigger in the woodpile" of the TFX aircraft contract that may never be brought to light.

Rockefeller expanded the thievish real estate operations into a device for dispossessing and disinheriting us as effectively as Communism has the Russians. It was launched under the pretense of remedying a deliberately engineered housing shortage created by their New Deal and World War II "rent control" operation that un-Constitutionally forced landlords to subsidize their tenants with rents so low as to bar adequate maintenance. Landlords were so completely robbed of control of their properties that they could not protect themselves from the deliberate destruction of their improvements by the tenants. To deliberately aggravate the damages, the conspirators colonized sections of cities that they planned to grab with white, colored and Porto Rican riff-raff who would be certain to wreck the properties and create slums. This the conspirators brazenly acknowledge in their publication **THE EXPLODING METROPOLIS**. (144, p. 105) The slums that they have thus deliberately created, the conspirators proceed to steal from their owners by so-

called "slum clearance" and "urban redevelopment" under legislation, that goes by the name, Title I. It compels the taxpayers to condemn, confiscate, demolish and clear the properties and sell them to the conspirators at an infinitesimal fraction of the cost. This sales price is converted to a bonus by such devices as public financing of new construction and tax exemption for periods as long as thirty years. The bitter irony of the situation is that the robbed owners are forced by the conspirators, as taxpayers, to pay for their own looting!

Rockefellers engage in this land grabbing on a nationwide scale, operating through an endless array of "dummy" agencies. For the steal of rural land, they use the Federal Defense, Park and other departments which they control. In New York City, they have managed, through a series of "slum clearance" and "urban redevelopment" deals, engineered by themselves and their agencies, to grab the most valuable property in the city, including its entire waterfront. In addition to the Lincoln Center, the Alfred Smith, the Herbert Lehman, the Metropolitan, the Morningside, and numerous other such "developments", Rockefeller have engineered the New York Stock Exchange and the Lower Manhattan steals. The last grab will destroy more than three thousand long established local businesses and the jobs of an estimated fifty thousand employees. The steal is directed by David Rockefeller, with the acquiescence and support of his brother, Governor Rockefeller. Both are intent on "making money" with a so-called World Trade Center operated by their Port Authority, that will be made possible by the looted taxpayers themselves through the projected relocation of New York State offices in the Center. So contemptuous have the Rockefeller become of us, their "peasants", that this steal has been carried out by them at the very time that Nelson Rockefeller was campaigning for the Republican Presidential nomination, and in complete disregard of demonstrations by the victims.

Among the widespread steals of the conspirators are those in: New Orleans, where persistent efforts to grab the entire business district, on numerous pretexts, have been valiantly fought by public spirited Col. Bluford Balter; Monroe County, Florida, where the conspirators have undertaken to steal, by a bill introduced by Florida's congressmen and passed, oil and sulphur land, that is under lease to their Humble Oil Co., by confiscating it for inclusion in the already million-plus acres, oversized wasteland that goes by the name of Everglades National Park, and includes the bulk of the valuable subtropical land in

our country; the steal of the Chavez Ravine oilfield in the name of the Dodgers, that was signed in the office of a Rockefeller attorney, and involved a number of "payoffs" and violent eviction of rightful owners; Los Angeles' Bunker Hill oilfield; Jackson Hole oilfield; and numerous other frauds and steals. Unfortunately, and unwisely, religious sects have joined in as partners in these steals, as in the case of the Washington HIGHTOWERS luxury apartment development, that highlights the use of zoning and rezoning as a device for stealing property and land-grabbing.

In his campaign material, Nelson Rockefeller represents himself as "patron of Labor". (44, p. 7) An interesting story that is told in this connection, closely parallels the tale of the activities of his father, John D. the Second, in breaking the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. strike. It indicates how strong is the "proud tradition" of the Rockefeller Dynasty. Most of the workers engaged in the construction of Rockefeller Center during the depression were paid the NRA wage that had been set by the Dynasty through its agents in the Government, which averaged fifteen dollars for a forty-eight hour week. As one might expect, there was a bit of discontent with Rockefeller "munificence" and "philanthropy" among the construction workers. And there was some talk of organizing and striking.

The hitherto unpublished story recounts that one of the Maffista agents of the conspirators, Joe Adonis of Murder Inc. fame, was assigned the task of "convincing" the workers that they did not want an increase in pay. Successful in this chore, Adonis demanded a reward that was regarded by his patrons as "exorbitant". Joe Adonis was, thereafter, deported. Unquestionably, such practises that are common in the activities of the Dynasty, do assure what they call "good labor relations" and freedom from strikes.

The Labor Relations Act that was subsequently introduced by Rockefeller "New Deal" agent, Sen. Robert F. Wagner, has made the Maffia control and gangster leadership of Labor the "accepted and established practise". The Rockefeller boast that they have had only one "wild-cat" strike at Rockefeller Center, under Nelson Rockefeller's direction", is readily understandable. (31, p. 69)

In an article in the March, 1964, issue of *READER'S DIGEST*, entitled *THE MOUNTING SCANDAL OF URBAN RENEWAL*, Rep. John Dowdy (D. of Texas) Chairman of Subcommittee No. 4 of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, exposes and attacks

the thievery and misuse of power in the conspirators' "slum clearance" and "urban redevelopment" programs. He also cites the tremendous increase in rentals that has resulted from this perversion of "rent control".

An interesting development is rumored about the Rockefeller land and property grabs in New York City. The pressure brought by their banks and other financial institutions to force the building of steel and glass towers, that can not be weatherproofed and are enormously costly in maintenance, most of which have been built under the architectural direction of Rockefeller kinsman (partner?) Wallace K. Harrison, will inevitably result in foreclosure. The same fate is already in sight for the new slums created by the gerrymandered public housing developments, the sale of which has already come under discussion. These and other developments could readily result in a takeover of most of the island of Manhattan by the Rockefellers at even lesser net cost than the price originally paid for it by the Indians. The suspicion has been aroused that the conspirators plan to take Manhattan, after theft of all the island by these devices, out of the United States to make it their private domain under the auspices of their "United" Nations agency. The reader is referred to the author's elaboration of these matters published in the May, 1959 issue of WAKE UP AMERICA, entitled ROCKEFELLERS DISPOSSESS & DISINHERIT US.

Simultaneously with Nelson Rockefeller's entry into the affairs of the Rockefeller Empire, Henry L. Stimson, Rockefellers' attorney who was Secretary of State under Pres. Herbert Hoover, approached the President on behalf of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests with the proposition of declaring war on Japan for the purpose of sending American troops to protect their properties in China that were being systematically destroyed, as a matter of revenge, wherever their troops invaded. (11, p. 362; 51, p. 43; 52, p. 317)

Pres. Hoover, though a dedicated Rockefeller agent and member of their Council on Foreign Relations, rejected their war order on the obvious ground that the Japanese destruction of property in China did not involve the American people and their interests (other than those of the Rockefeller conspirators) and he did not "propose to ever sacrifice American life for anything short of this".

But venal, corrupt and traitorous puppet, Franklin D. Roosevelt, delightedly agreed to the treasonous proposal advanced to him by Stimson on behalf of the conspirators. (53, p. 27) The Rockefeller-Standard-Oil conspirators thereupon put their pawn, Roosevelt, in the White



House, where he immediately attempted to make good his pledge to them. (48, pp. 134-42) James Farley reported that directly after his inauguration, Roosevelt began planning to force war on Japan. (37, p. 39) In these maneuvers to jockey Japan into the attack on Pearl Harbor that finally accomplished the purpose of the conspirators and forced us into the war they had planned, the Rockefellers, their Institute of Pacific Relations and their attorney and agent, Henry L. Stimson, played key roles. (11, pp. 274-99, 375-95) For tricking Japan into the attack on Pearl Harbor, the conspirators made Stimson Secretary of War; and through their IPR, they furnished the Communist, Richard Sorge spy ring in Japan with funds and two spy reinforcements, Guenther Stein and Agnes Smedley, with the assignment of inducing the Japanese military to change their plan to attack Russia, and attack Pearl Harbor instead. (16, 56)

The plan to use the Pacific Fleet as a "decoy" accounted for Roosevelt's overriding the protests of Pacific Chief of Staff, Admiral Richardson, against this obvious treachery, splitting the Fleet and planting a major part of it, like "sitting ducks", in the Harbor from which it could not escape when attacked. In this, Roosevelt heeded his "closest adviser". (11, p. 384)

Two decades later, Rockefeller's New York Times announced in its Sunday magazine section article of May 22, 1960, (p. 88) entitled WHERE ARE THOSE RAM-PAGING NEW DEALERS?, the proud fact that Roosevelt's closest adviser was then Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. (12) The article was planted in the Times as campaign material that was intended to secure for Rockefeller the Republican Presidential nomination at Chicago.

It is interesting and possibly not to be wondered, that the "rigging" of the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese was not listed by him and his agents, in his widely distributed campaign brochure prepared in the name of the N. Y. Republican Campaign Committee, entitled MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER, (44) as a "distinguished, patriotic service" to our country. It seems to indicate that the conspirators were more fearful of the patriotism of the rank and file of Americans than they were of that of the delegates to the Republican Convention. Fortunately, they were wrong in doubting the latter's Americanism, despite the innumerable agents the conspirators had placed among them.

Biographer Manchester cites an amusing story to illustrate how immense and unquestioned has been the power of the Rockefellers in general, and of Nelson Rockefeller

in particular, in the Government under the Roosevelt and succeeding Administrations. He relates that Winthrop Rockefeller Jr., schoolboy offspring of the divorced Bobo, fancied himself to be the inventor of a new type of airplane. He phoned about it to the local airforce base. The magic name of "Rockefeller", uttered in a childish voice, sufficed to connect him directly with the commanding officer of the base, and to give him a most respectful hearing. (9, p. 13)

Manchester labels the Rockefellers "capitalism's . . . royalty". He cites a number of instances when wishes of the youthful Rockefellers were obeyed as commands by governments in Washington and around the world. (9, pp. 9-13) He makes no mention of their support, adherence and domination of the Communist world. Possibly that is because he realizes, as do few persons, Communism is in effect a supercapitalistic dictatorship. Manchester wrote that "one need not be a Nelson" to agitate governments. He attributed their immense power to their worship as Mammon, that makes folks' knees bend before the Rockefellers. He failed to give credit to the immense power of the Rockefellers to bribe, subvert, seduce, corrupt and pervert at no monetary cost to themselves, but at the expense of the public, the taxpayers, who bear the burden, thanks to the virtual abrogation of the Constitution and law that they have brazenly effected for themselves. They have virtually made the whims of Nelson Rockefeller and his entourage the law of the land.

The Rockefellers, especially in the person of Nelson, have usurped for themselves exclusively, the status of the "perpetually rich" by virtue of their ability to dip their hands into the public and private purses of the nation that was envisaged by Hoffman Nickerson as the status to be attained by the absolute monarchic ruler of the land. (39) The "open sesame" to their power has been the tax-exempt status that they have created for themselves plus their control of the Government and "Federal" Reserve. The resultant power that they have thus usurped exceeds that of most of the world's monarchs. At the cost of the nation, they possess the power to bribe and corrupt by endless means, including political, industrial, elective and appointive preferment in government, private enterprise and their super-governmental agencies, their tax-exempt foundations that are financed by public funds. This is the real source of their power and the menace that they uniquely constitute to the nation and the world. This menace of the Rockefellers has been openly acknowledged by their agent, attorney and biographer, Raymond Fos-

dick. (21, p. 433) He frankly stated that a fortune as large as the Rockefellers' is dangerous in any form of society. But he omitted mention of the even greater menace constituted by the status that they have usurped, that makes their wealth and criminality a perpetual menace to the nation and the world.

## CHAPTER VII

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S RED TOOLS AND AGENTS: "THE ESTABLISHMENT"

The Rockefeller menace was greatly intensified when Nelson Rockefeller had won his spurs by his Chase National Bank, Rockefeller Center and Special Work Inc. skulduggery. He arrogantly and insistently demanded of his father, John D. the Second, a dominant voice in the affairs of the Rockefeller Dynasty, and especially in its domination of the Government. His father feared Nelson's plan to openly emerge in domination of politics and to strut on the public scene as open dictator, because he recollected with trepidation and consternation the nation's reaction to their past criminal activities. (43, p. 98) The father regarded the son much in the light of a menace and a troublesome juvenile delinquent. He failed to realize the extent to which the perversion of education by the bogus "philanthropies", that he had launched, had warped the nation's mentality and moronized it, wiped out all memory of past criminalities, and endowed the members of the Dynasty with saintly haloes.

Nelson Rockefeller's "Progressive" and Red education asserted itself. He had been taught that parental discipline should be spurned except as it pleased the child; and that the child should brush his parents and elders aside and do whatever, in his superior wisdom, or psychopathy, and experience, he wishes to do, lest he develop a "complex". He brushed aside his fearful father, and assumed the role of Dynastic overseer and boss of the U. S. and of the world.

Though Nelson Rockefeller had properly judged, in the light of his own training and "education", the changed mental attitudes and capacities of his compatriots who

had been seduced and subverted by the Dynasty's "philanthropies", he nevertheless is sufficiently imbued with their familial psychopathic suspicions and fears to avoid immediate and direct confrontation of the public with the power over them that he had usurped. He was satisfied to operate initially from behind the scenes, through such of the Dynasty's agents whom he has trusted as sharing his indoctrination of Red "liberalism" and ready to accept his dictates. He added to this group some of his intimate associates who were of one mind with him in regard to that "liberalism" and the "New Deal" conspiracy that had been blueprinted for the Dynasty by Hoffman Nickerson. Nickerson is their associate, friend and fellow member of the Union Club which is the "court" of the Rockefeller Empire that is located at the corner of Park Avenue and Sixty-first Street, New York City, nearby their Council on Foreign Relations. With their sister organization, the Soviet U. N. Delegation, they symbolize the real world government. (11)

It is readily understandable that the conspiracy for converting our American Constitutional Republic into an absolute monarchic dictatorship would accord with Rockefeller's psychopathy and "grandiose ideas", that it would have great appeal for him and readily would be expanded to the Weishauptian, super-Napoleonic, paranoid concept of making himself dictatorial "One (Rockefeller) World" monarch. It is equally understandable that in view of the relatively recent exposure of the criminally subversive character of the Rockefeller Dynasty that had been characterized by the Supreme Court as a menace to the Republic, the need for caution, slyness and patient planning was obvious even to such a psychopathic mentality. Nelson Rockefeller contented himself, in spite of his "brashness" and braggadocio, with initially operating through his picked and trusted associates and agents.

The select group of Nelson Rockefeller's sponsors, guides, associates and agents with and through whom he has dominated the "New Deal", the nation and the world, and whom he has carried along with him as he advanced to open emergence as dictator of the current scene, are of special interest. They include, in addition to the host of Reds, "liberals" and frank Communists who have been trained for their subversive roles in schools, colleges and universities subsidized by the Rockefeller foundations for the dissemination of subversion, in the guise of "social sciences", some figures who might be regarded as functionaries of the Communists and the Nazis, the Communazis.

Nelson Rockefeller's "New Deal" sponsors and guides included two tried and trusted Dynastic agents who were placed beside their puppet, Roosevelt. These were:

**HARRY L. HOPKINS** the Red social worker who financed his rise in the New York State "Charity Trust" with the dowry of his Jewish wife, Ethel Gross Hopkins. He then sloughed her off, with her children, for other women who could and did further his career. He became an intimate of Eleanor Roosevelt (as acknowledged in the November, 1936 issue of *VOGUE* by the Roosevelt pressagent, Jay Franklin Carter) in the early 1920's, shortly after her husband's incapacitation by encephalomyelitis. His second wife was a Barbara Duncan, whom, it was testified in the divorce hearing before Judge Phillip McCook, he shared with his boyfriends. His subsequent philanderings are a matter of record. (109; 26, p. 23)

This sterling character was appointed Director of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association after rolling up an unenviable record as head of the Southern Division of the American Red Cross. It is a matter of record that none of the money raised by the sale of Christmas seals during his tenure of office with the N.Y.T. & H.A. ever served to furnish medical care for any victim of tuberculosis, or helped any institution providing such care. The bulk of the funds were diverted to Red political activities and to providing for his staff, including his mistress who later became his second wife. (26, pp. 21-30) Harry Hopkins followed Eleanor Roosevelt and Franklin to Albany; and then to Washington, where on the basis of the squandering of Christmas seal funds and his loyalty to the former, he was furnished with billions of dollars of taxpayer funds to use in the same manner. At the bottom of his "Relief", Work Progress Administration and numerous other boondoggles and squandering was his "philosophy":

"Tax! Tax!! Tax!!! Spend! Spend!! Spend!!! Elect! Elect!! Elect!!!"

His object was avowedly to force the nation into bankruptcy as the shortest and most rapid road to Communism.

According to Harry Hopkins' patron, Murray Garsson who liberally subsidized him with bribes for Government contracts, paid his gambling debts and racetrack losses, loaned him the use of the apartment that he maintained in a Washington hotel, during weekends for the entertainment of his coterie and paid for their checks. Those friends of Hopkins' who signed the checks proved to be Hiss, Marzani and other members of the Communist Hal Ware cell. Garsson reported that it was only after a long

lapse of time, when he found the leisure to make a detailed examination of the checks, that he discovered that he had unwittingly paid for the entertainment of the most dangerous group of Communists in the country who were led by Harry Hopkins. (111; 48, p. 146)

Harry L. Hopkins, the Communist who joined R. O. Lovejoy, Mary van Kleeck and Eleanor Roosevelt (48, p. 54) in an organization that was the nucleus of the American Communist Party (26, p. 160), registered as Socialist but changed over to Democrat without straining his conscience. He was a stellar figure in the "social service" and "philanthropic" setup dominated by the Rockefellers. His proverbial devotion to Eleanor Roosevelt and consequent influence with her husband made him a useful tool. (110, p. 29; 48, p. 174)

Harry L. Hopkins acknowledged his debt to the Rockefellers when (in the late 1930's) he was appointed Secretary of Commerce, by offering the post of Assistant Secretary to Nelson Rockefeller. (48, p. 67) This was the first timid, fearful move on the part of Rockefeller to test the climate of public opinion in regard to his emerging openly into the political career that was planned as the path to his "Presidential" monarchic dictatorship a la Nickerson. Hopkins's offer of the appointment was never openly publicized. It was designedly "leaked" to newspaper columnists as a "rumor". Walter Winchell later announced that Rockefeller and his advisers were not satisfied with the public reaction to the leak and had decided against the appointment. After the conspirators had arranged World War II and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that effected our entry into the war, it was Harry L. Hopkins in cooperation with another Rockefeller agent, Anna Rosenberg, who arranged the draft-evading post of "Co-Ordinator" of Inter-American Affairs for him.

ANNA M. ROSENBERG (nee Lederer), (now married to another Rockefeller CFR and UN agent, Paul G. Hoffman) was originally employed by Rockefeller to handle the dubious labor relations at Rockefeller Center. She is reported to be on the Rockefeller payroll, at a salary of five thousand dollars a week, as one of their most trusted employees. A Hungarian-born Red, or "liberal", she had been given her appointment to an NRA board by Lee Pressman. Pressman was one of the few "New Dealers" who honestly acknowledged himself to be a Communist; and frankly stated that he had never made an appointment, as "New Deal" patronage dispenser, of anyone who was not a member of the Communist Party and subject to its discipline. (11, p. 296) Pressagent Morris reported that

Anna Rosenberg was instrumental in placing Nelson Rockefeller and keeping him in his draft-dodging "Co-Ordinator" and State Department job, because of her ready access to tovarich Eleanor Roosevelt and the President. (43, p. 131, 166) She in turn was placed, by Rockefeller influence and as agent, in many posts that were strategic for the conspirators, including that of Assistant Secretary of Defense during the Korean "police action" (1950-3) and the U. N. Red, brainwashing UNESCO. "Co-Ordinator" Nelson Rockefeller appointed her to his advisory committee on policy, and under his influence she became important adjuncts of the Truman and Eisenhower regimes, as well as of the organization for molding public opinion for the Dynasty then headed by Albert D. Lasker (102, pp. 288-90) that has been integrated into Interpublic Inc. She also has served on numerous of the "committees" and "commissions" picked by Nelson Rockefeller to echo his dictates, including his "committee" that echoed his plot for the future of the nation that was issued under the title of PROSPECT FOR AMERICA. (78)

ALGER HISS was one of the closest friends and personal associates of the Rockefellers. Hiss owed most of his appointments to the Rockefellers and their kinsmen and agent, John Foster Dulles, in the State Department, the United Nations, the Presidency of the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, and in their Council of Foreign Relations. Hiss, Dulles and Stassen represented the Dynasty in their World Council of Churches that issued the call for an Ecumenical Congress that was heeded by the Vatican.

Nelson Rockefeller showed his craven spirit, possibly in fear of exposure of his implication, which he recently acknowledged, by not coming openly to the defense of Hiss in his trial, as did Dulles and other of his agents. But the conspirators richly supported Hiss's defense, presumably with tax-exempt, public funds.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON, formerly assistant to Rockefeller's pal, Alger Hiss, in the State Department. He was permitted to resign after discovery of a "leak of intelligence". (62, p. 121) Directly after Alger Hiss was sent to jail for perjury in connection with treason, most of Hiss's appointments were given to Johnson by the Rockefellers and their kinsman, John Foster Dulles. He now holds, among other posts, that of President of one of the key propaganda agencies controlled by the Rockefeller, the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace. He is a member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

DEAN RUSK, the Rhodes scholar, and Joseph E. John-

son's assistant director of the Division of International Security Affairs in the State Department, from which post he was promoted to Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, during the Korean "police action". In that capacity he served the conspirators well by collaborating in getting Pres. Harry Shippe Truman sufficiently "mellow", in the wee hours of the morning, to work up the bravado to dismiss Gen. Douglas MacArthur, in order to make sure that he would not carry out his threat to defeat the Communists. That would have wiped out the amity of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, disturb the serenity of Stalin and jeopardize the Rockefeller-Standard Oil profits in Russia, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. (11) He was promptly rewarded by the Rockefellers for his "noble efforts" by appointment to the highest office in their Empire next to the Dynasty itself. He was rewarded with the post of President of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Pres. John F. Kennedy later appointed Dean Rusk, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, and a fellow member of the Council on Foreign Relations, his Secretary of State, on the "advice" or order of Nelson Rockefeller. It was reported at the time that this was one of the appointments dictated to Kennedy by Rockefeller as part of the pre-election deal made to betray Nixon and the Republican Party and "throw the election" to him. Rockefeller's associates report that he boasted that he had voted a "straight Democratic ticket" in 1960.

LAUHLIN CURRIE, a Canadian Red, or "liberal", who was planted in strategic positions in both the Treasury Department and later in the "Federal" Reserve System, to direct the control of U. S. finances for the conspirators. Like Alger Hiss, Currie was a graduate of one of the Rockefeller-subsidized hotbeds of Communism, Harvard University.

At Harvard, Currie was instructor of Harry Dexter White, whose activities in the Treasury, he directed under the aegis of his Rockefeller patron. Elizabeth Bentley, a Communist courier, reported that Currie was then, as since, a Communist agent under Party discipline. (63, pp. 172; 62, p. 117). Whitaker Chambers confirmed the fact in his testimony before the HUAC. (62, p. 117) Congressman Jerry Voorhis attests to the fact that neither Pres. F. D. Roosevelt nor Chairman of the "Federal" Reserve Board, Marriner Eccles, dared act in matters of national finance without the authority of the Rockefeller-Soviet agent, Lauchlin Currie. (64; 10)

Planted as Administrative Assistant to Pres. Roosevelt by the conspirators, in 1939, he was in a position to en-



gineer the bankrupting of China and its delivery to the Communist partners of the Rockefeller interests, by blocking shipment of munitions to the Nationalists. (62, p. 36) In this, he was subsequently aided ably by another Rockefeller associate and agent, Gen. George Marshall. (11, pp. 291-6) Currie's Communist treacheries, which has since cost the lives of so many of our G.I.'s, was facilitated by Pres. Roosevelt sending him, as his personal representative, to China. In 1952, when the Korean "police action" has made clear the extreme costliness in American lives and fortunes of his activities in delivering China to the Soviets on behalf of his patron, he was sent to South America where he would be beyond the reach of process servers and Congressional investigators. There he has served the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. He is reported to have played an important role in saving the life of Fidel Castro, another agent of the conspirators, in the Bogota riots that the latter staged, preserving him for his present services to the Axis. He was closely associated with Nelson Rockefeller in the Council on Foreign Relations and other agencies.

It is curious that though these and other Communist agents of the conspirators cost the lives of numerous of our G.I.'s, they were never even threatened with the death penalty. This stands in sharp contrast with the execution of the Rosenbergs, whose activities cost no American lives. It is probable that the Rosenbergs were executed because they violated the orders of the conspirators and dared act on their own initiative. This fact is stressed by the delivery by John Foster Dulles to Communist atomic spy, Zarubin, who had been accepted by the Administration as Russian Ambassador to the U. S., of a large supply of uranium and plans for atomic devices. This was done, the New York Times reported at the time, within a month after the Rosenbergs had been executed for being found guilty of delivering fragmentary information to the Communists.

BEARDSLEY RUMML, director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, launched the Rockefeller Dynasty in open support of Communist causes and their so-called "social sciences". He wrote for his Rockefeller patrons the tax laws that have furnished them with the loopholes for virtually complete evasion of taxation. And at the instance of Nelson Rockefeller, he wrote into law the former's pet device for making sure that no one else can escape their tax looting, the withholding tax law and rules.

PAUL NITZE, nephew and namesake of the collaborator of German Ambassador-spy, Count von Bernstorff, in

World War I, Paul Hilke. Bernstorff was ousted by the Wilson Administration because of involvement in the Black Tom explosion. But Bernstorff maintained his lines of communication by planting his notorious mistress on Pres. Wilson.

Nitze married Phyllis Pratt, daughter of a Rockefeller Standard Oil partner. He secured a partnership and became vice president of the firm that was closely identified with Rockefeller's German interests, Dillon Read & Co. When Nelson Rockefeller became "Co-Ordinator" of Inter-American Affairs, he chose Paul Nitze as his financial officer, collaborator and accomplice. This rounded out that agency as a Communazi outfit of the type that Rockefeller desired. And when World War II arrived at the stage when control of the war policies and operations offered the maximal possibilities of advantage and profit, the entire subversive agency was bodily transferred into the State Department.

In 1944, Nitze was transferred, "loaned", to the War Department as "special consultant" on the strategic bombing of Germany. In this position, he was able to protect the Rockefeller controlled industries in Germany. This was done at the cost of prolonging the war and at a staggered cost in American lives. For one of the major factors in Nazi Germany's war potential has been the Rockefeller controlled chemical and explosive manufacturers, their I. G. Farbenindustrie. Its headquarters in Frankfort-am-Main was built by funds raised for the conspirators by Nitze's firm, Dillon Read & Co. And in the same town there stands the Rockefeller mansion that was built at the time that the Rockefeller interests set up the I. G. Cartel. In the pinpoint, "strategic" bombing of Frankfort-am-Main, the conspirators arranged to leave both the I. G. office building and the Rockefeller mansion, intact.

As one of the mainstays of Germany's war potential, the I. G. yielded the conspirators high profits. Included in those were the profits derived from the rendering the fat of the concentration camp victims. A war-criminal on trial recently related that Rockefellers' I. G. dictated which of the concentration camp victims should be exterminated and rendered. Since the war I. G., as the key of the worldwide Drug Cartel, has yielded the conspirators enormous profits. The Senate Committee that was headed by Sen. Kefauver brought to light that profits as high as 8,000% to 10,000% on essential drugs are quite usual. More recent events have revealed that many of these profitable drugs are deadly poisons.

Paul Nitze, who now professes to be a pacifist and in

favor of disarmament, was placed by Pres. Kennedy, presumably on the "advice" of Rockefeller, in the strategic and critical position of Assistant Secretary of Defense, in charge of International Security Affairs, a post that parallels that which Alger Hiss previously occupied in the State Department. Subsequently, he was appointed Secretary for the Navy, a vital spot in the nation's defenses. It was the opinion of many members of Congress that this was a strange post for a man of his record and character. But considerable pressure was brought by the conspirators to gain confirmation of his appointment. Nitze is a member in high standing in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

CHARLES ("CHIP") BOHLEN has been a "career man" who has filled many strategic posts in the State Department, since his graduation from Harvard U. He is a cousin of the German munitions manufacturer, Krupp von Bohlen, who has been a mainstay of the military might of Nazi Germany, and was convicted as a top war criminal.

Bohlen was a fellow member of Nelson Rockefeller and Alger Hiss in setting up the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis agency, the United Nations. He was appointed to serve as U. S. Ambassador to Soviet Russia, where he could serve as a liaison for the Communazi interests as represented by Hitler's Chief of Staff, General von Paulus (who after his capture before Stalingrad, was appointed by Stalin to the post of Soviet Chief of Staff) and his cousin's interests in Germany. The Krupp industries had been taken over by the conspirators as part of their war booty. Krupp von Bohlen who was imprisoned after his trial and conviction as a war criminal, was released in due time, and put in charge of the operation of the Krupp munitions industries by its new owners. Who those owners are, may be judged by the fact that Krupp was then financed with funds supplied by American taxpayers, through "foreign aid", in the expansion of his munition industries in South America and around the world.

Charles Bohlen now represents the conspirators as American Ambassador to France. Therein may lie an explanation of some of de Gaulle's more recent moves, including the recognition of Communist China.

ALLEN DULLES, brother of John Foster Dulles and fellow member of the law firm, Sullivan & Cromwell, that long represented Rockefeller interests in international affairs, and more particularly in their German interests. His uncle was Secretary of State Lansing, who faithfully served the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in the Wilson Ad-

ministration and World War I. John Foster Dulles, who married Janet Pomeroy Avery, a kinswoman of Rockefellers', served the Dynasty in directing the operations of the State Department since the 1920's, as their agent. The firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, headed by John Foster Dulles, secured full payment of German debts for the Rockefellers and their interests in dollars, but all other creditors were compelled to accept worthless German marks in settlement of their claims. John Foster Dulles was enabled to render his kinsmen this service in his dual capacity as their attorney and representative of the State Department. During these dealings, brother Allen was at his side.

When the conspirators launched on the build-up of Hitler and the Nazi Party, Allen Dulles served them as cloak-and-dagger agent. He was joined in this by his sister, Eleanor Dulles, wife of Jewish Professor of Romance Languages at Johns Hopkins University, Jacob Blondheim. (After the birth of their second child, Prof. Blondheim was driven to suicide by the situation; and Mrs. Blondheim resumed her maiden name, Eleanor Dulles, and "adopted" her two Blondheim children and renamed them Dulles.)

Allen Dulles served the conspirators so well in these matters that he was put in charge of the so-called Central "Intelligence" Agency that they set up for their purpose. Its organization was recommended by the conspirators, with the support of their agencies, for the pretended purpose of unifying all the intelligence and espionage services of the Government. It has served, instead, as a private Rockefeller-Soviet Axis agency that has invariably cut off all intelligence from our Armed Forces (insuring their defeat) and from the nation, as in the instances of Korea, Indo-China and Cuba. And more importantly, it has served, under the direction of Allen Dulles, to further the expansion of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and Communism around the world, and the betrayal of our military and our country.

Some indication can be had of the nature of the C.I.A. from the character of its personnel. For its virtually exclusive source of "intelligence" from Europe and the Iron Curtain countries, it has employed and depended upon Hitler's Chief of Intelligence, General Reinhard Gehlen. In 1963, a group of von Gehlen's C.I.A. operatives were exposed as Soviet Communist agents by West Germany, and tried, convicted and jailed for their crimes. Under C.I.A. pressure, von Gehlen was permitted to quietly drop out of sight.

Side by side with its Communazi agents, the C.I.A. has

employed as key agents some of the most notorious Reds and even officials of the Communist Party. Among these have been two notorious Red labor agitators, Brown and Lovestone. Khrushchev has boasted that he receives the reports of the C.I.A. before they are received by the President.

The services of the C.I.A. rendered to the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis in furthering the spread of Communism and the Iron Curtain around the world are notorious. Provided with almost unlimited funds and protected from investigation and exposure by Congress, by its cloak of secrecy, it has effected the betrayal of our country and of our allies on virtually every possible occasion. It stirred up riots, revolts and revolutions in country after country, including Iran, Egypt, Algeria, Cuba and Viet Nam. And since it has been given complete control of all military intelligence, it has assured the defeat of the American Armed Forces wherever they have been engaged. The role of Dulles and his C.I.A. in turning over Cuba to Castro and the Communists, and in making Cuba safe for Communism became so blatant, that Allen Dulles felt constrained to resign. He was succeeded as head of the C.I.A. by McCone, another member of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

These associates and agents are typical of the multitude that assemble and swarm about "philanthropist" Red, or "liberal", Rockefeller. Many more are presented in the author's ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist", to which the reader is referred for more extensive data on them. They have been integrated into numerous organizations of which they constitute the interlocking nuclei. The plan that has been followed in the setting up of this network is identical with that of Adam Weishaupt's "Reading Clubs". (65, pp. 294-6) And their purpose is the same: to regiment the membership, wittingly or unwittingly, into a force to undermine government and the Constitution, subvert our Republic and convert it into a totalitarian, monarchic and absolute dictatorship. With this nucleus it is planned to follow Jesuit Adam Weishaupt's program of a "One World" dictatorship using a so-called "United" Nations as an agency for a perpetual round of revolutions to accomplish the subjugation and looting of all.

Led by Rockefeller, a host of agencies serve to advance the "cause". Financing is managed at the cost of the taxpayers who are to be subjugated and despoiled, either indirectly through the tax-exempt foundations, or directly through dues. The top echelon and ringleaders have been assembled by Rockefellers in the Council on Foreign Re-

lations, which they completely dominate and control and use as a super-governmental agency and as a "Foreign Office". It is, in effect, as the author first pointed out more than a decade ago, Rockefellers' real governing agency of the U. S. and the world. Located at the southwest corner of Park Avenue and Sixty-eighth Street, in New York City, it stands opposite the building that was turned over to the Soviet partners of the Axis for use as headquarters for their U. N. Soviet Delegation agents (and on occasion, by Khrushchev) close by Rockefellers' "court", their Union Club, their top agency for subverting and Sovietizing local and State governments, their Institute of Public Administration, and their homes. (11)

The male associates and agents mentioned above are all among the thousands of members, past and present, of this top Rockefeller agency, the Council on Foreign Relations. They are there indoctrinated and groomed to serve their Rockefeller masters in government and diplomatic posts in due time. The great majority of policy-making positions and diplomatic posts of our Government have been filled, during the past four decades, by Rockefeller agents who have been primed and trained in the CFR to serve their masters. The Directors of the Council boast in their annual reports about the number of them who have been trained and planted in the Government. (17, 1949-50, pp. 39-40) They also boast about their success in duping the public into accepting the various phases of the conspiracy, about "forming public opinion." (17, 1948-9, p. 36)

In the ranks of the CFR have been included:

1. Some of the most dangerous of the conspirators' Communist agents.

2. Key banking, industrial and petroleum oil agents.

3. Key military and diplomatic agents, domestic and foreign.

4. Key contacts and liaison with the criminal syndicate and underworld.

5. Key columnists, correspondents, publishers, propagandists and Red authors.

6. Key scientists, "educators", college presidents, and Red clergymen.

7. Leading pollsters including George Gallup and Elmo Roper, who are assigned the task of seducing folks to "think right" and "vote right" by playing on their desire to conform and "back a winner."

8. Interlocking officers and directors of "philanthropic" foundations.

9. Key public officials and politicians.

10. A varied array of characters whose services are important for the moment, and who can be depended upon to echo their master's mad treason.

11. The controllers of all media of mass communication, radio, television, stage, motion pictures and numerous others.

Some of the most serious injuries done by these conspirators to the interests and safety of our country included the following:

1. The delivery of Berlin, that was readily within the grasp of the American forces, to the Soviets.

2. Stationing of American troops in Berlin, behind the Soviet lines with all communications cut off, except by tolerance or permission of the Communists.

3. The delivery of the German missile research laboratory at Dora, Saxony, with all of its equipment and personnel to the Soviets, after it had been seized by American Forces. This treasonously gave the Soviets their head-start in this field, and forced our country into a lag in missile and satellite technology.

4. Barring the Army from launching its satellite for many months after it was ready and giving the Soviets a propaganda victory by letting them be first to launch their orbiting missile, the Sputnik.

The limelight cast on this subversive organization and its Rockefeller bosses by this author's exposure of it in his ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist" led to strenuous efforts to present this malign, hitherto hush-hush agency in the light of a "public spirited" organization, in articles appearing in the press and in magazines. Failing in this purpose, the Dynasty's pressagents undertook to camouflage Rockefeller's domination of it by building the CFR up as the master and not the mere agency of the Dynasty.

This last maneuver has had the collaboration of numerous so-called "patriots" who have thus proved themselves mere agents of the conspirators, serving to provide them with a camouflage. In reality, they should be classed as quite as subversive and treasonous as the principals whom they thus undertake to shield.

The latest and most successful of these camouflage jobs was turned out by one of their Red hacks. In one of their low-grade magazines, he dubbed the CFR and other agencies THE ESTABLISHMENT. And he pronounced it to be a "wicked agency" into which the "innocent" Rockefellers have been unwittingly trapped. On Nelson Rockefeller, the darling of all Reds and "liberals", he attempted a "whitewash". The truth is that what he and

others have called **THE ESTABLISHMENT** is an abject creature of Nelson Rockefeller.

Among the numerous subsidiary organizations that interlock with the CFR in serving the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, is the Rockefeller subsidized and controlled Institute of Pacific Relations. The Senate Internal Security Committee investigators, under the order of Chairman Joseph McCarthy, obtained indubitable proof of the personal involvement of the Rockefellers in the activities of the IPR and its **AMERASIA** subsidiary, that the Committee pronounced to be an agency of Soviet propaganda and espionage, in files of correspondence seized in the mahogany furnished spy-nest camouflaged as a dilapidated barn on the Sunset Farm of IPR Secretary Edward C. Carter, at Lee, Mass. The correspondence there seized offered, in addition to the ample previously known personal activities of the Rockefellers in the IPR, evidence of their frequenting the barn spy-nest. The letters also linked the bosses of the conspiracy with their Communist agents. It would have served to further identify them as the ringleaders of the Communazi cabal. Though this data would have served to fully justify such charge, it was never used by Sen. McCarthy in his televised public hearings, because of odd, connubial pressure brought to bear on him. Failure to use that material may have sealed Senator Joseph McCarthy's fate. He knew too much.

On the domestic scene, numerous organizations, both subversive and subverted, have served the conspirators in perverting national and local governments, Sovietizing and looting them, and converting them to a planned dictatorship. Some of those organizations have been set up with the help of tax-exempt foundations of the conspirators. Others were old and respected organizations that have been taken over by the conspirators and converted to their purposes. Many of them have been subsidized by Nelson Rockefeller and his brothers.

At the "summit" in this group is the Institute of Public Administration which is located at 684 Park Avenue, New York City, as has been mentioned, that is grouped at that locale with the CFR, the former U.N. Soviet Delegation Headquarters and the National Municipal League. The organizations thus grouped together symbolize the real "One (Rockefeller) World" Government, but are generally overlooked by the sightseers who mistakenly turn their gaze to the "United" Nations Headquarters. The National Municipal League is devoted to robbing us "peasants" of our franchise by such devices as City Managers, quasi-public "Authorities" that are privately owned and



operated by the conspirators, stand above all law and are a law unto themselves, and Congressmen and other elective officials "at large" who do not represent the local electorate but do represent the conspirators who dictate their nomination; and to rule by dictation and to looting the "peasants" at municipal level.

Coordination of the organizations that further the conspiracy at its lower levels is provided by the Rockefeller financed and controlled Public Administration Clearing House that is located on the campus of their University of Chicago, at 1313 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago, Ill. It is popularly known by its street number, "1313". It ties in the conspirators' control numerous national organizations in every field of endeavor which are listed in its DIRECTORY. (38) Prominent among them are the GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE, the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, the COUNCIL ON STATE GOVERNMENTS, the INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION, the AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, the CONFERENCE OF CHIEF JUSTICES and numerous others. The local subsidiaries of these national organizations that are thus dominated and controlled, number in the thousands and extend into every nook and cranny of the nation and the world. Through them the conspirators conduct an unrelenting and relentless drive to lay the foundation for the planned dictatorship and Sovietization of the local governments in preparation for the national and international takeover.

**THE ESTABLISHMENT IS THE ROCKEFELLER DYNASTY. AND ITS HEAD IS NELSON ROCKEFELLER.**

## CHAPTER VIII

### **"NEW DEAL": GOVERNMENT "OF, BY & FOR" ROCKEFELLERS**

The Rockefeller acknowledgement and boast that he was the "New" Dealer closest to Pres. Roosevelt, in the magazine article in the New York Times of May 22, 1960, (12) settled any doubt as to its inspiration. There was lit-

the occasion for doubt on this score, however. The "New" Deal bore the obvious earmark of thievish conspirators. Every measure adopted was designed to amplify the monopoly of all phases of the economy that they had sought or established. And at the same time it duped and bribed the "peasants" at their own ultimate expense. It embodied every device outlined by Nickerson, their sociologist, in the blueprint that he had drawn up for the "New" Deal and published in 1930 (39), as the plan for converting our Republic into a monarchic dictatorship. "Relief" was the "crumb" aimed to purchase public support, during the looting, with public funds as in their bogus "philanthropies".

The first move of the "New" Deal made under the direction of Rockefeller and the Chase National Bank, was the "bank holiday". It was designed, and it served to tighten the conspirators' monopolistic control of banking, money and gold that they had attained through their fraudulent agency, the so-called "Federal" Reserve System. (10) It enabled them to bankrupt thousands of banks that competed with theirs, and to mercilessly loot and ruin their depositors. (48, pp. 146-51; 10) Many of the banks that were barred by them from reopening, and destroyed by them, were more solvent and more honestly operated than their own banks that invariably were given Government assistance to enable them to survive.

Their "Gold Order" that is attributed to their agent and puppet, Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt followed immediately. It enabled them to rob the nation and the people of all gold, and "fence" it through their private stock corporation, the fraudulent "Federal" Reserve Bank. (10) They were thus enabled to complete the thievish conspiracy that had been launched through their agent, Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin, of their University of Chicago, with the so-called "Gold Standard Act" of 1900. (28, p. 3)

Even the man whom the conspirators hailed as one of their leading authorities on the subject of money, Prof. Edwin W. Kemmerer, of Princeton University, decried this thievery of theirs and wrote:

"The continuance of the abandonment of the old gold coin standard at this time, in the judgement of the writer, was not a matter of necessity, but an act of deliberate choice." (55, p. 185)

The "deliberate choice" was that of the greedy conspirators who saw in the bewilderment of the nation in the panic and depression that they had engineered, a chance to make what was probably the biggest gold steal in world history. It was the "crowning climax" of their looting of

the nation and the world up to that time. They managed it by requiring all holders of gold and gold notes to surrender them to their "Federal" Reserve System. This was a flagrant violation of the Constitution that permits confiscation for eminent domain, for surrender to the nation in its interest; but prohibits confiscation for private interest or profit. This author made clear these facts in a letter to the N. Y. Times, at that time. (115: 22: 5) In a move to correct the flagrant violation of the Constitution on behalf of the conspirators, Pres. Roosevelt demanded and obtained the passage by Congress of a bill that required surrender of the gold to the Treasury. But this was merely another fraudulent dodge. For the gold was promptly turned over by the Treasury to the conspirators' "Federal" Reserve.

The gold was taken in by the banks at the rate of twenty dollars an ounce, and immediately thereafter revalued at thirty-five dollars an ounce. The Treasury then under the orders of the conspirators' agents planted in it, including Lauchlin Currie, then proceeded to buy gold in the world market, at thirty-five dollars an ounce, largely from the conspirators and their agents, at the expense of the taxpayers. Thus did the Rockefeller conspirators lay the foundation for their "gold withdrawal" manipulations that with the help of Nelson Rockefeller's pet, highly profitable, so-called "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" project has enabled them to engineer the current threat to the solvency of the Treasury, and the collapse of the value of the dollar. (10)

At the same time, the Government and the nation were robbed of even token, minority representation on the "Federal" Reserve Board, by the ousting of the Treasury Secretary and the Comptroller of Currency, *by an act of Congress*. They had originally been put on the Board for the purpose of duping the nation into believing that the "Federal" Reserve is a public institution. But by this time the myth had become so firmly established in the minds of the "peasants", after the passage of two decades, that the conspirators felt secure in ridding themselves of the "nuisance" of any public official who might "snoop" on their financial racketeering and thievery. (10) That facilitated following the plan of the conspirators' Soviet partner, Stalin (and of his idols, Weishaupt, Marx, and Lenin) of bankrupting the nation as the shortest road to American totalitarianism and Sovietization. Extremely significant was the appearance of the conspirators' agent, Treasury Secretary Dillon, before Congress, March 31, 1964, to oppose the Patman bill that would give control of their

"Federal" Reserve System to the people through the Treasury, at this critical time.

Establishment of a monopoly of industry was attempted by the "New" Deal conspirators, by two approaches. Through the "National Recovery Administration", so named to dupe the "peasants", a direct effort was made by them to cartelize American industry. But the Supreme Court had not been sufficiently "packed" by them and was not completely under their control. It frustrated their monopolist plot by declaring it un-Constitutional in its so-called "Chicken" Decision.

More successful, and more fruitful and effective, was their scheme, for which their agent, Senator Robert F. Wagner served as front, to attain control of industry through the "liberal" device of labor unionism. The Wagner Labor Relations Act, that was drawn up by the conspirators and introduced by their trusted tool, the Senator, provided a license for their takeover of both labor and industry through their gangster and Maffia agents in the capacity of so-called labor "leaders", or more rightly Labor Barons. The so-called Labor Relations Act, in reality, has served as a Magna Charta for their regimentation and virtual enslavement of workers, under the pretense of "protection". Under the guise of "labor rights" these criminal elements have been put above the law, and have been enabled to prey on the nation. Wrongs have been converted to so-called "rights" by the Act, when committed by these goons for their masters, the conspirators. So-called "collective bargaining" is frank and open collective blackmail of industry and the nation. (11, p. 37, 370-4; 48, pp. 208-17)

Rockefeller-controlled industries, including the Standard Oil companies and Rockefeller Center, as might be expected under the circumstances, have been singularly free of such collective blackmail and strikes. The mechanics whereby this has been attained has been related in connection with Nelson Rockefeller's building and operation of Rockefeller Center. These "good labor relations" boasted of in Rockefeller's Presidential campaign material MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER (44) are quite readily explainable on the basis of the collaboration of such Murder Inc. luminaries as Joe Adonis as "labor leader".

One might expect that even the psychopathic Rockefeller greed would be satisfied by the immense loot gathered in through the "New" Deal. That greed, however, is absolutely insatiable. And the immense loot still did not allay the Rockefeller psychopathic fear of poverty and insecurity. Nelson Rockefeller was introduced into new

and virgin fields to loot, by his subordinates of their Chase National Bank and their Creole Petroleum Co. (Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil) in South America. They took him for a tour of the Orinoco River, in 1937, on a Standard Oil yacht; and fired his greed to such pitch as to bring out his pose of "philanthropist". (61, p. 106) As is the tradition in the Rockefeller Dynasty, that pose was accentuated by acute awareness that other nationals, British, German and Soviet, had spied the loot and "had their fingers in the pie". Such a situation invariably impels the Uriah Heepish Rockefellers to pretend an interest in the "welfare" of their intended victims, especially when it costs them nothing, or little as compared with the obtainable loot; or if the cost can be foisted on the taxpayers by some such device as "foreign aid" and be made to yield them a profit.

Nelson Rockefeller rushed to the Berlitz school to learn the Spanish language, a course that he had "flunked" in school. He became an "ardent admirer" of everything Latin-American. Its backward "culture", its crudest "art", its noisiest and most raucous "music" were imported by the Dynasty at his dictate. And they were foisted by Rockefeller pressagents on our country, as a costless balm to the vanity of the natives. Especially appealing to the "liberal" Nelson Rockefeller have been the political practices and traditions of Latin America: its violent instability, its revolutions with opportunity for looting on a national scale, and its savage, absolute dictatorial regimes. These, it has been and is his purpose to import into the U.S.A. But thus far, he has managed to give us only its corruption, its treachery and its rigged "elections".

Rockefeller's initial predatory moves in Venezuela centered about Creole Petroleum, of which he has been a major stockholder, and at that time an executive. It brought down a prompt attack on him by the "liberal" and Communist elements, including a virulent attack by Romulo Betancourt. In accord with Nelson Rockefeller's craven practise of betraying friends and courting and appeasing enemies (which he has imposed on the U. S. as a "foreign policy") he assiduously has wooed his Communist attackers. (43, p. 118) It was in connection with discussions that he had with Pres. Lazaro Cardenas with respect to the expropriation of Mexican oil that had been effected by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators for the purpose of checking the glut in the world oil market, that Nelson Rockefeller formulated his initial bogus "philanthropic" scheme of Latin American "aid". He put it into effect during World War II at the expense of Amer-

ican taxpayers. As will be related, it netted for him a fabulous empire in Latin America and saddled on those lands the nucleus of Rockefeller-Soviet domination.

The traitorous plans for the precipitation of a world war for the expansion of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis power and the involvement of the U.S.A. in it for the purpose of bringing G.I.s to the rescue of Rockefeller-Standard Oil property in China (which was one of the prime purposes of the New Deal, as has been related) was steadily advanced by the conspirators. When the depression, that they had precipitated by means of their control of American and world finance through their so-called "Federal" Reserve System, threatened to clear up, in 1937, the conspirators deliberately precipitated another panic. For the conspirators depended upon the depression to facilitate the involvement of the country in a war.

Additional motives for desire to precipitate war had developed in the interim. Though the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators had attained one of their objectives in World War I, the control of Soviet oil by the deal into which they entered with Stalin (11, pp. 204-31), they had failed to get effective control of the Saudi Arabian and other Near East oilfields. Churchill and the British had made good on their deal with the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators to let their vassal, King Ibn Saud, give them the Saudi Arabian oil concession in payment for bringing the U. S. into the war to fight and finance it. But British resentment at the Rockefeller grab, as war booty, of German industry and especially of the Drug and Dye Cartel that had been regarded by the British as their property, had instigated their blocking the development of the Saudi Arabian concession. (11, pp. 374-89)

Rockefellers plan for breaking this impasse was the buildup of Hitler and Nazi Germany as an ally of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. In this plan they were aided by their German Jewish banking agents, the Warburgs, of the Kuhn Loeb crowd, in the initial financing of the Nazis. Hitler's later financing and direction was by way of the conspirators' I. G. Farbenindustrie A. G. The Rockefellers sent their personal publicity and propaganda agent, Ivy Lee, to Germany to advise Hitler and Goebbels on their propaganda technique, and the Nazi Party on the rearmament of Germany in defiance of the Versailles Treaty. The story is succinctly related in the author's ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist", as follows: (11, pp. 378-80)

"The Rockefeller interests turned to their pawns in World War I, the Germans, to set the obstructive British

Empire on its heels. As bosses of the German Dye Trust, I. G. Farbenindustrie, they controlled German industry and German government. On October 30, 1930, for instance, the press announced that the Standard Oil Co. had purchased the German alcohol monopoly. Inevitably, they played a large role in the rise of Hitler and exercised a large measure of control over the Nazi Party and its policies.

"The resurrection of German nationalism and militarism was a crafty move toward the destruction of the British Empire and its elimination as a bitter adversary in the control of the oil reserves of the world. Just as in the 1920's, after the Rockefeller interests had entered into their entente with Russia, they assigned Rockefeller's top publicity man, Ivy L. Lee, to advise the Russians on their propaganda and publicity and to build up favorable public opinion in the U. S. Ivy Lee was also assigned by the Rockefellers, on July 11, 1934, to serve their I. G. Farbenindustrie as publicity agent and to advise Hitler on the rearmament of Germany. It was announced that for this service the Rockefeller interests were paying Ivy Lee the sum of \$25,000 a year. Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil, and Edsel Ford were on the I. G. board. On August 14 of the same year, it was announced that Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey had acquired 730,000 acres of oil land from the North European Oil Corp., built extensive refineries in Germany for the Nazis and supplied them with oil, for which they were later paid, in June 1936, with 40 million harmonicas and a number of ships.

"The Rockefeller interests played a major, and possibly a key, role in setting Hitler and the Nazis loose on the world. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* echoed the views of John D. Rockefeller's associates, advisers and spokesmen on the topic of social organization and human, or inhuman, relations. The medieval, feudal type of dictatorship that is the essence of Nazism, was laid down as the pattern of perfect government for the U. S. and the world in his blueprint of the New Deal, *The American Rich*, by Rockefeller's associate and fellow member of the Union Club, Hoffman Nickerson, as related elsewhere. In that work is laid out the pattern of subversion and wiping out of all semblance of human freedom, the concept of a superior race ordained to rule a nation of divided minorities, whose racial stock eventually was to be purified by the elimination of "foreign" elements, especially the Jews. This anti-Semitism suited the purposes of the Rockefeller interests, because the directors of the operations of their fierce opposition in the British Empire, namely, the Royal Dutch

and Shell and the Anglo Persian and British Controlled Oilfields, were the Samuels family, the Rothschilds, the Monds, the Sassoons, and other Jewish families.

"Rockefeller's associate, Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, "scientifically" suggested the ruthless murder of "undesirable" and "inefficient" humans, whose existence he regarded as exemplifying that "waste" which the Rockefeller mentality so abhors. He published his views at full length in his book, *Man, The Unknown*. When Hitler took over France, Carrel turned there to help put his ideas into operation, with the cooperation of the Nazis and at their invitation.

"It should be noted at this point that much of the bond of inhuman sympathy between Hitler and Stalin can be attributed to Rockefeller and his agent, Ivy Ledbetter Lee. It was their entente that paved the way for the Nazi conquests.

"It was not until Hitler had arrived at Dunkirk, that the British awoke to the realization that unless they knuckled down to the Rockefeller Empire, their own Empire would face destruction. An agreement was hurriedly reached whereby the Rockefeller interests were given a free hand in the development of Saudi Arabia in exchange for their dragooning the United States into the war to fight it and pay for it, prompt conveying of the British merchant marine by the U. S. Navy, and the intensive launching of the sardonically labelled Lend-Lease program whereby the wealth of the U. S. was poured into the laps of England and her allies.

"Though Hitler could have crossed the channel in a matter of hours, and invaded England, some force deterred him and caused him to turn against Germany's ally, Soviet Russia, in a suicidal invasion attempt. The role played by the Rockefeller and I. G. interests in influencing this decision has yet to be fathomed. But it is clear that since they dominated Hitler and the Nazi party, they did play a role."

The Rockefeller conspirators had been enabled to intensify their stranglehold on the nation and the world by their "internationalist" activities in their League of Nations. They dominated it through its Secretary, their attorney, Raymond Fosdick and his "assistant", John D. Rockefeller the Third. To tighten their control of world finance, they required that every land that sought financial assistance of the U. S., at the expense of the taxpayers, authorize them to set up central banks that served to extend the power of their swindle, the so-called "Federal" Re-



serve System, to those lands as a condition for extending the loans. (10)

Through their League of Nations control, the Rockefeller conspirators were enabled to protect their allies and confederates, and serve their interests. Through it they were enabled to block any Allied resistance to the military aggressions of Nazi Germany and the violations of the Versailles Treaty which through their agents, Ivy Lee and others, they had actually encouraged. Also they were enabled to encourage their agent Mussolini to invade Ethiopia and seize for them the West Fafan oilfields, in the Harrar Province, that King Haile Selassie had refused to turn over to them, and which they now own. They provided Mussolini with financing and oil for the war, and with refineries at the expense of American taxpayers; and assured him that their League of Nations would not cut off the oil that was essential for the war, by the exercise of sanctions.

At home, the preparations for the war to expand the Rockefeller Empire and to "make the world safe" for their Soviet partners, went on apace, under the auspices of the Rockefeller-directed "New" Deal. In the Rockefeller and allied foundations and other subversive organizations established or dominated by them, the plot was laid for the setting up of a "United" Nations to take the place of the repudiated League of Nations.

Nelson Rockefeller, as master of the New Deal and "adviser" or boss of Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry L. Hopkins, played a dominant role in the preparation of "Lend-Lease" legislation drawn up to evade the Johnson Act (that barred American financing of lands that failed to repay their loans). The objective of "Lend-Lease" was to make American "peasant" taxpayers pay for the planned war. In order to make certain that those "peasants" could be dragged into the war to expand the Rockefeller Empire, as "self-employed" and self-paid mercenaries, the conspirators lobbied through the "rubber stamp" Congress their Universal Military Training Bill.

Nelson Rockefeller began laying his plans for evasion of the draft that he had helped impose on the "peasants". He turned to his Latin American scheme to keep him as far away from the military front as possible. His Red employees, Harry L. Hopkins and Anna Rosenberg played important roles in this arrangement; and they were helped by Eleanor Roosevelt. Rockefeller's usual device of a "committee" to echo his wishes included in their number Joseph Rovensky, Beardsley Ruml and Wallace K.

Harrison, among others. Though Rockefeller was, as has been acknowledged since, in the N. Y. Times (12) "closest adviser", or boss, of Pres. Roosevelt, both he and the Administration were fearful about what would be the public reaction to his open emergence into a draft dodging post in the Government.

James Forrestal, of Rockefellers' Dillon Read & Co. was first appointed "administrative assistant on Inter-American Affairs" to Pres. Roosevelt, the job in which Rockefeller was to succeed. Ten days later, it was announced that Forrestal had offered his job to Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller, pretending that he was a "Republican," made a show of deferring in the matter to the judgement of his pawn, Wendell Willkie. He flew to join the campaigning candidate at Salt Lake City, to "discuss the matter with him."

After he had made this show of "Republicanism", Rockefeller stepped into the post that Forrestal had "warmed" for him, and Forrestal was shifted to the post of Under Secretary of the Navy. Satisfied with the lack of public protest against his appointment, Rockefeller had Roosevelt officially appoint him, on July 25, "Coordinator" of Inter-American Affairs. Thus Nelson Rockefeller sneaked into an open appointment in the New Deal that he had directed, and into the Government, "through the back door". He had a pretext for evading military service under the draft. (43, pp. 128-33) This draft dodging was depicted by Rockefeller in his 1960 Presidential campaign biography, MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER, as a magnificent "public service". (44, pp. 9-11)

## CHAPTER IX

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER "COORDINATED" LATIN AMERICA

"The Instances Here Set Forth and Numerous Others Of The Same Character . . . Require The Conclusion That The Authority Granted This Corporation Has Been Exceeded . . ." (116, p. 50)

"(It) Would Permit The Perpetration Of Fraud With Concealment . . ." (116, p. 45)

Quoted From: Report On Audit Of Corporations Of The Inter-American Affairs Group. House Document #165, 81st Congress.

Nelson Rockefeller's draft-dodging evasion of military service, at an age when patriots were volunteering for service, was of exceptional import. For he had been active in lobbying the adoption of the Universal Military Training bill that would provide the Dynasty with self-paid mercenaries for extension of the Rockefeller Empire. It highlights the fact that Rockefeller scorns patriotism as a vice that is to be expected only of the fanatical "radical right". He has repeatedly proclaimed his dedication to the "Internationalism" that is the basic creed of Communism.

Draft evasion left Nelson Rockefeller free to dedicate himself to the task of "making money", that is a very "holy" cause of the Dynasty. He dedicated himself to so-called "coordinating" of inter-American affairs. These activities served to enormously swell his personal fortune, and the interests of the Rockefeller Dynasty, of the Standard Oil, of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and of others identified with them. This was accomplished at the expense of American taxpayers and of the Latin-American victims.

Rockefeller adopted a plan of Government corporate organization of his "coordination" that the Dynasty was instrumental in introducing in this country. Nelson Rockefeller and his cohorts have since made frequent and extensive use of it at various levels of government, national and local. We taxpayers now support more than seven hundred of them. The deficits which they designedly and constantly roll up now cost the Treasury and the taxpayers virtually all of the income from the Federal income tax that the Dynasty has imposed on us. If their vampire corporations that drain the Federal government were eliminated, we could dispense with the income tax.

The basic pattern of these corporations was developed by the Communists in Soviet Russia. It consists of a corporation to which are delegated governmental powers and function. An example with which we are familiar, is Amtorg. "Liberals" returning from "missions" to Moscow, such as Joseph Davies and Adlai Stevenson, have held them in high regard. (117) Domestically, the conspirators improvised and improved on the basic Red concept. They set up companies that take over private industry, or compete with it, are financed by the taxpayers through the government, but are given super-governmental status and powers that place them above the reach of either local or Federal laws, and are exempt from taxation. These governmentally financed corporations are given various names, the most popular of which is "authority". They

are ideal devices for looting both the government and the citizenry. And they are completely immune from interference, prosecution or redress.

The setup adopted by Nelson Rockefeller for his "co-ordination" consisted of five government corporations chartered in the State of Delaware which allows widest leeway to corporations. They were:

1. Institute of Inter-American Affairs, which extended the health and welfare programs launched by the Rockefellers through their foundations for the purpose of serving their interests in the lands.

2. Inter-American Education Foundation Inc. which extended the work launched by the General Education Board in those lands to serve the Rockefeller interests and to shift the burden of its cost to American taxpayers.

3. Institute of Inter-American Transportation that spent more than six and three quarter millions American tax dollars "rehabilitating" the National Railway of Mexico. About one third of the sum was spent on "administration". The purpose of this boondoggle came to light when Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests were paid for their expropriated properties almost the entire \$28,000,000 allowed by Mexico, and had some of their property returned.

4. Prencinradio Inc. the stated objective of which was "dissemination and interchange of knowledge and information" which was to be undertaken by this corporation by way of radio and motion pictures. It operated two radio networks in Uruguay; and financed the purchase of motion picture equipment in Mexico.

5. Inter-American Navigation Co. which was to improve transportation in Latin America by the purchase, construction and operation of small tonnage vessels in the Caribbean and Brazil. All of these corporations were supposed to operate in partnership with the respective Latin American governments. Their stock was all held by the "Coordinator" who completely controlled the companies, appointing their directors and members who held their appointments solely at his pleasure.

Among the directors whom it "pleased" "Coordinator" Rockefeller to appoint, were the following members of his Council on Foreign Relations who held posts in the State Department:

William L. Clayton, of the firm of Anderson Clayton & Co. that controls the cotton output of Brazil and was instrumental in reducing the cotton quota of American farmers during the depression in order to enhance the profits on imports. He is reported to be a kinsman of Roosevelt's.

John E. Peurifoy, whose "liberalism" and loyalty later came under fire, as a suspected "security risk" on moral grounds.

William Benton the "liberal" advertising man who, in partnership with the equally "liberal" Chester Bowles, curiously found such rich sponsorship as to amass millions during the depression, became vice-president of Rockefeller's University of Chicago and joined it in taking over the Encyclopaedia Britannica and converting it to their brand of Red "liberalism", and was Alger Hiss's superior in the State Department.

Spruille Braden, who distinguished himself as Ambassador to Argentine.

The account of the outfit included in the above quoted audit (116) is as follows:

"The office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was created in the Office For Emergency Management For the Executive Office of the President by Executive Order 8840, July 30, 1941, for the primary purpose of developing communication and cultural relations between American Republics in the interest of hemispheric defense. Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller was the first and only Coordinator. In March, 1945, the President, by Executive Order 9532, changed the name to Office of Inter-American Affairs and transferred to the Director of the latter office the duties, powers, responsibilities and functions of the Coordinator. Subsequently, by Executive Order 9710, dated April 10, 1946, the OIAA was abolished and the responsibility for liquidating its activities was transferred to the Secretary of State. At the same time, the order transferred to the Secretary the authority of the Director of the OIAA over the Inter-American Affairs and corporations.

"Under the authority of the 3rd Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1942 (55 Stat. 819) and subsequent Acts . . . providing funds for the creation and capitalization of corporations to carry out his program in the other American Republics, the Coordinator organized five corporations under the law of the State of Delaware."

The financial potentials of "Coordinator" Rockefeller in administration of his office that were discovered by the audit, are cited at the head of this chapter.

Incidentally to furthering the interests of himself and of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests, "Coordinator" Rockefeller did not neglect those of their Communazi partners. As has been related, he chose as his fiscal agent Paul Nitze, the nephew of World War I German agent,

Paul Hilke, and vice-president of the Dillon Read firm that had floated the issues that financed the German interests of the Rockefellers including their I. G. Farbenindustrie A. G. The I. G. chemical and drug cartel interests in Latin America were assiduously protected by a brother of "New" Dealer, Tom Corcoran. This was merely another phase of the deal that led Sen. Harry Shippe Truman in a report to the Senate on March 27, 1942, to accuse Rockefellers and their Standard Oil Co. (N. J.) of treason.

"Coordinator" Rockefeller subsidized the failing Nazi propaganda in newspapers in Latin America with the funds of American taxpayers, by advertising in their publication extensively. (31, p. 87) This he did in spite of the protests of the State Department. Rockefeller pressagent Morris alleges on his behalf that this was merely a "mistake". But it is quite obvious that it was no more of a "mistake" than their acknowledged treason that their kinsman, Sen. Truman, exposed. Nor was it any less so than other acts of "Coordinator" Rockefeller and his clique.

"Coordinator" Rockefeller did not neglect the Communist pawns of the Communazi cause and the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis totalitarian conspiracy. He employed only "liberals", which in this instance meant persons subject to Communist discipline, and cardholding members of the Party. Catholics were brusquely rejected when applying for employment for dealing with their Latin American coreligionists. Through his office, he subsidized their Communist partners in Latin America as liberally as he did the Nazis. In this manner, "Coordinator" Rockefeller made certain that Communist cells and his species of "liberals", exist in all Latin American countries. In those lands where none existed, where the Communists had not succeeded in penetrating, cells were provided. And where Communist cells existed, they were bolstered and reinforced. "Coordinator" Rockefeller sowed the Red wind from which we are reaping such whirlwinds as Jagans in British Guiana, Castro in Cuba, in Venezuela and in Panama, and more on their way.

As one of his top advisers and the head of his political research division, "Coordinator" Rockefeller appointed a notorious Communist agent, who was well known to the State Department as such, Bob Miller. Miller was editor of the Latin American Communist propaganda sheet, THE HEMISPHERE. It was well-nigh bankrupt when Rockefeller came to its rescue. Rockefeller bought the expurgated files of THE HEMISPHERE "for a substan-

tial sum of (taxpayers') money" and rescued it from bankruptcy.

Elizabeth Miller, the confessed Communist courier and spy, reported (63, p. 138; 155) that the Communist master spy ordered Bob Miller to apply to "Coordinator" Rockefeller for the key job. Miller, who knew that his notorious Communist record was well-known to the State Department, was incredulous. But he was assured that his Communist record would constitute no barrier; and that he could apply to Rockefeller with full confidence of getting the appointment. He was appointed without delay.

#### **WHAT COULD MORE CLEARLY REVEAL ROCKEFELLERS' IDENTIFICATION WITH THE COMMUNIST CAUSE AND THE ROCKEFELLER-SOVIET AXIS?**

The "alibi" offered by Robert Silverberg (61, p. 10) for his patron, Rockefeller, that his employment of Miller was "a mistake", is obviously false. For Rockefeller's record clearly indicates his consistent association with Communists and "liberals" of the same stripe as himself. The "explanation" falls flat in face of Nelson Rockefeller's record. **ROCKEFELLER HAS NEVER MADE THE "MISTAKE" OF BEING, OR OF EMPLOYING, A PATRIOT, OR AS HE LABELS THEM IN HIS RED JARGON, "A RADICAL RIGHTIST."** (66) In the "internationalist" histories that he and his foundations subsidize there has been evident the inclination to depict Benedict Arnold as a hero, and George Washington, the "isolationist" as a "radical rightist". In the not-so-distant past, the conspirators ordered the writing of an opera, for production by their "cultural" minions, that would depict Benedict Arnold as its hero, and George Washington as a villain. It is noteworthy that the Rockefellers have been singularly silent regarding Sen. Truman's characterization of their own and their Standard Oil activities as "treason." (11, p. 3)

For the purpose of diverting attention from the treacherous and thievish character of the fundamental activities of his "Co-Ordination" and at the same time subsidizing his crackpot Red followers, Rockefeller launched some of the most absurdly insane of the "cultural" boondoggles of the entire New Deal, at a cost to the taxpayers that he acknowledged to be \$259,000,000. Exposure of these by Sen. Hugh Butler, of Nebraska, in an article in the Reader's Digest brought to light the full extent of the Latin American "aid" graft of the conspirators, that totalled \$6,000,000,000 in three years. (67)

"Co-Ordinator" Rockefeller was summoned to appear

before a Senate Committee investigating the extent of the thievery. He appeared, with numerous charts prepared by his subordinates that serve to mask any manifestations of mental impairment, in an effort to deny the information that he himself had furnished Sen. Butler for his Reader's Digest article. But the Senator saw through the fabrications and followed up his original Reader's Digest article, entitled OUR DEEP DARK SECRETS IN LATIN AMERICA, with a second article entitled THEY ARE STILL DEEP DARK SECRETS.

For anyone acquainted with Rockefeller thievery there need have been no unsuspected "secret". The explanation for the dissipation of billions of the taxpayers' money on Latin American "aid" was the Rockefeller practise of "feathering their nest" and building up their Empire at public expense. Nelson Rockefeller, as "Co-Ordinator", made no secret of the fact that he expected to be richly rewarded for any "aid" from the moneys appropriated by Congress, on his demands, for the supposed "defense" of Latin America.

The Latin American Spanish press, at that time, carried in bold headlines Rockefeller's demands for payoffs to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in return for participation in any of the funds appropriated for their "defense". It was announced, for example, that "Coordinator" Rockefeller had openly informed the Bolivian government it would get no part of the handout unless the loot desired by those interests, including expropriated properties, were handed over to them. Mention has already been made in an earlier chapter of the resultant participation of the Rockefeller-Chase National Bank in the Patino tin mining venture, in the production of an inferior grade of tin that can not be adequately purified because of its arsenic and antimony content; and its enormous cost in money and lives in the World War II effort, and its profits to the unprincipled principals.

In Venezuela, "Coordinator" Rockefeller most successfully and profitably advanced their interests and those of their Company, the Standard Oil subsidiary, Creole Petroleum of which he was officer and large stockholder. He did it so crudely as to elicit Betancourt's wholly justified charge that he was "exploiting our country" with his specious, hypocritical and bogus pretense of humanity, benevolence and "philanthropy". (61, p. 107) A Venezuelan weekly publication commented:

"... it is now required that we open our doors to the Messiah . . . and grant him the exploitation of



hundreds of thousands of hectares of Venezuelan lands."

Rockefellers and their Standard Oil interests ran true to form. They looted Venezuela mercilessly. An indictment drawn up against them by order of President Medina, charged them with the theft of oil valued at two hundred million dollars by the crooked device of false registration of the capacity of their tankers, that had served as the sole index of the amount of oil purchased and the royalties to be paid thereon. The tankers had been listed at half their true capacity.

A settlement of the claim was made by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil thieves. It was reported to be about nine million dollars. Shortly thereafter, Medina was ousted as President in a "revolution" engineered for the purpose. He was replaced by a more "complacent" President. And Medina, exiled, moved to New York City to become a neighbor of the Rockefellers.

"Coordinator" Rockefeller did well for himself in Venezuela. He managed to "acquire" vast, rich land holdings there. They included the highland Monte Sacro ranch, that is described by biographer Manchester as "larger than the five boroughs of Manhattan". (9, p. 11) The land is especially valuable because it has been so long under cultivation. It was owned and developed by Bolivar and appears to have a high military strategic value. It can be reached readily only by plane. It is a Rockefeller duchy much like havens to which Medieval tyrants fled for refuge when driven to flight. It is admirably suited for the flight and refuge of both funds and persons. Nevertheless, when Rockefeller fled there for a honeymoon with his second wife, "Happy", he took along a bodyguard that included a Captain of the New York State Police.

"Coordinator" Rockefeller profited even more handsomely from his activities in Brazil. He acquired vast land holdings there, that centered in the State of Minas Gerais that is fabulously rich in natural resources. He is reported to have had as a silent partner in this acquisition the President of Brazil, Getulio Vargas. A small fraction of this holding is reported to have made Nelson Rockefeller, member of the Coffee House Club, one of the world's largest coffee producers. Thereby hangs the tale of the "coffee corner" that has mulcted American coffee drinkers of many millions of dollars by a manipulation of the coffee market with the money supplied by the victims of this manipulation. This is largely responsible for the disappearance of the five cent cup of coffee.

The story of this deal was published by this author in the February 1954 issue of his news bulletin entitled WAKE UP AMERICA, which is here reproduced.

"The coffee market has been cornered, it is reliably reported, and cartelized. Brazil's largest and wealthiest property owner is Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, of 2500 Foxhall Road, Washington, D. C. Rockefeller is reported to own over seven billion dollars worth of property obtained largely as a reward for aid given by American taxpayers to the Brazilian government and its coffee growers through various agencies which he dominated, including the Inter-American Affairs Administration, the State Department, the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 Program and other U. S. Government devices; and through the Rockefeller Foundation and IBEC. These foreign holdings of Rockefeller's have additional value as a device for evading inheritance taxes because of a joker that has been written into the inheritance tax laws that exempts from taxation property held in foreign lands.

"Nelson Rockefeller is regarded locally as the real political boss in Brazil, and the power behind Getulio Vargas, its President (just as he is the real power behind our local Administration). His activities have made Americans intensely disliked in Brazil.

"As the largest property-owner in Brazil, Nelson Rockefeller ranks high among the producers of coffee.

"About two months ago, a three hundred million dollar loan that had been extended by our Government to Brazil for its coffee interests, through the Import Export Bank, came due. This money was largely used for the purchase and storage of coffee, to create a corner of the market. The loan was secured by the cornered coffee. Payment of the loan would have required the sale of some of the coffee and would have resulted in a drop in the price of coffee in the world market. To prevent this, the Import Export Bank was "induced" to extend the loan. Since then the price of coffee has been pushed up steadily by the Coffee Cartel, thanks to the help extended to the gougers by American taxpayers through the Treasury Department, at the instance of Rockefeller, who from the beginning has suffered no injury from this "philanthropy."

"The New Deal devices of restriction of crops, bonuses for not producing, and others, which are largely paid for by the American taxpayers and consumers, in both capacities, have been an important aid to the monopolists in setting up their corner. The frost, which they have used as a pretext, was a minor factor. Warehouses bulge with coffee in Brazil, Colombia, Central America, Porto Rico,

Java, Sumatra, Ethiopia and the tropical sections around the world where coffee is cultivated. But the monopolists have done a good job of making the U. S. dependent on their Brazilian coffee, by various devices that they have brought into play in the past decades.

"The cartelization of coffee is but one of the many cartels in which the Rockefeller Empire revels, aside from their oil cartel. Their drug and narcotic cartel, centering about the I. G. and its international agencies and allies, gouge the public mercilessly, and exact the same price for the same dosage of all life-saving antibiotics. Their milk cartel has driven the price of milk from six to twenty-eight cents a quart within a period of months. In the paper and news-pulp industry, the Board of which is headed by John D. Rockefeller III as chairman, the cartel has forced the price from sixty to two hundred and sixty dollars a ton. Now they are not faring too badly in coffee.

"In the meantime, their press agents proclaim the Rockefeller "philanthropy". Will the American housewife believe it? Or will she finally discern that she and her fellow Americans are the real philanthropists and Rockefeller "suckers"?

"Rockefeller's top press agent, Francis A. Jamieson, was sent to Brazil when the storm over coffee prices broke loose and committees were sent to Brazil to "investigate", presumably to keep the Holy Name of Rockefeller out of the press in connection with coffee.

"Rockefeller deals such as these have been materially aided by the usurpation of power by their dummy Presidents under the New, Fair and "Ike" Deals. They have been able to thumb their noses at the people and at those of their elected representatives who might desire to serve them. They do this through "treaties" and "executive agreements" which impose their interests and will on the Nation in spite of the people. Through this device they have made themselves super-dictators who are free to loot and despoil the people and to override the Constitution. Such deals as World Wars I and II, Korea, the Coffee Cartel, and the enormous profits from them, would not be conceivable if a check and balance such as the Constitution provides on dictatorial powers of the President, were restored."

An ugly by-product of the Brazilian coffee corner was the strange, violent death of Pres. Getulio Vargas. He had been induced to intensify the "corner" by buying offerings that came into the market. He was promised that they would be taken off his hands. The financing promised him failed to materialize. When the sharp break in the cof-

fee market was precipitated by a boycott of coffee incited by the American press (controlled by the conspirators), Pres. Vargas found himself over-extended and bankrupted by the betrayal. Frantically, he phoned Nelson Rockefeller, almost every half hour; but was informed, by the secretary sitting at his side, that he was not available. Hours later, Pres. Vargas came to a violent end. The demonstrations by Vargas's followers centered about the Standard Oil office building in Bello Horizonte which houses the American Consulate. The incident added flames to the anti-American feeling in Brazil and materially advanced the cause of Communism there.

The coffee cartel agreement whereby the American market is assigned to the conspirators' Brazilian coffee and the price of coffee will be maintained at an artificially high level, has been renewed in 1963 through the conspirators' "United" Nations International Coffee Council. (102) This will insure the conspirators of a high level of profit for their monopoly of the American coffee market, that will be gouged out of the American consumer for an inferior grade of coffee. The irony of the situation is intensified by the fact that the coffee "philanthropists" have financed their gouging of us "peasants" at our expense as taxpayers, in much the manner of their other swindles.

These are a few examples of "co-ordination", the profits of which have been extremely high. They exemplify the so-called "foreign aid" to which Nelson Rockefeller has whole-heartedly dedicated his most assiduous personal effort, unstintingly, during the past two decades. The costs have been so enormous as to threaten bankruptcy of the Treasury that is being brought on by the resultant unfavorable payment balance. That is being further intensified by the conspirators by the deliberate use of the credits that they have established overseas through the "foreign aid" diversion to transfer to their foreign accounts the gold of which they looted the nation through their New Deal. In short, Nelson Rockefeller's "co-ordination" was merely his device for continuing the despoiling of us American "peasants", in the name of Latin America, that had been practised by the conspirators during the 1920's by the sale to the suckers of bonds. The conspirators had profited handsomely from the earlier "Latin American" bond issues. Often as much as 90% of the moneys raised by those issues remained in the hands of the conspirators. Nelson Rockefeller, as "Co-Ordinator", improved on the technique of the earlier swindle that had been put on the basis of voluntary "investment" (except for "pressure" brought to bear on banks and other agencies to "invest"

and induce their customers to "invest"). Through "co-ordination", every one of us American "peasants", as taxpayers, were levied upon to contribute to the spoils of the conspirators. All of which demonstrates how criminal psychopathy can be "improved" in successive generations by breeding and training!

These and other equally reprehensible activities throughout Latin America, Nelson Rockefeller has the brazen effrontery to have his propagandists represent to the public, in his campaign biography entitled **MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER**, as attaining "The Result: a Hemisphere Unified" (44, p. 11); and portraying "A New Sort of Capitalist" (44, p. 13). Presidential candidate Dr. Arturo Illia, of Argentina, pointed up the irony of those absurd misrepresentations in his 1963 campaign by advocating cancellation of the Standard Oil Co. concessions obtained in that land by "greasing the palm" of their agent Peron with a "loan" of \$125,000,000.00 from the American taxpayers. Following his inauguration, he cancelled the concessions.

Following the custom initiated by his adored grandfather, Nelson undertook to mask his predatory activities in Latin America, when they were exposed and reviled, by a pose of bogus "philanthropy". This camouflage was set up by him, in July, 1946, as the American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA). Through pretense in the welfare of the natives, Rockefeller cunningly forced the governments, particularly in Venezuela and Brazil, to enter into partnership with him. This traditional Rockefeller scheme gave entree to the local governments to the conspirators and served to mask their predatory activities. Then Rockefeller bailed the Dynasty out of these pseudo-philanthropies through the "Point 4" and other so-called "foreign aid" programs. The most recent is his Alliance for Progress that Pres. Kennedy launched at his instance. These so-called "foreign aid" programs are cunningly contrived to serve Rockefeller's interests at the expense of the American taxpayers. The native Latin Americans accredit what little benefits they may receive from them, to Rockefeller. And we, the "Yanqui" taxpayers, who are plucked for this Rockefeller aid, are reviled by the Latin Americans because those meagre benefits are merely cover-ups for gigantic Rockefeller-Standard Oil steals, and for the spread of Communism.

Under the cover of this display of their brand of "philanthropy" Rockefellers engage in cutthroat competition with local enterprise, again at the expense of us Amer-

ican "peasants", through a commercial organization that is largely owned by the members of the family and some associates, which they have named the International Basic Economy Corporation. As the title indicates, its basic purpose is to carry out in the countries involved, the fundamental Rockefeller racketeering scheme of monopolizing and profiteering in all necessities of life from producer to consumer. Recently the Rockefellers have extended IBEC's operations to other lands, including Italy, where its advantages to themselves, and its *modus operandi* have come to light. It will be detailed in a later chapter.

The vicious and malodorous activities of Rockefeller in Latin America, whether "coordination", or "foreign aid" by any other of its titles, operate, unfortunately, with the sanction and cooperation of puppets in every branch of our Government. They are regarded, therefore, as operations of our Government and of ourselves. Many of its aspects, such as the cut-throat competition offered to local merchants and producers by Rockefeller's IBEC, has created intense animosity against us and our Government.

The hatred of the U. S. bred by the ruthless activities of the conspirators who operate in our name, is a significant factor in swinging public sentiment in many of those lands, such as Venezuela, Argentine, and Brazil, toward Rockefellers' Soviet partners, the Communists. They greatly simplify the conspirators' task of national and international looting. Communism makes an absurdly simple appeal to the larceny in the heart of most humans, with its ideology and pseudo-philosophy. This reduces the conspirators' game to a simple formula of: "Heads I win, tails you lose."

That the Latin-Americans are not as gullible as are we domestic "peasants" regarding the Rockefeller pose of "benevolence" and "philanthropy" is evident from the comments in their press on the subject. O SEMANARIO is quoted by Morris (43, p. 243) as labelling Rockefeller "NUMBER 1 ENEMY." If our citizenry could be awakened from their "philanthropic" brainwashing sufficiently to realize that he is also "NUMBER 1 ENEMY" of ourselves, our country and the world, we may be spared the disaster that the conspirators plan for us.

## CHAPTER X

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, "SERVED" THE U. S.

Versatility "in making money" is a tradition in the Rockefeller Dynasty. And Nelson Rockefeller, the "Co-Ordinator", proved himself excelling in the "art". He "flitted about South America attending presidential inaugurations and revolutions indiscriminately, superseding the accredited U. S. Ambassadors, assuming the role of Uncle Sam in his high silk topper, embracing a president here and a concession there, magnificently cloaking the Rockefeller Empire with the waning majesty of the United States and expanding it with the squandered funds of the looted American 'peasants'" (11, p. 46) These activities did not deter him from joining his brothers and the Dynasty's Standard Oil and other agents in betraying and looting our country, engaging in the activities that kinsman Sen. Harry Shippe Truman characterized as treason; in engineering World War II for the protection and expansion of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and forcing our entry in it by maneuvering the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor through their agents and spies who were sent by their Institute of Pacific Relations to join the Richard Sorge spying in Tokyo to accomplish that purpose; in forcing their American "peasants" to serve as self-paid mercenaries by their imposition of Universal Military Training and militarism; and in mercilessly looting the U. S. and the world.

In these activities, Nelson Rockefeller craftily operated behind the scenes to avoid being publicly identified with his unsavory activities and to avoid attracting too much attention to his "slacking" and draft dodging. He was, however, the "soul" of the New Deal, and "closest adviser" of Roosevelt in all matters, including the conduct of the war. Sitting in on Cabinet meetings and the various super-governmental agencies that had been set up in the Rockefeller Foundation that he controlled with his family, he was able to place their Rockefeller-Soviet agents in the most strategic posts to serve their interests, and even to

dictate the strategy of the Joint General Staff in the conduct of the war. As might be expected of one of his mentality and training, sight of "profits" was never lost. The fattest war contracts with the largest profits, often not for the best materials and equipment went to industries controlled by the conspirators. These industries, as stressed by Sen. Truman, were as often in the enemy camp as in our own, constituting a potent motive for the treason of which he rightly accused his kin, the bosses of Standard Oil. There was little urgency to bring the war to a close and thereby reduce profits from war contracts and production on both sides of the battle lines. This was merely a repetition of the old Rockefeller custom, of playing both ends against center, of pretending to fight an "enemy" whom they completely control.

As the close of the war drew near, "Co-Ordinator" Nelson Rockefeller moved to be "in on the kill". He "advised", or ordered, Roosevelt to transfer him and his CIAA to the State Department, superseding the career personnel. Pres. Roosevelt had no need to "advise" his newly appointed Secretary of State Stettinius, Rockefeller agent and member of their Council on Foreign Relations, to make Nelson Rockefeller Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. (61, p. 113) There Rockefeller joined numerous pals and agents including Alger Hiss, Owen Lattimore, Joseph E. Johnson, William Benton and John Foster Dulles.

The Communazi vermin with which Rockefeller had filled his CIAA literally "crawled out of the woodwork" and further infested the State Department, ready to do his bidding. Paul Nitze, nephew of German agent and spy, Paul Hilke, Rockefeller's CIAA finance director, was quickly transferred to the Defense Department to direct the "strategic bombing" of Germany, with the resultant benefit, or profit, to the conspirators that has been noted, and preservation for them of a major factor in the military potential of Germany. It served to conserve for them the huge wartime profits of the I. G. Farbenindustrie. These included those derived from the rendering of the fat of the concentration camp victims whom Rockefeller, through his Rockefeller Institute employee and agent Alexis Carrel, had "philanthropically" arranged to advise Hitler to exterminate as "unfit". It was the first step in the conspirators' process of fully restoring the martial powers of their German pawns that terminated in freeing and reinstating their State Department agent Charles Bohlen's cousin, Krupp von Bohlen, to control of the Krupp munition plants. Needless to say, Rockefeller's CIAA Com-



munist employees joined their confreres in the State Department. And many of them undoubtedly found their way into kinsman Allen Dulles's espionage agency operated for the Rockefeller Empire, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Allen Dulles used as his exclusive source of espionage information in Europe and the Soviets, Hitler's Nazi chief of intelligence, Gen. Reinhard Gehlen. Three of his top operatives Heinz Felfe, Hans Clemens and Erwin Tiebel were convicted of treasonously serving as Soviet agents, by the Federal High Court of West Germany, on July 23, 1963. (70) This serves to highlight the doubly treasonous character of that Rockefeller agency as a part of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. And it serves to explain the disasters our country has suffered in Korea, Cuba and elsewhere.

Many strange developments in the later stages of World War II are undoubtedly traceable to the influence of Pres. Roosevelt's "closest adviser" (12), Nelson Rockefeller and his subversive CIAA crew infiltrated into the State Department to collaborate with numerous agents of the conspirators who filled its ranks. These include:

1. Paralyzing of all investigations of Communist subversion, including the abolition of the War Department Counter Intelligence Corps, the disruption of its system for preventing the penetration of Communists and other subversives into its ranks, and the destruction of its records; the destruction of the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the drive on Martin Dies, its chairman; the penetration of Reds through the public relations organization of the Armed Forces and all government agencies.

2. Restraining of Gen. Patton's readliy to be effected drive to overrun Germany and to take it over; and Patton's "accidental" death when he showed an inclination to disregard orders and block the Communists from taking Berlin and East Germany; delivering East Germany to the Soviets for sacking.

3. Stationing of GIs in Berlin behind Soviet lines with no lines of supply and communication except by consent of the Communists, a position in which no loyal commander would place his troops.

4. Turning over to the Communists the missile base at Dora, Saxony, with all supplies, equipment and personnel after they had been seized by American troops. This gave the Soviets, most treasonously, a headstart which we have not been able to overcome. And it has given their Communist cause tremendous propaganda advantages.

5. Betrayal of all allies into the hands of the Rockefel-

ler-Soviet Axis, including Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese Nationalists, Mihailovich and the Serbian anti-Communists; the delivery to the Soviets of Russian anti-Communists, for slaughter, and of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and much of the rest of the world. This betrayal of friends and allies has long been a Rockefeller custom on which they pride themselves. And they have imposed it on our country as its "foreign policy", to serve their own Axis interests. It lies behind the treacherous Yalta Conference which was a deal for betrayal of allies and for the promotion of Soviet Communist expansion around the world. Their objective is looting jointly, in exchange for a free hand in the development of Saudi Arabian oilfields at the expense of American taxpayers.

6. Surrender of the sovereignty of our country to their Rockefeller-Soviet Axis through their "United" Nations agency, a successor of their League of Nations, for the purpose of more effectively looting one and all.

7. Lobbying and launching an endless array of schemes for looting of American taxpayers and bankrupting the Treasury to facilitate their subversive conspiracy, in the name of "foreign aid".

8. The State Department, that John D. Rockefeller had boasted had served him as a loyal agency (7, p. 63) and that had been directed in the service of his interests by kinsman John Foster Dulles, finally came under the personal direction of Nelson Rockefeller.

Paralyzing and putting an end to investigation and exposure of the Communists whom the Rockefellers and their agencies and "philanthropies" had subsidized and infiltrated into all the agencies of their "New Deal" to further plots and plans for the takeover of our country and its betrayal, has been absolutely essential for the Rockefeller Dynasty. (11, pp. 204-31) It amounted to blocking exposure of themselves as the arch-conspirators. Chairman Martin Dies and "reformed" Communist investigator, Dr. J. B. Matthews, had carefully protected the Rockefeller "philanthropists" from exposure of their activities in the Communist cause, in their investigations for the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). The continuation of the investigations of that Committee by the subcommittee of the Senate, that later was headed by Sen. Joseph McCarthy and others, would have led inevitably to the exposure of Rockefellers' personal roles in the fostering of Communism.

Rockefellers' interest in fostering the thorough penetration of all governmental agencies by Communist pawns was vital to them and their "holy" profits. Communism is

the most efficient of thievish devices, that permits thievery on the widest, nation-wide scale. Their interest, for which they had engineered World War I, was control of Russian oil and the development of Saudi Arabian and Near Eastern oilfields without interference from Soviet Russia. That was the nub of the deal that they had made with their agent Stalin, that constituted the basis of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. (11, pp. 204-18) Since it is an undeviating purpose of the Communists to spread their doctrine as a device for gaining a conquest of the world, it is obvious that the Rockefeller-Standard Oil negotiators must have agreed to foster Communism in the U. S. and elsewhere; and to promote Communist penetration in the government and all its divisions, especially the Armed Forces. To accomplish this purpose it was essential that Rockefeller eliminate any barriers that had been set up against Communist penetration of the "Popular Front" that they had imposed on the nation in the guise of the "New Deal". Nelson Rockefeller's role as closest and chief "adviser" and boss of Pres. Roosevelt placed him in the key position to enable the conspirators to attain their goal. And his presence in the State Department as Assistant Secretary to direct the activities of the subversive agents of his Council on Foreign Relations insured against any slip-ups. It is noteworthy that the most subversive and treasonous of the orders involved were issued by the conspirators' puppet, Roosevelt, and were carried out by such of their agents of the CFR as Frank Knox, Henry Stimson, Adlai Stevenson, Gen. George Marshall and John J. McCloy.

The first overt move to attain the conspirator's objective was Rockefeller puppet's, Pres. Roosevelt's order to Secretary of War Knox, pressed by Adlai Stevenson, requiring the Navy to permit known Communists to serve as radio operators despite the objection of Admiral Staton, who was in charge, that they constituted a menace to national security. The Admiral was ousted. (71, p. 10)

There followed in more or less rapid succession the destruction of the Armed Forces' records on Communists ordered by Lt. Gen. J. T. McNarney and supported by Gen. G. Marshall; the abolition of the Counter-Intelligence Corps and the sabotage of the counter subversive system of the Armed Forces, under the direction of Assistant Sec. of War John J. McCloy (71, pp. 11-13); and finally, by an order dated Dec. 30, 1944, shortly after Nelson Rockefeller's appointment as Asst. Sec. of State, the commissioning of known Communist traitorous agents in the Armed Forces with the support of his CFR agents John J. McCloy and Maj. Gen. Clayton L. Bissell (who was then Chief of Intelli-

gence in the War Department). (71, pp. 13-4) Subsequently Bissell was transferred to the CIA, where he served the conspirators ably in insuring the failure of the pretended scheme to overthrow their Cuban agent, Fidel Castro, in the Bay of Pigs "invasion".

The conspirators' influence in bringing about the destruction of the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee was undoubtedly facilitated by Pres. Roosevelt's desire to do away with the records of his own and his negroid consort, Eleanor's, Communist activities. Nelson Rockefeller's interest in their destruction did not emanate from any mention of his own Red activities and the support of Communist causes. For any mention of that "philanthropist" was carefully deleted from the records of the hearings, following the usual practise that has been mentioned. The records, however, of numerous of his pals, associates and agents were involved. And their destruction could not be anything other than desirable to the conspirators, as was also the defeat of the Martin Dies and other of the HUAC chairmen who undertook to carry out their assigned duties.

The conspirators' purpose was in some measure defeated by the scheming cupidity of one of their "reformed" associates, Rev. J. B. Matthews, chief investigator for the committee. He had the records of the HUAC printed by the Government Printing Office during the night preceding the receipt of the order issued by the conspirators for their destruction, as APPENDIX IX. So hurried was the job that Matthews failed to remove from the records numerous citations of his own subversive activities. However, APPENDIX IX was withheld from the public and even from governmental agencies such as the Immigration Department. The bulk of the edition was usurped by the conspirators or distributed among their associates. With it, Matthews set himself up as an "anti-Communist authority". He became consultant on the subject to Hearst publications, and enriched himself by selling the citations of persons that the Party had reasons to purge, reportedly for the sum of five dollars per citation. Matthews has consistently blocked the release to the public or to governmental agencies of APPENDIX IX, maintaining that record, that was prepared at public cost, as his private property. He has resorted to court action to prevent its reproduction by an Ohio American Legion Post, alleging that since it was the records of the HUAC the public, other than himself and his friends, had no right to it. And oddly enough, he was upheld by the court in retaining it as a private record. In this manner Matthews has served the

cause of the Party by exposing the record of citations only of those persons who have been purged by it. He has hidden his own unenviable subversive record, and has added to it by blocking the nation from protecting itself from Communists whose records have been investigated and exposed, in vain, at the expense of the taxpayer. (APPENDIX IX has been made available on microfilm by this author and may be had at a nominal cost from CHEDNEY PRESS.)

Continued exposure of the Reds and their collaborators would inevitably have led to the exposure of the Rockefellers themselves. As it is, it is only the mental sluggishness and veneration of the supposed "philanthropy" that blinds the public from identifying Rockefellers as ring-leaders of the subversive causes. Numerous of their agents who have been publicly identified as supporting Red causes have continued to be openly associated in business and industry with their Rockefeller bosses. Thus John J. McCloy has been a Rockefeller-Standard Oil attorney. After his involvement in the adoption by the Armed Forces of the policy of giving commissions to known Communists and after openly testifying that he and his fellow conspirators were content with placing our GI's under the command of officers who were 51% loyal to the U. S. and 49% loyal to the Communist cause, he was promoted by the Rockefellers to head their Chase Manhattan Bank and to dictate monetary policy to the Treasury.

These facts make quite obvious the answer to the question: "Who Promoted Peress?" The ultimate authority in the matter is directly traceable to the Rockefeller conspiratorial agents infiltrated in our government at all levels. Nelson Rockefeller's threats and boasts to "frame" Sen. Joseph McCarthy, whom he had supported, and to destroy him for his repetition of exposure of the conspirators and their agents, is readily understandable.

The almost incredibly traitorous policies followed by the American Armed Forces, on the basis of orders from higher up, transmitted through the Joint Staff headed by Gen. G. Marshall and carried out by the field commander, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, quite obviously served the purposes of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests and their Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. The restraining and disposal of Gen. Patton, the yielding of East Germany and Berlin to the Communists, the stationing of our GI's in Berlin with no lines of supply and communications other than those yielded by the Soviet occupying troops, and the turning over to them of the missile base at Dora with all its supplies, plans, secrets and personnel, undoubtedly

earned for the conspirators the gratitude and cooperation of Stalin and the Soviets and served thus the interests of their Rockefeller-Standard Oil partners. But it also served the Rockefellers in other manners.

The Rockefellers, under the direction of Laurance, have taken over the role of Basil Zaharoff as munitions king of the world. The treasonous acts enumerated could be expected inevitably to insure the threat of Soviet aggression and war, and thus prove a stimulus to the munitions business, and to serve as an excuse for looting American, and other taxpayers on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The considerable missile and satellite advances made and planned by the Germans at their Dora laboratory, they had deliberately planned to prevent falling into the hands of the Communists by moving from Peenemunde to Dora, which was in line of advance of the American forces. The conspirators, by frustrating these plans, gave the Soviets the upperhand and an almost insuperable headstart over the U. S. that would be certain to goad it into unlimited expenditure of tax funds in an effort to catch up in this phase of the munitions industry.

Since the major as well as minor companies engaged in the production of missiles and accessory equipment are controlled by the Rockefellers, the profits that have accrued to them from this single aspect of treachery has been enormous. Their profits from the other military advantages treacherously given their Soviet partners accounts for many billions of our annual military budget accruing to them. The advantages in the oil and other industries with which the Soviets have rewarded the conspirators and their industries, include monopolistic control of oil exported from the USSR, that is marketed by Standard Oil Co. (N. J.) under their Esso brand; and freedom of interference in their production and sale of Saudi Arabian and Middle East oil. These items alone enriched them by many more billions of income. The cost of the oil imported into the U. S. from those fields is playing a major role in creating the unfavorable balance of trade that threatens the solvency of our Treasury. This serves as an excuse for their juggling of the gold which they looted from Americans in 1933 through their "Federal" Reserve System. It is preparing the way for their merciless looting of the nation and the world by the device of inflation and a financial "crisis" thereby engineered. The treason with which kinsman Truman charged them proved enormously profitable.

In order to further intensify the missile rivalry, and thereby to greatly magnify the "take" from the taxpayer

on this score, the conspirators blocked the Army from launching its Jupiter missile for a period of more than a year after it was ready to be launched, with the consequence that the Soviets claimed that they had launched their first orbiting missile, their so-called "Sputnik" and profited from the propaganda value of their claim. The conspirators then announced that our Soviet rivals had outstripped us in the missile rivalry and that we American taxpayers would have to hand out unlimited sums to their missile industry in order to attempt to catch up. The conspirators made no mention of the fact that the Soviet's claimed "achievement" was the consequence of their multiple treacheries.

## CHAPTER XI

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER & AMERICA'S BETRAYAL TO AXIS AT "UNITED" NATIONS

"I was wholeheartedly committed to the battle at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 for the inclusion of Article 51 in the United Nations Charter . . ." Rockefeller: *Future Of Federalism*, p. 77 (42)

Not content with looting the nation of its material wealth, the conspirators have undertaken to rob it of its sovereignty; and us, their "peasants", of the liberty assured us by the Constitution. This they have undertaken to do by the device planned by Jesuit Adam Weishaupt, when he revived the Nazarene conspiracy on Mayday 1776, by the so-called "United" Nations. As has been related, this plot was hatched in Rockefellers' "Philanthropic" Foundation Trust and by their CFR agents and associates, as a replacement for their League of Nations that had not only been rejected by this country but had also been discredited as a Utopian agency for peace. The stellar role in the UN fraud had been given by the Dynastic conspirators to their agent, Alger Hiss.

Nelson Rockefeller's dominant role in the betrayal of the sovereignty of our country into the claws of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, by way of their "United" Nations was masked in some measure by waiving of his appointment to the original U. S. Delegation to the San Francisco organization conference in 1945. His name does not appear on either the State Department list of the delegation,

or in that of the "United" Nations. After the delegation had been set up from persons selected from among the agents of the Rockefeller Dynasty, Nelson Rockefeller obtained his appointment as behind-the-scene "adviser."

But the key role played by Nelson Rockefeller in the "United" Nations betrayal of our country is clearly revealed by a number of things, that includes a frank statement by Sen. Arthur Vandenberg. The Senator had been leader of the patriotic element on the floor of Congress. He and other patriots had been vilified as "isolationists" in an intensive, vicious campaign in the press and in all media of mass communication controlled by the conspirators, that matched that which they later launched against Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Additional pressure was brought to bear on patriotic Sen. Vandenberg. It reeked of blackmail, in the form of threats of exposure of the sexual deviation of his son who was employed by Nelson Rockefeller in one of his Brazilian schemes. (11, p. 48; 75) (He was later ousted from a boys school in Florida, where he taught.) Sen. Vandenberg was "pressured" into joining the ranks of the "internationalist" conspirators after they had forced our entry into World War II by engineering the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Sen. Vandenberg is reliably reported to have declared in the course of the acrimonious controversy among the U. S. delegates to the U. N. organization conference:

"Anything Rockefeller (Nelson) wants, is O.K." (11, p. 342)

The immediate topic under discussion at the time was the question whether Argentina, under the leadership of the Communazi dictator Peron, should be admitted to the U. N. Peron was negotiating with the Standard Oil Co. for an oil concession in return for a bribe of a \$125,000,000 "loan" from the U. S. When Peron was later ousted by the conspirators because he exorbitantly raised his price for another concession in Northern Argentina, it was discovered that the \$125,000,000 "loan" had vanished with his other loot. The conditions and terms of the concession granted became the basis of the anti-Americanism that characterized the Presidential campaign of Dr. Illia. Since his inauguration, the concessions have been cancelled.

Mention is made by Rockefeller's propagandists of his role in the organization of the U. N. in his campaign biography MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER (44, p. 13); but it is not stressed. The objective is obviously to lure the vote of those deluded by the U. N. but not to antagonize the voters who are keenly aware of its treason-



ous character. For the same very obvious reason, no mention is made in that slanted "biography" of Nelson Rockefeller's dominant role in providing the extra-territoriality, that even prostrate China spurned as beneath national dignity, for the site that he furnished the U. N. for its headquarters and pressured them to accept. From this spy nest in the very midst of the industry and commerce of New York and the nation, enemy agents thumb their noses at the country and commit the most atrocious crimes with impunity. The Rockefellers discovered from experience with their League of Nations, that it was more difficult and inconvenient to control their agents from afar. However, the agreement under which the Rockefeller conspirators provided their "United" Nations with the site in Mid-Manhattan stipulates, it is reported, that if and when the U. N. leaves the site, it will revert to the Rockefellers together with the buildings that have cost U. S. taxpayers tens of millions of dollars, at no cost. As usual, Rockefeller's "generous" and "philanthropic" gestures inevitably turn out to be ways of "making money". No mention is made of that in his campaign literature. (44)

Nelson Rockefeller had consolidated his CIAA, IBEC and AIA piracy in Latin America, in the so-called Act of Chapultepec which he had signed as Roosevelt-appointed Assistant Secretary of State, early in 1945. It was as "representative" of Latin America that he sat in on the meetings of the U. S. delegation in San Francisco. Propagandist Silverberg naively wrote that Rockefeller's course at the Conference was beset with "controversy." (61, p. 115) In reality, this was nothing more than the sham shadow-boxing with the "controlled opposition", or "enemy", which is a proud tradition of Rockefeller treachery. Can it be doubted reasonably that the conspirators left nothing to chance, that Nelson Rockefeller's "buddy" and Council on Foreign Relations pawn and agent, Alger Hiss, followed the pre-arranged plan in all that he did, as Secretary of the Conference? Among the betrayals thus perpetrated was the sub rosa agreement that was first brought to light by Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary General in his book *IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE* (pp. 45-6) that provided that the head of the U. N. Military Secretariat would always be a Communist.

Nelson Rockefeller, when campaigning for nomination as Republican Presidential candidate in the New Hampshire primary, at Manchester, on January 10, 1964, made one of the most startling and shocking speeches ever made by a man seeking public office. As the main speaker at

the 14th annual meeting of the Associated Contractors of New Hampshire, he publicly confessed that the F.B.I. had informed him that they had complete proof that his intimate associate and agent, Alger Hiss, was engaged in betraying our country as a Communist agent. His words, as reported by Jim Stack in the Manchester Union Leader of that date (107, p. 12:4) with the strange preface that the F.B.I. agents had come to him, a mere Assistant Secretary of State, rather than to the officially accredited members of the U. S. delegation, who were also present at the San Francisco U. N. Organization Conference, were:

"They came to me one morning and said, 'We have the goods on Alger Hiss'. He was then secretary general of the conference. This was in 1945, mind you, long before anything else broke".

This report was fully confirmed and amplified by press dispatches that were published by several New York newspapers. A UPI dispatch was carried by the Journal American on the same date, on its front page. (120) An AP dispatch was carried by the Daily News the next day on its second page. (121) And a special dispatch by Cabell Phillips was carried by the New York Times (122) the following morning on its tenth page, that is indicative of the insignificance of national betrayal to its editors. Since the Times is "official organ" of the Rockefeller Empire, there can be no question as to the authenticity of Rockefeller's confession.

The Times gave some details of the speech that were omitted in the other reports. It reported that he was the only State Department official who would meet, "at 7:30 in his room", with the FBI agents who told him, in their role of responsibility for security, "what was going on". All the dispatches agree that he affirmed that the attitude toward the FBI of the entire delegation was that it was "a Fascist organization in our midst".

The clearest picture of the attitude of Nelson Rockefeller toward our country, that he has the brazen effrontery to ask us to elect him to head, of his contempt for our security, is the action that he took to protect us from the betrayal. Rockefeller is reported by his official organ, the New York Times, to have confessed that he suppressed the security information and warning given him by the FBI, thereby shielding Hiss from exposure and aiding and abetting him in his treasonous betrayal of our country.

This confession of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's forcefully and dramatically corroborates his role, that is confirmed by all his past activities, that have been related, and those of the Rockefeller Dynasty, as collaborators of the

world-wide Communist conspiracy. Can there be any question, in view of his fantastic confession, that he aided and abetted Alger Hiss, and acted as an accomplice, when he has charged himself with that crime? Can it be questioned that Nelson Rockefeller has confessed treason? Is it possible that Alger Hiss was not the master-mind of the betrayal that he accomplished, but was merely a "fall guy" for the Rockefeller conspirators?

**IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHETHER THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, OR ANY OTHER PARTY, OTHER THAN THE SO-CALLED "LIBERAL" OR COMMUNIST PARTY, WILL DARE NOMINATE NELSON ROCKEFELLER FOR THE POST OF PRESIDENT, OR ANY OTHER POST. IF IT HAPPENS, IT WILL SIGNALIZE THE END OF OUR REPUBLIC AND ITS REDUCTION TO THE STATUS OF A DESPISED DUCHY OF THE ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE AND SATELLITE OF THE ROCKEFELLER-SOVIET AXIS!**

With the obvious intent of making Alger Hiss a more formidable target for the "Fascist" FBI and others, the Rockefellers arranged to promote him to a number of exalted posts that they control. These included trusteeship of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and of the World Peace Foundation. The most important of them was that of President of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, one of the top propaganda posts at the command of the conspirators.

The Carnegie presidency had a special significance under the circumstances. It placed Hiss in close association with David Rockefeller who had recently completed his education under such distinguished Communists as Harold Laski and Polish Soviet boss, Oskar Lange; John Foster Dulles, who designated himself a Christian Communist; and Columbia University president, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Pres. Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia U. had preceded Hiss in that post. And the offices of the Carnegie Endowment were shared with those of Columbia. It is possible that Gen. Eisenhower was not regarded by the conspirators as sufficiently indoctrinated, evidently, despite the fact that he had been born into the Mennonites, a theistic Communist sect. Eisenhower acknowledged his association with Alger Hiss, in a press conference at the Commodore Hotel on the last day of the first week of his Presidential campaign in 1952. Despite the appearance of John Foster Dulles as character witness for him, Alger Hiss was by then safely ensconced in the Lewisburg Penitentiary for Perjury in connection with treason. Sev-

eral years earlier, Eisenhower had joined the distinguished company of Alger Hiss, the Dulleses and the Rockefellers in their Council on Foreign Relations.

The organization of the so-called "United" Nations on a basis satisfactory to Stalin and the Soviets, including the power of veto and control of its military setup, insured the conspirators of the power to make good on their deal at Yalta and to block any interference with their plot. The Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests had been well represented by their Council On Foreign Relations agent, Secretary of State Stettinius who was craftily advised and seconded by Rockefeller's intimate associate, Alger Hiss. Subsequent events made quite clear the exact nature of that deal. In return for a continued monopoly of oil exported from the Soviets, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests received adequate assurance that the Communists would not interfere with their development of the fabulously rich Saudi Arabian oilfields despite the fact that they lay within a radius of one thousand miles from the Soviet border and in what was, physically, well within the Russian "sphere of influence".

During the war Rockefellers' Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco) subsidiary of Caltex, joint venture of Standard Oil of California and Texas Co., had avoided putting any of their own money into the development of the field or even in payment of the lease rentals. James Moffett, officer of Standard Oil, was again "loaned" to the New Deal for the specific purpose of getting Pres. Roosevelt to provide about \$30,000,000 of taxpayers' funds for the support of King Ibn Saud and his 400 wives, and an additional \$160,000,000 for the geologizing and development of the oilfield. Later Moffett was defrauded out of the 5% commission that he was promised, in spite of his lawsuit to recover it. (11, p. 386) The development of the field was done by a company of drafted GI's under Col. John Zott, entirely at the expense of the taxpayers.

Following the deal at Yalta, Rockefeller's Aramco began developing the Saudi Arabian oilfields actively, with a feeling of security that derived from Soviet assurances that were treacherously bought for the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests. The Soviets, under the leadership of Stalin, began taking over, as satellites, one country after another with complete assurance that the deal at Yalta for scheduled expansion of the U.S.S.R. would meet with no opposition, thanks to the interference run for it by the U. N.

The Rockefellers felt free to dedicate themselves to "making money" in other directions. John D. Rockefeller

the Third devoted himself to the war booty that had accrued to the Dynasty in Japan and Asia. Laurance devoted his energies to extending their control over the munitions, missile and other industries, and in manipulation in the stock market. Winthrop tried to get control of the finances of New York City by election to the post of comptroller, but failed; married Bobo, and deserted her; and emigrated to "join his Army boy friend," Jim Hudson, an Ebony hero, in Arkansas. David took over the control of the Dynasty's banking system, including their stock corporation, the "Federal" Reserve Bank, national finances and the Treasury. Nelson Rockefeller dedicated himself to consolidating his profitable control of Latin America and the entire Western Hemisphere that he had gained at the expense of the American taxpayer "peasant". It was during this period that Rockefeller launched the major IBEC ventures and associated decoy "philanthropies". After he got them under way, he arranged to expand them and make them more profitable by additional "foreign aid" through his "Point 4" program and "Alliance for Progress". As noted, "progress", in Rockefeller parlance, invariably means "making money".

The impression was broadcast deliberately that Nelson Rockefeller was hostile to Truman for exposing him and his crew. The falsity thereof is indicated by the key role played by the conspirators in the dropping of Henry Wallace as candidate for the Vice-Presidential post at the time that Roosevelt was known to be dying. Rockefeller's role must be judged in view of his close association and friendship with Wallace, who was his steady tennis partner and shared his political views and outlook. (61, p. 110) Harry Shippe Truman, a remote kin of Rockefeller's cousin, Lucy *Truman* Aldrich, had the courage to stand up on the floor of the Senate on March 27, 1942, and characterize the conduct of their Standard Oil as treasonous. He had to be appeased and silenced! What better means of appeasement could be found than the Presidency? And since he lacked the means to live in the White House, he was certain to be as "amenable" as Roosevelt had proved. This plan followed the Rockefeller tradition of betraying friends and courting enemies.

Pres. Truman's mouthing of the Rockefeller-Browder (144) scheme of the "Point 4" program in his inaugural address in 1949 is ample proof of the fact that Nelson Rockefeller's departure from the State Department after setting up the U. N. was his chosen strategy. It was an interlude that permitted him to shed his Democratic, New Deal role, and to emerge in 1952 as sham "Republican",

with some semblance of credibility. The pose of being a "Republican" had become essential for Rockefeller's current quest for "profits", or loot. He was dedicating himself to lobbying through Congress appropriations for his "Marshall" Plan. And Congress was controlled by a Republican majority in the early years of the Truman Administration. Nelson Rockefeller knew that lobbying for his "Marshall" Plan would be easier, even in the "bipartisan" atmosphere that the conspirators had created for their purposes, and would be less expensive, if he were not regarded as a New Dealer, if he masked as a "Republican". He was materially aided in this camouflage by arranging to be "ousted" by the Truman regime.

It was about this time that Rockefeller thought that he had discovered a likely recruit to the ranks of the conspirators in the person of Judge Joseph R. McCarthy. McCarthy had endeared himself to Rockefeller's Milk Trust by disregarding Wisconsin's milk price-fixing laws and dismissing the case against their Quaker Dairy Co. Rockefeller was at that time desirous of defeating Wisconsin's Republican Senator Robert LaFollette, a so-called "liberal" (or Red and of the same camp as Nelson Rockefeller) who had been elected on the Progressive ticket; and replacing him eventually with the husband of his cousin Elsie Rockefeller, Democrat William Proxmire who was LaFollette's publisher. Orders went out to Wisconsin's Republican boss from the conspirators, directing him to support the candidacy of Joseph R. McCarthy for Senator and to drop LaFollette; and funds were supplied for his campaign which fully matched that of LaFollette in its appeal to the "liberals". Rockefeller's support insured the election of Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

Sen. McCarthy was a neophyte in Washington politics, and Rockefeller had little difficulty in securing his support and vote for his "Marshall" Plan and other so-called "foreign aid" measures, in the following year. Shortly thereafter, McCarthy learned some of the well-known facts of Washington life, some of the truth regarding Rockefellers' "foreign aid" swindle, as cited in the editorial of Col. Robert McCormick in his Chicago Tribune.

Early in 1946, this author had warned the members of Congress, in an address that he was invited to give the "78 Club", that the "Marshall" Plan that Rockefeller was intensively lobbying was designed to serve the Communist cause, as had the OPA, by use of its funds to divert the flow of commodities from the normal channels of industry and commerce into the black market; and that the disruptive and inflationary consequences of this subver-

sion would be used by the Reds to discredit capitalism and the Republican Party. It was predicted that if the Party supported and passed Rockefeller's "Marshall" Plan bill, they would be defeated and the Republicans would be ousted from control of Congress. Unfortunately, the lure of Nelson Rockefeller's lobbying was too great; and his "Marshall" Plan bill was passed. This author's prediction was confirmed by the defeat of numerous Republican Congressmen, the loss of control of the Congress by the Party and the reelection of Pres. Truman with the help of "Marshall" Plan and other Rockefeller funds and "influence".

In 1949, Sen. Joseph McCarthy voted with Sen. Robert A. Taft to cut down to half the appropriations for the "Marshall" Plan and other "foreign aid" steals. Nelson Rockefeller's fury knew no bounds at his "betrayal" by Sen. Joseph McCarthy. But when the Senators voted against any "foreign aid" in the following year, Rockefeller vindictiveness assumed the form of a campaign to destroy them. Curtailing Rockefeller loot, traditionally, has been the most serious offense of which a public officer could be guilty. And the penalty for such a "sin" has invariably been destruction. For Rockefeller profits and loot are "holy". And any curtailment thereof calls for as summary judgement as that visited for violating "omerto" by their Mafia agents. The manner in which this vengeance was wreaked on McCarthy and the Republican Party will be related.

The cost to the nation of Rockefeller's betrayal of it, in the "United" Nations subversion, rapidly became evident with the outbreak of the Korean War, the so-called "United" Nations "police action" in Korea. It had its roots in the deal made by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests with Stalin, in 1926, that became the basis for the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. (11, pp. 204-31) An agreement was entered into by the two parties for a division of the world between them, and for the delivery to the Soviets, on specific dates, of specified sections of the world. At that time there gained circulation maps that paralleled the so-called "Gomberg Map" (75), which bore not only the date of the deliveries of the various countries to the Soviets, but notations specifying which nationals would police which countries (which were identical with the current secret plans of the UN Military Affairs program, it appears evident, from the current Congo situation).

North Korea was due for delivery in 1950, to the Soviets for takeover of its many industries that had been established by the Japanese during their rule over Korea, and of its gold, silver, lead, tungsten and other mines. In

South Korea, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests have huge holdings in its cultivated alluvial plains which their geologists have determined are probably as rich in oil as Cambodia, Laos and Thailand appear to be. None of these areas have been developed, but are being held as reserves. In view of the Rockefeller-Soviet partnership in oil, it might seem immaterial, and probably is immaterial, which of them control the potential oilfields, except for the division of spoils.

The Communist invasion of South Korea from the North, after it had been delivered to them, was in effect a squabble between partners. So certain were the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests that the squabble could be settled by negotiations, that their attorney and agent, the actual boss of the State Department who had run it for them for decades, kinsman John Foster Dulles, was on the scene in South Korea to insure that the North Korean invasion would not be resisted. Dulles was assuring the South Koreans that there would be no invasion—*after the invasion had already begun*. In the meanwhile, as has been related, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators provided the North Koreans and the Chinese Communists with the required oil from the Saudi Arabian oilfields, at the expense of the American taxpayers through their “Marshall” Plan; and with munitions from the Zaibatsu industries in Japan, that they control and John D. the Third directs.

For the Axis partners, the affair in Korea was a “friendly” one, a “quarrel between partners”. It was not a war, but merely a “disagreement” in which their “United” Nations controlled both sides. The North Korean and Chinese Communists were led by the head of the U. N. Military Staff Committee, Communist Gen. Vasiliev, who was given a leave of absence by the U. N. for the purpose of serving as Commander-in-Chief of the invading forces. General Douglas MacArthur, who commanded the South Korean forces, the great majority of whom were American GI’s “loaned” to the U. N., like his successors in command, served under the Military Staff Committee the Secretary of which must always be a Russian Communist, under the oral agreement entered into by Rockefeller’s agents Stettinius and Hiss with Vishinsky and Molotov that was first reported by Trygvie Lie. Under this cozy arrangement, that is quite characteristic of Rockefeller’s “bipartisan” policy that he requires of all governments under his control, the American commanders of the South Korean “United” Nations forces found that their intelligence, plans and orders were sent directly



to the Communist commander of the North Korean Communist forces. This treachery was ideally designed to assure the Communist forces of victory. Especially assuring of victory of the Communist "United" Nations-led forces was the unlimited reinforcement of the North Koreans by Chinese Communist forces that swarmed across the Yalu River; and the haven offered the retreating North Koreans across that river, in China.

The failure of the North Korean Communist forces to win the Korean "Police Action" can be attributed solely to the inferiority of the Communists, and to the military superiority of the American troops and their Commander, who were undoubtedly aided by superior logistics furnished by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil outfits in South Korea because, though their interests were involved on both sides, their higher interests were at stake there. The superiority of the American "United" Nations forces rose to the point where Gen. MacArthur found it possible to plan to drive the enemy forces across the Yalu and to invade the haven which they were there offered, thus leading his forces to decisive victory.

In sharp contrast with the situation that was later created by the conspirators in the Congo, victory gained by defeat of the North Korean Communist forces was the one thing that the conspirators did not want, and could not afford without serious financial losses. For driving the Communists out of North Korea in the course of this "friendly disagreement" between the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis partners would have been a violation of the agreement that had originally been entered into with their pawn Stalin; and that would have meant loss of control of Russian oil exports and loss of immunity from harassment by the Soviets in Saudi Arabia where their profits, made at the expense of the American taxpayer, amounted to millions of dollars each day.

When Gen. MacArthur found that his forces were in position to drive back the North Korean Communist forces and gain a complete victory, pride in his career, if not his patriotism, impelled him to do so. But he received strict orders from the conspirators, both by way of the UN and the Administration in Washington, NOT TO WIN THE WAR. MacArthur resolved to disregard the traitorous orders that he had been given, and to win the war by a decisive military victory. This confronted the Rockefeller-Standard Oil conspirators with "dire disaster", the possibility of financial losses. The situation demanded emergency action!

Under Rockefeller's direction, the State Department,

that has long been dedicated almost exclusively to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests and more recently the Rockefeller-Soviet interests, acted promptly. Pres. Truman, basically a patriot when "internationalist" pressures were not too forcibly brought to bear on him, admired Gen. MacArthur's "insubordinate" resolution to wage the Korean War to a victorious conclusion and to decisively defeat the Communists. He resisted the demands of the conspirators to "fire" MacArthur from the post of Commander of the "United" Nations troops. Before MacArthur could get into action, Rockefeller Council on Foreign Relations agents, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and his Assistant Secretary, Dean Rusk, plied Truman with liquid refreshments until the small hours of the morning, it has been reported, and "mellowed" him to the point of signing the order dismissing Gen. MacArthur. The order had previously been drawn up, at the behest of the conspirators, by Rusk.

Rockefeller expressed his delight with Rusk's "accomplishment" by appointing him, as has been related, to one of the highest posts in the Rockefeller Empire, President of the Rockefeller Foundation. Directly from that "exalted" post, he was subsequently transferred by Rockefeller orders, to the Kennedy Cabinet, as Secretary of State, though he is reported to have been unknown to Pres. Kennedy before the appointment, and Rusk was registered as a "Republican".

One of the results of Rusk's "accomplishment" in carrying out his boss's orders is that we are still at war in Korea, and our drafted GI's are being shot down there with some regularity. But the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis flourishes and continues its victorious march around the world. The Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests are intact in South Korea. Our country pays for this deal by being forced into ignominious defeat in a war that cost us 145,000 casualties and deaths, billions of dollars in taxes and debts, and endless humiliations, to serve the Rockefeller interests. More important to the conspirators, however, is that the Korean "police action" served as a tryout of their plot to use American troops, and other non-Communists, to expand the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and to make the world safe for Communism through their "United" Nations.

Gov. Rockefeller, despite his notorious Red record and his confession of betrayal, with complete irrationality that is so characteristic of his mental state and activities, has assumed the bogus pose of being "anti-Communist" in his New Hampshire primary campaign while engaged in

promoting the Communist Party Line as his "Republican" platform. This can only be explained on one of three bases: first, the assumption that the "peasants" have been so completely brainwashed by the Rockefeller so-called "educational philanthropies" as to be reduced to complete idiocy; second, that the immensity of Rockefeller swag arouses their cupidity and admiration, their worship of Mammon, to the point where "a Rockefeller can do no wrong"; or third, the Governor's mental state is so confused that he does not recognize the absurd contradiction of his statements and speeches that have been written for him by his ghost writers who are in opposite camps. The effect is much as if he attempted to speak simultaneously "out of both sides of his mouth", in complete disregard of the notorious truth.

In view of these and other activities of Nelson Rockefeller on behalf of the conspirators' Soviet partners, the advertisement that Nelson Rockefeller has run in newspapers around the country are particularly and ludicrously false. The advertisements of NELSON ROCKEFELLER, a frankly "political biography" that was written by his pressagent, James Desmond, filled full pages in the book review sections of the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. Paid for by Rockefeller, half the page was filled with a portrait of himself. Beneath the portrait, in bold type appeared the line: "WHY DOES KHRUSHCHEV WANT TO KEEP ROCKEFELLER OUT OF THE WHITE HOUSE?" In doing this, Rockefeller is obviously following the Rockefeller pattern of pretending to fight an organization and agent whom he controls. Certainly no one has done more by deed, speech and financial and political support to make a success of the Communist conspiracy, both in the Soviets and here, than has Rockefeller.

Rockefeller's advertisements raise the question: "Why should Khrushchev wish to keep Rockefeller out of the White House?" The record of Rockefeller support of the Soviets and collaboration with them makes the statement in the advertisement incredible. If Rockefellers had given the Soviets slightest cause for dissatisfaction, Khrushchev has had a potent remedy at hand. He would certainly have cancelled the monopolistic concession for the sale on the world market by Rockefellers' Standard Oil Co. (N. J.) of Soviet oil. But Soviet oil has been selling on the world market, since the original 1926 deal, under Rockefellers' Esso brand. This bears out the fact that the Rockefeller interests have given their Soviet partners everything that they demanded or desired, whether it was domina-

tion of the UN, de facto victory in Korea, Laos, Viet Minh or Cuba.

Certainly the Rockefellers could not possibly have served the Soviets better than they have. And since Khrushchev has been happy with Rockefeller as behind the scenes U. S. boss and dictator, why should he not be happy with him in the White House? Not even Earl Browder has served with more loyalty. This is reflected in the embrace and the cordial amity portrayed in the Wide World photograph of Gov. Rockefeller's visit on Khrushchev at the Waldorf Towers, New York, on the occasion that he invited him to visit the U. S. after writing a well paid article for FOREIGN AFFAIRS in which the Soviet premier was invited to tell what he wanted of the U. S. (51, p. 79; 38)

## CHAPTER XII

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S "FOREIGN AID" SCHEMES HIT NEW HIGHS IN LOOTING

"How Are We Going To Preserve Security & Stability In The World If We Cut Off All Foreign Aid?"  
Rockefeller's Campaign Speech, Concord, N. H.,  
January 4, 1964 (125)

Answer: By Stopping Rockefeller Looting & Betrayal;  
& Arming Ourselves

Nelson Rockefeller attained new and record highs for the Dynasty in the looting of American taxpayers. One of the more profitable of his schemes for the purpose has been so-called "foreign aid". During more than two decades it has been the program closest to his heart that has commanded his complete dedication. Contrary to popular belief, John D. Rockefeller was materially less miserly than his grandson, Nelson. John D. gave away dimes that were actually his, to purchase public esteem. But Nelson Rockefeller gives away only "other people's money", of which he has delightedly given, or ordered given, considerably more than one hundred billion dollars through so-called "foreign aid". The secret of his dedication and delight is that most of those billions have found their way into Rockefeller coffers. This is in accord with his "principle" of making everything that he does, in any capacity,

pay him high "profits". That he could not bear to hand out those billions to others is made apparent by Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller in her interview commenting on her husband's mental state that was given on November 19, 1961, to the New York Journal American. She related:

"... her husband has become like his grandfather in his tight control over personal expenditures." (95)

For the miserly, handing out money in any direction other than their own, is a very painful process that is carefully avoided. The "foreign aid" brigandage has an especial allure for the conspirators. **"FOREIGN AID" LOOT** (possession of which is taken control by them overseas and deposited in their foreign enterprises and banks of issue) **IS ENTIRELY TAX-EXEMPT UNDER THE LAWS THEY HAVE HAD WRITTEN FOR THEMSELVES.**

Rockefeller's kinsman, Col. Robert McCormick, exposed what might have been suspected, a priori, in view of the insatiable, psychopathic greed of the clan. On the basis of the ECA report of the initial stage of Rockefeller's so-called "Marshall" Plan, McCormick published an account of some of the earlier and relatively minor loot derived by the so-called "foreign aid" that had been lobbied through Congress and directed by Nelson on behalf of the Dynasty. In an editorial in the December 13, 1948 issue of his Chicago Tribune, the Colonel described briefly a few of the more flagrant bits of looting by Rockefellers and their Standard Oil interests that were listed in the report:

"**THE TRIBUNE** has examined official records of Marshall plan business for the 45 day period ended September 15—one-eighth of the first year of the plan. It appears, for example, that the Anglo-American Oil Company, Ltd., obtained permission from the British government to go shopping for petroleum products in America. The record shows that it was able to buy \$7,258,332 worth of products from the Esso Export corporation and the Standard Oil Export corporation, both of New York. Thus the British concern got the oil it was after, and was doubtless able to make a good profit selling it to its customers. The two American companies were paid in dollars in New York for the oil supplied to the British companies, likewise on a remunerative basis.

"What makes the transactions notable is that the British buyer, Anglo-American, is owned 100 per cent by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. The American sellers, Esso Export and Standard Oil Export, are also owned 100 per cent by Standard of New Jersey. Thus

what the Marshall plan actually did was to enable the biggest American oil company to shift some merchandise from one department to another, collecting two profits on the operation, at the expense of the American taxpayer.

"Esso Export corporation also sold \$4,020,210 worth of its products to a certain French concern, called Standard Francaise des Petroles, with ECA footing the bill. This French concern is 83.63 per cent owned by Standard of New Jersey. Other subsidiaries of the leading Rockefeller concern, operating in Norway and other countries, also made deals with sister companies. If Standard Oil of New Jersey continues such transactions all year at the rate attained in the 45 days covered by our study, it will buy and sell itself \$120,000,000 worth of oil in the period, at the expense of the American taxpayer.

"Meanwhile, another French concern, Les Raffineries de la Vacuum Oil, got permission to go shopping for some crude oil, too, and wound up making a deal with its parent company, Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, formerly the Standard Oil Company of New York. The transactions amounted to \$2,249,877 in a 45 day period. If this rate is continued for a full year under the Marshall plan, another huge Rockefeller concern will buy and sell itself \$18,000,000 worth of oil at the expense of the American taxpayer.

"This lucrative oil business, with the Rockefeller companies collecting double profits, is the real Marshall plan in operation. It is undoubtedly true that if the plan to aid Europe never had been conceived, the Rockefeller interests would have found means to carry on their export business in petroleum, tho not as profitably, of course.

"It should not escape notice that members of the Rockefeller family played an important part in getting the Marshall plan thru congress. They worked thru an organization called the Committee for the Marshall Plan to Aid European Recovery. Winthrop W. Aldrich, brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller Jr., the demonstrated boss of all Standard Oil companies, was on the inner executive council of the committee. Nelson A. Rockefeller, the son of John D. Jr., was on the main body of the committee.

"Here is more evidence that the people who put the Marshall plan over on the American people are cashing in on it. It already has been revealed that Anderson, Clayton & Co. has received more money from the Marshall plan in operation than any other concern. The head of that company is William Clayton, who, while a top figure in the government, did more to shape the foreign aid program than any other individual.

"The big New York banks, whose directors also played an important role in promoting European aid in congress, have been repaid with a nearly exclusive franchise on the letter of credit business resulting from the program. Banks in the interior of the country were formerly very active in financing exports. The interior banks had no part in promoting the Marshall plan and they have been cut out of this highly profitable, risk-free business.

"A leading member of congress, Chairman Walter Ploeser of the house small business committee, issued a statement Wednesday calling upon congress for an investigation of the circumstances under which Clayton has been able to monopolize the ECA cotton business. Reports are current that the senate will be asked to look into the monopoly of the Wall st. banks in ECA transactions. The investigation also should cover multiple commissions and profits under the Marshall plan, such as those enjoyed by the Rockefeller oil companies."

At the time that Col. McCormick wrote, the more treacherous aspects of the conspirators' uses of the "Marshall" Plan funds had not come to light. During the Korean War, the conspirators and their Standard Oil Co. of California in conjunction with the Texas Co., through their Caltex joint subsidiary, provided the North Koreans and Chinese Communists with the oil that they required to drive the planes, tanks and cars that slaughtered our GIs fighting with the South Koreans. The oil was paid for at the expense of American taxpayers, often the very GIs who were slaughtered and maimed, by the "Marshall" Plan!

All of the numerous "foreign aid" plans have been promoted by Nelson Rockefeller, as has been related, to serve the Rockefeller interests and the expansion of their Empire, with the added purpose of bankrupting the nation for takeover. At the same time they have served the interests of Rockefellers' Soviet partners. Most of the conniving and plotting in preparation for the launching of these steals was done, or subsidized, as has been related, by their agents in their "philanthropic" Foundation. An important object of the scheming was evasion of the Johnson Act, which prohibited the issuing of bonds and loans to the American public by countries who had defaulted on their loans of the post-World War I era. The lands in the names of which the bonds had been issued had, as a rule, received little or none of the monies derived therefrom (except for payoffs to their key politicians). Most of the money had been stolen by the conspirators. The investors had been duped into voluntarily

buying the bonds on the basis of false representations.

The conspirators, who were aware that the American "peasants" could not be induced to buy the bonds voluntarily, undertook to force American taxpayers to involuntarily finance their swindle by way of U. S. Government "loans". In most instances, the lands in the name of which the "foreign aid" was engineered by the conspirators were apprized that they were not expected to repay the "loans", either in part or in full; or they were told that they could repay in their own currency, however worthless, into "counterpart funds" that were to be expended within their own countries. The use that the Rockefellers' IBEC made of counterpart funds in Italy to finance a chain of supermarkets has been recounted, as an example of this phase of the swindle.

The never ending series of these "foreign aid" swindles put over by Nelson Rockefeller and his associates and agents started with the so-called "Lend Lease" program that served the purpose of inducing England and France to launch World War II, for the conspirators, by furnishing them with materiel of war, naval vessels and arms, This was followed by the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) launched on November 9, 1943. It followed the usual Rockefeller "internationalist", "One (Rockefeller) World" pattern. Financed almost entirely at the expense of American taxpayers, it was controlled and operated by Rockefeller Reds and headed by their "liberal", or Red, Council On Foreign Relations agent, ex-Governor Herbert Lehman. It clearly indicates that the conspirators had begun their plot to replace their discredited League of Nations with the so-called "United" Nations as the agency for establishing the world-wide dictatorship, "grandiose idea" of Nelson Rockefeller and his fellow "planners". The cost to the American taxpayer of this "United" Nations tryout was four billion dollars. THE INSIDE STORY OF UNRRA, by Marvin Klemme, a participant, reported that it was characterized by "graft, and fraud and phony bookkeeping", by the usual thievery and swindle that characterizes all Rockefeller inspired and directed "philanthropy". (72, p. 297)

The next significant thievish move of the conspirators was the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference that was designed to fasten their hold on the Treasury and finances of the U. S. and of the rest of the world, by tying in all currencies with their looted gold, through their International Monetary Fund and International Bank For Reconstruction & Development. The initial subscription to



the former cost the American taxpayer two and three quarter billion dollars; and to the latter, another billion dollars. They have materially helped the conspirators bring the U. S. Treasury to the verge of bankruptcy and to place the nation at the mercy of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. The program was drawn up by Nelson Rockefeller's associate and agent of the Council on Foreign Relations, the notorious Red, Laughlin Currie, acting through his pawn and pupil, Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. (10)

Nelson Rockefeller personally inspired and lobbied through Congress the biggest "foreign aid" steal, that was camouflaged with the name of the conspirators' puppet, Gen. George C. Marshall, the "Marshall" Plan. The facts regarding "foreign aid" in general and the "Marshall" Plan in particular were clearly stated by this author in his "ROCKEFELLER, Internationalist: The Man Who Misrules The World" as follows: (11, pp. 417-23)

"... the Rockefeller Empire is supporting the Kremlin in the various phases of the 'Cold War' and the Korean 'Crusade', directly and indirectly, at the expense of the American taxpayers through the UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, the Point 4 program and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. With the usual cunning of the schemers, all of these plans are being presented to the 'peasants' as devices for 'stopping Communism'." For fuller data on the "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" plans, the reader is referred to the more extensive account in ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist".

The "foreign aid" swindle has proved so enormously profitable to the Rockefellers, their interests and their Axis partners, that they have announced that they plan to force us to continue it for the balance of the century. Standard Oil refineries have been rebuilt and enlarged around the world, with the swindled funds. Saudi Arabian "foreign aid" funds supplied by American taxpayers, in the amount of \$4,000,000 have been used to build a natural gas recycling plant for the purpose of increasing the tax-exempt profits of Rockefeller's Arabian American Oil Co. Point 4 moneys have been used to train Rockefeller employees in the Japanese electronic plants of the Zaibatsu, control of which was part of the Rockefeller booty of World War II that was paid for by the blood, sweat and taxes of our GIs. American electronic plants and their employees have been driven to the wall and thrown into the ranks of the unemployed by this cut-throat Rockefeller-controlled "foreign aid" competition that they have been taxed to maintain. Foreign branches

of industries that are controlled by the conspirators have been financed by this so-called "foreign aid". To make the competition more ruinous to American industries and workers, the conspirators have arranged a lowering of American tariffs for their overseas production under GATT "favored nations" agreements. As added advantages for themselves, the conspirators have arranged for themselves freedom from taxation on the profits of their foreign plants. And they have put through Congress bills that force the American taxpayers to guarantee the billions of dollars of "foreign aid" funds, that they have filched and fenced, "invested" in their overseas industries and plants.

To insure a continued and ever increasing flow of this loot from the purses of American taxpayers into their own, the conspirators eternally advance new schemes of "foreign aid". Among the most recent are "Administration for International Development" and the "Alliance For Progress". The latter, which is a continuation of Nelson Rockefeller's thoroughly exposed and discredited "Co-Ordination" of Inter-American Affairs boondoggling Communist-pampering that has been represented as a device to counter the activities of their agent, Fidel Castro, in Communizing South America. It is proving eminently successful in hastening the spread of Communism and the expansion of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis throughout the continent. British Guiana, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile have been made "safe for Communism" with AFP and AID funds. It is becoming steadily more obvious that when the conspirators use "progress", favorite term of Nelson Rockefeller's, they mean "the progress of Communazism and Rockefellerism, hand in hand". This "progress" is most recently illustrated by the election of the Red, Dr. Illia, President in Argentina, and the rapidly growing strength of the oldest Communist Party on the American continent in Chile, which Victor Riesel predicts will win the 1964 presidential election. (74)

Since Nelson Rockefeller took over the governorship of New York, the control of the Republican Party and reached out for the Presidential nomination, he has devoted less time to personally lobbying through Congress his favorite "foreign aid" schemes. He has entrusted the lobbying and the administration of them to his trusted and tried agents. With the examples before them of the sudden "mysterious" deaths of Sen. Joseph McCarthy and Sen. Robert A. Taft, after opposing Nelson Rockefeller's "foreign aid" bills, Congressmen who value their lives shrink from fighting those bills except with token "oppo-

sition" demanding minor cuts in the appropriation which are agreed upon by the conspirators for the sake of appearance. Invariably the Presidential incumbent can be depended upon to demand passage of the "foreign aid" bills in their entirety and put up a "fight" for them.

It matters not that the "foreign aid" appropriation, demanded, represents the entire amount of deficit in U. S. international trade payments. That is an important function of "foreign aid" in the plans of the conspirators to destroy our Constitutional Republic. And its effectiveness is enhanced by the huge amount of payments required for the oil and other commodities and the production of their "foreign-aid"-financed plants that the conspirators arrange to import. They aid materially in drawing off their gold from their domestic accounts to their "foreign" accounts and bringing about a debacle of the dollar that will bankrupt the Treasury and the nation.

The cost of this fraudulent so-called "foreign aid" to our country has been more than one hundred billion dollars since World War II. More than eleven billion dollars have gone directly to Soviet Russia to finance the spread of Communism and of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. Untold billions more have gone to other countries behind the Iron Curtain or to build up and fatten lands for takeover by the Soviets. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, a top Rockefeller agent and former President of the Rockefeller Foundation and Rockefeller lobbyist, nevertheless had the brazen effrontery to accuse, on behalf of the conspirators, anyone who opposed "foreign aid" of "cooperating with global Communist strategy".

What small measure of opposition there is offered by the meek and intimidated Congressmen has been led by Otto E. Passman (Democrat from Louisiana). In an article entitled WHY I AM OPPOSED TO FOREIGN AID, published in the July 7, 1963, magazine section of the official organ of the Rockefeller Empire, their New York Times, he replied, discreetly and carefully, avoiding any personal reference to the conspirators and their activities, to the inquiry regarding his steadfast but mild opposition to the "foreign aid" conspiracy. (p. 16)

Passman pointed out that "foreign aid" has resulted in the accumulation in overseas accounts of billions in gold and dollars. To be sure, he attributed these holdings to "recipient nations" though he makes it clear that those nations received little if any of the funds. He can not help but be aware of the fact that the credits which are the basis of the withdrawals of gold, as well as the gold itself, are the converted property of the Rockefeller conspira-

tors and are held earmarked in the vaults of their "Federal" Reserve Bank of New York. He pointed out that the domestically accredited gold is rapidly approaching the point at which insolvency of the Treasury will be obvious to any moron. And he notes that our national debt exceeds that of all other nations of the world by \$24 billion and that some of it will have to be repaid or else repudiated through inflation.

Passman advanced the amusing and obviously false idea that "foreign aid" can be construed as "international charity", rather than a swindle domestically perpetrated by the conspirators. A brief talk with the natives of the foreign lands involved, other than their key, corrupt politicians, can not fail to have disillusioned him of that idea. His article appeared a few days after the report of the disappearance of wheat shipments to Austria valued at more than twenty million dollars, behind the Iron Curtain. It served to stress the absurdity of his naive representation!

Passman rightly stressed that the "aid" program is a tax on domestic producers and a subsidy of their "foreign" competitors that is depleting our wealth and pricing our industry out of the world market. But he failed to point out that the conspirators are the so-called "foreign" competitors; and that they are fleecing our country and battenning on enormous profits which they have seduced Congress into exempting from taxation!

Passman rightly concluded that the conspirators' "foreign aid" program that has been represented as gaining for us friends and allies, is serving, under their treacherous management, to make us universally detested because of their grasping, insatiable, psychopathic, criminal greed and their ruthless treachery and thievery that are attributed to us as a nation.

As a solution of the problem, Passman suggests merely cutting down on the "foreign aid" thievery instead of shutting down on it and prosecuting the traitorous conspirators. Evidently one must not lose sight of the fact that political campaigns cost money; and though a bit of opposition might be forgiven, the truth might be fatal.

This "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" achievement Nelson Rockefeller has the mad temerity to claim in his campaign literature and speeches as his "outstanding achievement" in public life. His pressagents describe it in page after page of his campaign publication, MEET NELSON ROCKEFELLER (44) in much the same spirit as if they also were enjoying some of the loot. Probably they are being paid therefrom. Little do they lead the reader to

suspect that the treacherous culprit should be "drawn, hung and quartered", or shot at sunrise for betrayal of the nation and the world.

So completely effective has been the censorship of all media of mass communication controlled by the conspirators, that a large part of the nation accept the representations of the Rockefeller pressagents to the effect that he is a "public-spirited philanthropist". This is blinding of the nation to the truth about the malign conspirators who have been publicly castigated as such by the Supreme Court and by a chairman of the Senate Committee, Sen. Harry Shippe Truman. This situation has reached such an absurd stage that Gov. Rockefeller proceeded with one of his most blatant "foreign aid" grafts in the midst of his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. The story is related in detail in a later chapter dealing with "NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S CHICKEN WAR".

## CHAPTER XIII

### NELSON ROCKEFELLER PROGRESSIVELY ELIMINATED REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Nelson Rockefeller presents a curious version of the American tradition that any youngster can aspire to become President. From the very start, the conceited whipper-snapper who volunteered to "teach the ropes" to his teacher had the "grandiose idea" of being "top man on the totem pole". Significantly, totem poles are topped by buzzards and wolves. It is understandable that for such a person, becoming President of the U.S.A. would merely be a stepping-stone to something more "grandiose", such as "One (Rockefeller) World" Dictator. For him, with all of the swag of the psychopathic, criminal Rockefeller Dynasty at his command, attaining the Presidency of the U.S.A. could be conceived as a mere matter of plotting, planning and purchase. Up to the present stage of his enterprise, every step of the way has been planned to convert the nation to a monarchic and absolute dictatorship the Presidency of which will directly lead to world dictatorship.

The plot and plan that has been followed is that of the

master conspirator, Jesuit Adam Weishaupt and of his disciple, Karl Marx, of the Illuminist-Fourrierist-Marxist-Socialist-Communazi conspiracy and its adaptation to the American scene by Clinton Roosevelt (1) and Hoffman Nickerson (39). Each step of the conspiracy has been cautiously carried out with all the resources and personnel at the command of the Dynasty.

The undermining of our Republic and its replacement with a "proletarian", totalitarian, boss-dominated regime has been the traditional objective of the Democratic Party. The so-called "New Deal", fronted by a Roosevelt and directed by Nelson Rockefeller (12) and his Dynastic agents and puppets, served the conspirators perfectly in "molding" our government and the people into dumb acceptance of the plot.

The Dynastic conspirators had even less difficulty in keeping the nation in "the main-stream" of the plot than their "mastermind" Nickerson had anticipated. In 1930, he had written:

"The case for hereditary monarchy is referred to only to indicate its great strength. In disputing it the American defenders of the elective principle can hardly do better than take the traditional ground; since no trace of hereditary political power exists in the Republic it is much better not to innovate unless compelled. NOR IS IT EASY TO IMAGINE CIRCUMSTANCES CAPABLE OF SOON COMPELLING US." (31, pp. 301-2)

Nickerson had underestimated the vast power of the control of education and propaganda by Rockefeller's General Education Board and of all other media of mass communication by their other tax-exempt, bogus "philanthropies" in subverting and perverting the nation. Within little more than a decade after the above statement had been published, it had become an accepted fact as has been related that when a Senator died, the "right" to succession is vested in his wife. When Sen. Wagner's mental incompetence became too widely known and notorious, his "right" to public office was nevertheless vested in him. Only after agreement had been reached for succession by his son, Robert Jr. did the family agree to "retiring" him to custodial care, vacating his post as representative of the people of New York State. And following the death of the Dynasty's puppet, Franklin D. Roosevelt, no question was raised to the hereditary "rights" of "Queen" Eleanor and other members of their self-styled "Royal Family" (48, p. 10) to succeed to some public office.

Interruption of "the main-stream" of the plot was avoided, as anticipated by Nickerson, by insuring the re-

election of puppet Roosevelt. This was readily accomplished by the Dynasty through their control of the nominating machinery of the Republican Party coupled with that of the media of mass communication. It was a simple matter to fake "opposition", using as a candidate a nonentity whose defeat they could easily arrange. The conspirators robbed the people of any voice in the Government by making it bi-, or omni-, partisan, with all parties, including the Communist, accepting their dictates and bribes. They accomplished this by nominating their agents as candidates of the "opposition", the Republican Party. Thus in 1940, they steamrolled the Republican convention at the expense of the duped "peasants", or "mass men", using for their purpose, in flagrant violation of the laws with regard to tax-exempt funds, the tax-exempt funds of their foundations. They imposed on the Republicans a virtually unknown New Deal Democrat, Wendell Willkie, as a "me too" candidate who favored and supported our entry in the war they had planned. Then they arranged his defeat in order to continue their puppet Roosevelt in office and carry out their plots and plans. The majority of the nation were opposed to being dragged into the openly plotted war. But they were thus effectively denied any voice in the matter.

In 1944, the conspirators used their New York State Governor, Thomas Edmund Dewey, a kinsman of Roosevelt's, and a Rockefeller henchman, as Republican candidate. Dewey had served the conspirators in covering up their involvement in the heinous American Bond & Mortgage fraud (48, p. 135-7). This was accomplished by appointing Dewey special prosecutor of a number of "fall guys" among the conspirators' Crime Syndicate and Mafia agents. Enough information regarding their vicious activities was placed within the reach of himself and his investigators to enable effective prosecution of the criminals.

The most lurid of these gangsters was "Lucky" Luciano, their ringleader in the prostitution and dope rackets. His prosecution served as sensational, rigged diversion to take the headlines away from the American Bond & Mortgage frauds, and enabled a change of venue and desired quashing of that case. It also provided the headlines that enabled the conspirators to sweep Dewey into the post of Governor of New York, as successor to their Red banker pawn, and member of their Council on Foreign Relations, Herbert Lehman.

After he had served the conspirators in electing Dewey, Luciano was pardoned by the Governor. The man who

acted for the conspirators in securing Luciano's pardon was the same person who had been most active in securing his conviction, District Attorney Dewey's assistant, Murray I. Gurfein. For the "distinguished service" that he thereby rendered in securing the release of Luciano in order to leave him free to carry on for them, the conspirators showed their appreciation by inviting Gurfein to join their Council on Foreign Relations. He became one of their important legal pawns in the Republican Party.

Luciano was deported to Italy after a "victorious" reception by his Maffia colleagues on board the ship on which he later departed. In Italy, he became the key man in flooding the American market with their narcotics and the promotion of dope addiction, especially among schoolchildren for the purpose of creating juvenile delinquency and adult criminality that would serve their malign designs. When the Narcotic Division of the Treasury Department arranged for the return of Luciano to the U. S. to testify in a major narcotics case, the conspirators took no chance of his "squealing". He was exterminated by a trusted associate, shortly after he was served with the subpoena.

Gov. Dewey succeeded Willkie as controlled candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket in 1944 and 1948. He was acceptable as a candidate to John D. Jr. and his brother-in-law, Winthrop Aldrich. But he was feared by New Dealer Nelson Rockefeller as a relatively youthful rival and barrier to takeover of the Republican Party when it would suit his plans to use it for his own Presidential objective. It was a simple matter to arrange to have Dewey falsely advised and to "manage" his campaign in such manner as to insure his defeat, and the undisturbed progress of the conspiracy.

In 1944, tensions created by the war status and the fatal illness of Pres. Roosevelt were of material help in engineering Dewey's defeat. The author was called upon, by the patriotic element among the Dewey forces, to make a number of radio broadcasts attacking the New Deal and exposing Roosevelt's fatal illness. But no advantage was taken during the campaign of the potentials offered by the data presented. (48, pp. 7-9)

In 1948, Dewey's defeat was readily brought about by instilling a feeling of overconfidence in the candidate and the Party, and inducing him to disdain campaigning. In the meantime the conspirators' propaganda machine turned out false polls to bolster the feeling of overconfidence and "justify" it. At the same time there was created



a sentiment for Pres. Truman as the underdog; and every crooked device at the command of the conspirators for "fixing" the election was brought into play.

At this juncture, disaster befell the conspirators. Except for their power of corruption, it might have proved fatal. Richard Nixon, a novice Congressman, following a trail of espionage and treason, exposed one of the conspirators' top agents, Alger Hiss. Hiss, as has been related, long had been a Rockefeller pal, intimate, key agent and member of their Council on Foreign Relations, who owed all of his important appointments to the Dynasty and kinsman John Foster Dulles. Rockefellers had chosen Alger Hiss to join their agents, Dulles and Stassen, to head their World Council on Churches which issued the call for the current Ecumenical Congress, that planned to effect a reunion of Christian sects and faiths for the purpose of aligning them behind the conspiracy. Shortly before his exposure, David Rockefeller and John Foster Dulles, as dominant Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, had appointed Alger Hiss to the post of President of this key pseudo-philanthropic propaganda agency.

Nelson Rockefeller has publicly acknowledged, as has been related, that he had been informed by the F.B.I. that Alger Hiss was a Communist agent, at the time when they jointly had dominated the 1945 San Francisco "United" Nations Organization Conference. (120, 121, 123) Rockefeller did not need the report of the F.B.I. For, Alger Hiss had served the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis from the first day that he was placed in Henry Wallace's "New Deal" Department of Agriculture as a member of the Communist cell named after Hal Ware. It was common knowledge in the Roosevelt Administration and in the State Department where Hiss was transferred to join Rockefeller and numerous Reds and subversives. Later developments made it obvious that Hiss owed his preferments to the fact that he was known to be under Communist Party discipline.

Alger Hiss's predecessor as President of the Carnegie Endowment had been Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University. When the conspirators appointed Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower President of Columbia U. Eisenhower, evidently, was not trusted as being sufficiently well indoctrinated to place in the higher and more important propaganda post in Carnegie Endowment, that had operated out of the same office since its founding. Consequently Hiss was placed in the higher post and Eisenhower in the lower.

Eisenhower acknowledged his association with Alger Hiss in the first press conference of his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination held at the Commodore Hotel in July, 1952, in an evasive response to questions asked by the author, to wit:

1. Explain your association with Alger Hiss in Rockefeller's Council of Foreign Relations?

2. What was the deal that you made in the Long Island home of William Paley, with John D. Rockefeller Jr. and Thomas J. Watson?

Eisenhower was thoroughly taken aback and visibly disturbed by these questions. The Council on Foreign Relations, which as a result of this incident has become notorious, was then a sacrosanct, secret agency the name of which was practically unknown to the rank and file of the public. The deal with John D. Jr. had been reported as an understanding that Eisenhower would get the 1952 nomination of the Republican Party if he would reject nomination in 1948. The apparent objective of this deal was to reward Pres. Truman for refraining from a further exposure of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil treason that he had exposed on March 27, 1942. Though Eisenhower evaded answering the two direct questions put to him, he did reply after recovering from his obvious shock and regaining some semblance of composure, that he had served as Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment under Alger Hiss. This fact had not previously been broadcasted.

The conspirators' distrust of Eisenhower's indoctrination was completely without justification. Eisenhower had been born into the Mennonite sect, one of the numerous Nazarene, or Christian Communist sects that have played such significant roles in American history. Later in life his mother joined Jehovah's Witnesses and became sufficiently prominent in their activities to justify the hanging of her picture in the Brooklyn Office of the Watchtower Publishing Co. Eisenhower's brother, Milton, upon whose guidance he leaned heavily was in the front ranks of the New Dealers in Henry Wallace's Department of Agriculture that lodged Alger Hiss and the Hal Ware cell. Subsequently he became official of UNESCO, prior to becoming President of Johns Hopkins University that proudly harbored Owen Lattimore.

Eisenhower manifested a preference in his choice of associates for persons identified with the Communist Party. Thus, as ghostwriter of his *CRUSADE IN EUROPE*, Eisenhower chose Joseph Barnes, a notorious Red associate of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, editor of the Communist publication, *THE NEW MASSES* (whose wife he took

over). Following the indictment of Alger Hiss for perjury in connection with treason, Eisenhower, in 1949, joined Hiss, Rockefeller and the galaxy of Communists in the membership of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Eisenhower, in his leadership in World War II, did effectively serve to make the world safe for Soviet Russia and Communism. It is significant that he never rejected an order that betrayed the forces in his command to the Soviets, that turned over territory conquered by American forces to the Communists, or gave them advantages over ourselves and our Armed Forces. He acquiesced in placing American and other Allied forces behind the Communist lines in Berlin, with lines of communication cut off except by consent of the Reds. And by thus betraying his troops, he helped create the Berlin problem that has plagued the world since. Eisenhower is a dedicated "internationalist". And as is the case of his patron and fellow "internationalist", Nelson Rockefeller, the point at which he departs from the Weishaupt-Marxist pattern is problematical.

Eisenhower's naive self-exposure at the Commodore Hotel press conference, that was repeatedly broadcast and published throughout the nation in the days that followed, presented Rockefeller and his henchmen with a serious dilemma. Rockefeller's plan for the takeover of the Republican Party openly, as its Presidential candidate, after he had dissociated himself from his "New" and "Fair" Deal identification, required the elimination of all real Republicans of national stature who might stand in his way. Especially did it call for extinction of any odor of "divine right" of the members of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty (self-termed America's Royal Family) that has given the nation a third of its Presidents. (48) However, all the candidates for the 1952 nomination of both major parties, other than Eisenhower, were more or less distant kinsmen of Roosevelt's. These included Taft, Dewey, Barkley, Russell, Kefauver and MacArthur.

The prime favorite of Republicans for the Presidential nomination was Sen. Robert A. Taft. At the opening of the convention, Taft had the majority of the delegates pledged to his support. Taft, though a supporter of important Socialist bills, such as the Federal Housing Bill which bore his name, rendered lip service to patriotism and was a grudging "internationalist".

Taft had voted for cutting appropriations for Rockefeller's "foreign aid", although he was attorney representing the interests of Rockefeller's sister, Abby Rockefeller Milton, in the Charleston and Savannah wartime shipyard

deals. Quite as detestable to Rockefeller as Taft's opposition to his "foreign aid", was the fact that Taft was a kinsman of Roosevelt's and shared the odor of that Dynasty of "divine right" to rule the U. S. Taft's ascendancy might well have blocked Nelson Rockefeller's plot to seize the Presidency. An added element in Rockefeller's detestation of Taft was the support which he had from the patriotic element in the Republican Party, that is a thorn in the side of Rockefeller and his "internationalist" cohorts. Only Taft's subsequent, untimely death from a mysterious ailment eliminated his threat.

No secret was made of the fact that Nelson Rockefeller's uncle, Winthrop Aldrich, during the Chicago Republican Convention opened headquarters at the Blackstone Hotel and bought off numerous delegates from their support pledged to Taft. Sums as high as \$25,000 are reported to have been paid, in bundles of cash, to induce delegates to change their vote from Taft to their agent, Eisenhower. Eisenhower, though no more Republican than Nelson Rockefeller himself, received the nomination, bought and paid for. This corrupt affair inevitably could be expected to alienate a large proportion of true Republicans.

The only solution for the dilemma of Eisenhower's acknowledgment of his association with Alger Hiss, that Rockefeller and the conspirators conceived to relieve him of the "curse" of the Red association, was to pick as his Vice-Presidential running-mate, the man who had exposed Hiss, Sen. Richard Nixon. For Rockefeller, this was an ugly but necessary solution, Rockefeller has bitterly detested Nixon for the role in exposing his pal and agent, Alger Hiss. In addition, young Nixon presented a threat to Rockefeller's plot to seize the Republican Presidential nomination when he was ready to do so—unless Nixon could be eliminated. This was weighed, however, against Nixon's lure for patriots. And it was resolved upon as a desperate measure.

A curious phase of the situation came to light in later years. Nixon has proved to be such a worshipper of Rockefeller wealth, of Mammon, that it appears inconceivable that he would have exposed Hiss had he known of his relationship with Rockefeller. That veneration still persists despite the fact that Rockefeller later virtually destroyed Nixon as a public figure by betraying him in manners that will be related. He nevertheless approved the nomination of Nixon as Vice-Presidential candidate in order to swing the patriotic vote to Eisenhower. In the course of the ensuing campaign, the conspirators made their first move to

destroy Nixon by releasing information that they had had from the start about his questionable financial dealings.

Directly after Eisenhower's election, Nelson Rockefeller collected his reward for purchasing the nomination. Eisenhower appointed him chairman of the President's Advisory Committee On Government Organization, and incidentally, it is reported, to dictate all policy-making appointments. Nelson Rockefeller promptly moved to Washington with his staff and took up residence in the midst of the rosy-Red colony of New Dealers, at 2500 Foxhall Road. To this address, he did, in effect, move the White House. It was widely rumored that any "fixes" in the Administration had to go through those channels.

The only aspect of Government reorganization that appeared to have interested Nelson Rockefeller was the Defense Department. Rockefeller involvement in the munitions and war industries as a source of profits has been related. The key feature of the Defense Department "reorganization" was to place its control in the hands of the conspirators' civilian agents. After bringing in his plan, Nelson Rockefeller resigned. Following the usual Rockefeller pose, or "odor", of "philanthropy" as a coverup for skulduggery, he had himself appointed Assistant Secretary of the newly organized "social service" boondoggle, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that he had dictated to take over functions of their subversive Foundations, freeing them for other conspiratorial purposes. Morris relates that at the same time "he had lots of big jobs". (43, p. 289) The tie-in of HEW with the highly profitable Drug Trust, that Rockefellers control, sheds some light on the possibilities of "making money" there.

As soon as Rockefeller had accomplished his purposes in HEW, and, following his usual practise, had planted his personal agents in key positions to serve his interests and profits, he had Pres. Eisenhower transfer him to the post of Special Assistant To The President For Foreign Affairs. He was motivated by a number of purposes, first and foremost of which was "making money". This took the form of his favorite practise of promoting greater expenditures by the Administration of "other people's money", the taxpayer's money, in the channels that would serve the interests and profits of the Rockefeller Empire and its Soviet partner—so-called "foreign (or Rockefeller) aid". He wanted also to increase spending on national defense, where the money would flow into Rockefeller defense industries. (43, p. 297)

The "foreign aid" projects which Nelson Rockefeller

was particularly active in promoting were two in lands that were particularly antagonistic to the U. S. in spite of all efforts to purchase their cooperation and support—India and Indonesia, that were of especial significance to the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. In both lands the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests as well as their Soviet partners have been especially favored. In India, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests have been given a dominant share of the oil market, as well as concessions. And they have built oil refineries whose output capacity exceeds the needs of the India market and could find a market only in neighboring Soviet Russia and China.

Rockefeller demanded a “loan”, or gift, of taxpayers’ funds through the Import-Export Bank (which consequently would have to be repaid by the taxpayers if defaulted) to expand the vast Tata steel mills, in which the Rockefellers are reputed to have an interest. Eventually they will probably fall into the hands of their Soviet partners, as will the refineries. Under the leadership of Nehru and his “better half”, Krishna Menon, India has been consistently in the Soviet Russian Camp; and still is in spite of the invasion of India by Communist China and in spite of the billions of dollars of “foreign aid” which the U. S. has extended to the country at the dictate of the conspirators and their agents of the stamp of Chester Bowles and Prof. Galbraith. Fortunately, there was enough intelligently antagonistic opposition in the Administration to block this deal. (43, p. 298) But the Rockefeller conspirators never throw up the sponge. They persisted in their attempts, through their agents in the Kennedy Administration, to pick the pockets of American taxpayers to the tune of a billion dollars to build a steel plant that supposedly would be owned by the Indian government.

Another item to which Nelson Rockefeller devoted himself as assistant to the President, that would serve the interests of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, was unlimited economic aid to Communist Indonesia. The Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests had secured an interest in the Dutch East Indies oilfields in a post-World-War I deal that involved, among other treacheries, blocking production of American tin in the interest of the British-Dutch Tin Cartel. It left our country stripped of the tin essential for industry and defense in World War II. (11, 394-5) As is usually the case with those who enter into partnerships with the Rockefellers, the Dutch were ousted from their East Indies colonies by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis through the agency of their “United” Nations and delivered to their local Communist pawns under Sukarno.

American taxpayers' pockets were picked of many hundreds of millions of dollars, at the instance of Rockefeller, for "foreign aid" to support this Standard-Oil-Co.-serving treachery of theirs that established the Communist regime in Indonesia and furthered the advance of Communism around the world, while enriching the conspirators. Fortunately Rockefeller's efforts to effect additional "foreign aid" deals by Congressional appropriations were temporarily blocked. A later development of this Indonesian deal was the "expropriation", or theft, of its entire oil industry for the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis partners.

Another purpose of Nelson Rockefeller in ordering his appointment by Pres. Eisenhower as his "Special Assistant" was to create for himself a buildup as an "authority" on foreign affairs. For during the last hour of the last Congress session of the Truman regime, the conspirators had effected a change in the law concerning the succession to the Presidency in case of death, which put the Secretary of State in line for the office in case the President, Vice President, and the Speaker of the House should die. Since John Foster Dulles was a Rockefeller kin and agent, subject to their orders, Nelson Rockefeller might have hoped that in case of such series of deaths, Dulles might step aside to permit him to assume the post that would put him in line of Presidential succession. A record of "experience" in foreign affairs would serve to justify his appointment in the eyes of the "peasant" public.

It is a curious fact that Eisenhower, throughout his vicissitudes in the Armed Service and his other activities, as well as in the period following his Presidential terms, enjoyed the best of health. But during his terms in office of President, he repeatedly suffered from curious ailments. Within a week after his inauguration he attended a reception and luncheon following which he, alone, suffered from a gastrointestinal ailment that was diagnosed "food poisoning". Then, following a snack that he and George Allen had after a game of golf, which gave both of them an attack of "acute indigestion", Eisenhower developed a sudden acute attack of transient blindness and, towards morning, a chest pain that was represented to be an attack of "coronary thrombosis". It is incredible that his physician, Dr. Snyder, would permit him to walk to his car to ride to the hospital if he truly believed that the ailment was coronary thrombosis. Exertion is often fatal in that condition. And for a physician to permit his patient to exert himself during such an attack would be gross negligence and malpractice.

There were other curious features about Eisenhower's

"coronary thrombosis". Xrays of his lung were clear, ruling out the possibility that the peculiar sequence of symptoms were due to pieces broken off a bloodclot, or embolism, could account for the condition. And in the end, it was reported that Eisenhower's electrocardiogram showed absolutely no abnormalities, which is a rare occurrence in coronary thrombosis. Also there was to be taken into consideration the curious simultaneous onset of the transient illness of Allen's. It was quite obvious that the illness of Eisenhower and Allen could best be accounted for by a diagnosis of "poisoning". The Secret Service was warned to watch for an attempt to poison Eisenhower.

Sometime after Eisenhower's recovery, he was slated to go to a midwestern town to give a talk. A private car was loaned him by a railroad president; and it was parked in the Washington railroad yard, pending its use. A railroad hand took his family aboard the train to show them the car in which the President would travel. They became thirsty, and drank some bottles of soft drinks that had been placed aboard the train for Eisenhower's use. They all became acutely ill, stricken by arsenic poisoning. The Secret Service seized the rest of the bottles and reported that they were laden with arsenic. The story was briefly reported in a number of newspapers, that related that Eisenhower dismissed the incident with a shrug.

When, at a later date, Eisenhower was again stricken with an intestinal disorder, he was rushed to the hospital. No record has been published of an examination of his stools for arsenic or other poison before he was rushed to the operating room with a diagnosis of "ileitis". Ileitis and other forms of intestinal inflammation can be brought on by poisoning.

Subsequently, when Eisenhower went to Toronto, Canada, for an international conference, he took time out for a game of golf. A local taxi driver notified the Toronto police that he had taken to the golf course two men armed with rifles. An alarm was sent out.

In anticipation of defeat in his effort to obtain the nomination by the Republican Party in 1964, because of aroused public indignation, Gov. Rockefeller has undertaken to open a way into the White House by a new appointive route. On February 21, 1964, he proposed in a letter sent to Sen. Birch Bayh (Democratic, Indiana) who is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on Constitutional amendments, that there be created a new appointive Cabinet post with the title of First Secretary of Government, who would also head the super-governmental National Security Council. Rockefeller



proposed that this new post would constitute a short-cut to the Presidency that would require the elimination of only two officers, the President and the Vice President. It would bypass the third elective figure, the Speaker of the House, who would be next in line of succession under the bill for succession that he and his agents had put over at the end of the Truman Administration.

Is Rockefeller satisfied that he could force his appointment to the post of First Secretary of Government in either Democratic or Republican regimes, since he has managed to usurp what has been, in effect, that post since the early days of the New Deal? May it not be a possibility that we shall witness, in that event, the familiar Latin American spectacle, of "Government by Assassination"?

## CHAPTER XIV

### ROCKEFELLER AGENTS FRAME SEN. JOSEPH McCARTHY & DOOM REPUBLICAN PARTY

Nelson Rockefeller's vindictiveness and fury were sadly underestimated by his defected and unwitting collaborator in "foreign aid" looting of American taxpayers, Sen. Joseph McCarthy. As Chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee, McCarthy conducted an investigation of Communists and their infiltration of the Government. Much of the ground that he covered was merely a reinvestigation and repetition of the exposures that had been made by the House Un-American Activities Committee and other Congressional committees investigating Communist and other forms of subversion. The investigation was absolutely essential for the security and survival of the nation in spite of the fact that it was once again covering previously explored ground.

Despite earlier exposure, the subversives then brought to light were, as at present, even more firmly entrenched in key Government positions because of their survival and the extended length of their tenure. In this they were aided by the support of their activities, and their defense, with public funds including the tax-exempt funds of the conspirators' foundations. All previous investigations, as well as all undertaken since then, were stopped in their

tracks as soon as they approached the master conspirators and their foundations. Mention has been made of the Rockefeller role in ordered destruction of the records of the Dies-led HUAC, that fortunately has survived, as Appendix IX, because of defection in the rank of the conspirators; and of the destruction ordered by Rockefeller associates and henchmen of the Armed Forces records of subversives to prepare the way for their infiltration and promotion in the Services.

The Dynastic leaders of the conspiracy exert all their immense powers and their enormous plunder, including that put into their foundations to escape the tax collectors, to protect themselves from exposure and prosecution by protecting their subversive agents whom they have planted in Government and other strategic positions. The extent of this infiltration of their trained agents into the Government is, as has been mentioned, the subject of boasting by the Director of one of many of their foundation-subsidized, tax-exempt organizations, their "Foreign Office", the Council on Foreign Relations. (17, 1949-50, p. 39; 1952-3, p. 42)

The Dynastic conspirators use the onslaught of their vast Rockefeller-Soviet Axis propaganda machine that parades as "educational philanthropy" as well as its numerous other subversive-laden bogus "philanthropies" to destroy anyone who undertakes to investigate and expose their agents, in order to avert exposure of themselves. It was from them that there emanated the attacks that destroyed previous investigators of subversion, including Hamilton Fish, Martin Dies, J. Parnell Thomas and Harold D. Velde, among the Chairmen of the HUAC; Robert Stribling, David Schine and Roy Cohen, among the counsellors of the various committees; and Whittaker Chambers when he exposed Rockefeller's associate and agent, Alger Hiss.

Sen. McCarthy extended his investigation in so much greater depth than the earlier investigators, that he was in a position to expose the Dynastic master conspirators themselves. He ordered a raid on the Sunset Farm of Edward C. Carter, Secretary of Rockefeller-controlled and financed Institute of Pacific Relations, the mother organization of AMERASIA (and of the Y.M.C.A.), and seizure of the records of those dangerously subversive organizations that had been secreted in the dilapidated barn that camouflaged a modern mahogany-furnished office. There was discovered data regarding subversive and treasonous activities, that led McCarthy to pronounce it to be the most dangerous spy-nest in the world.

The seized correspondence indicated that the Rockefellers not only financed the subversive activities of these organizations, but also participated personally in their direction; and that at least one of them, John D. the Third, attended meetings of the organization in the barn. This meant that McCarthy was in the position to expose the Rockefellers, personally, as ringleaders in the treacherous activities of the IPR and its Amerasia subsidiary. This correspondence was shown to this author by an employee of the Committee, and has since come into his possession.

Rockefeller's fear and hatred of McCarthy was in no wise mitigated by the following that he had gained among patriotic Americans. To the entire treasonous breed of "liberals" and "internationalists", McCarthy and his patriotic activities were an anathema. Especially is this true of Nelson Rockefeller, who has never missed an opportunity to give vent to his rabid detestation of the patriotic citizenry whom he characterizes as the "lunatic fringe of the radical right." By his definition, as has been related, he places George Washington in that category.

Rockefellers, and especially Nelson, have made special and persistent efforts to hound all patriots out of public life as menaces to their "internationalist" conspiracy. Through their control of education and all media of mass communications, especially those financed through their bogus "philanthropies", they have been able to inculcate in the younger generation their "principle" that "treason is a virtue of which only 'liberals' are capable", and "patriotism is a vice". These "principles" have been given a pseudo-philosophic and psychoanalytic basis in Rene Allendy's TREASON COMPLEX that was published by the conspirators' Social Science Press. (113)

There appears to be in Nelson Rockefeller's intense hatred of patriots in the Republican Party, a large element of mixed political and financial concern, that particularly centers about their rejection of treasonous "internationalism" and jeopardy to the "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" profits that derive therefrom. Vis a vis the Democratic Party, he has no fears. For from its origin, it has accepted as its basic platform unrelenting opposition to the clauses in the Constitution that make "internationalism" and the taxation of the American people on the pretext of support or defense of another nation, not only un-Constitutional, but also treasonous. And throughout its history, the Democratic Party has adhered to the sham of "democracy", not rule, supposedly by the people, but actually thinly masked dictatorial rule by demagogues who have been ever ready

to adopt the various doctrines of the Nazarene, Weishaupt-Marx-Nickerson totalitarianism.

The Republican Party came into being about the time of the Civil War for the express purpose of preserving the Union, our Republic and the Constitution on which it is based. To be sure, it was largely infiltrated from the start by the Red adherents of the Jesuit-Weishaupt-Marx program of destroying the Union for the purpose of seizing control of our country and converting it to the totalitarian dictatorship that has always been their criminal objective. They carried on the plot that had been fostered by even some of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and reluctant supporters of the Constitution. From the start they fostered "bipartisanship" that linked their malign activities with those of their fellow conspirators in the Democratic Party. The history of the Republican Party has been one of its takeover by these "bipartisan" conspirators. The most active of these on the current scene has been Nelson Rockefeller. Red and "Liberal", he has been a "Trojan Horse" in the Republican Party and has led the conspirators, with the support of the Dynasty's tax-exempt loot, in taking it over. Frank Lynn, in a brilliant series of articles in the N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun on the subject of Rockefeller's campaign, aptly said: "SCRATCH NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND IT IS VERY LIKELY THAT YOU WILL FIND A DEMOCRAT." (122)

Every Republican who has shown the slightest sign of Americanism, or opposition to unlimited looting of the taxpayers through "internationalism" and "foreign (Rockefeller) aid", has been purged. Many of them lost their lives in the process of purging. Fatalities have occurred with curious regularity in the purging of defected agents of the Catholic faith. Even more curious is the fact that two of them died by supposedly "committing suicide", as the police blotters read, by jumping out of upper story windows.

James Forrestal was closely associated with Rockefeller. As head of Dillon Read & Co., he effected the financing of Rockefellers' German interests, including that of their I.G. Farbenindustrie A.G. office building. He came under Rockefeller-Soviet discipline in Rockefeller's CFR. It was Forrestal, appointed for the purpose a special assistant in charge of inter-American affairs, who served to cover up Rockefeller's appointment to his draft-dodging, lucrative post of "Coordinator", (131-2) with the help of Harry L. Hopkins and Anna Rosenberg. Forrestal turned over his position to Rockefeller, and was given the

post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Later he became the first Secretary of Defense where he was in a position to sluice off arms contracts to firms controlled by his Rockefeller patrons.

As Defense Secretary, Forrestal first became alert to the treasonous tie-ins of the conspirators with the Soviets, and of their significance. He instituted an investigation through his Department that revealed the key role of his patrons in our betrayal to the Reds. An initial report of this investigation was published on his order. Shortly thereafter, Forrestal was invited to the Georgia home of an associate in the CFR, Robert A. Lovett. There it has been reported he was seized, declared insane, and committed to the psychiatric wards of the Bethesda Naval Hospital, under close guard in a room with barred windows. Later it was announced that Forrestal had "committed suicide by jumping out of his room window". Forrestal's investigation of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis was dropped by his Rockefeller-CFR-trained successor (123), Lovett.

Laurence Duggan was a grandson and son of members of Rockefeller's CFR. An associate of Nelson Rockefeller, Alger Hiss and others of that "select" crew in the State Department, he was appointed Director of Rockefeller-subsidized Institute of International Education. Following questioning by the HUAC, in closed sessions, of his activities in planting Communists and other subversives in schools, colleges and universities, during which he broke down and acknowledged following the directions of the conspirators, he returned to his sixteenth floor office in New York, close by Rockefeller Center. He "died, as have so many other associated in this conspiracy, in a highly suspicious plunge from the window of his sixteenth floor office . . ." (11, p. 288) Despite the fact that he left no suicide note, that folk who plan to commit suicide by jumping from a window do not dress up for the occasion, that people who begin to dress usually complete the act before going on to other acts, and that there was evidence of a scuffle in his office, no question was ever raised by the authorities and his death was instantly and definitively declared to be 'suicide', without an investigation by the police, as if by pre-arrangement." (11, p. 39) But, it is reported, Duggan's widow still receives salary checks from his employers, a highly unusual and suspicious gesture. Guilt?

Sen. McCarthy's investigations had furnished him and his committee with indubitable proof of the identity of the ringleaders of the subversive conspiracy. And in his hear-

ings, he was coming dangerously close to exposing them. Probably fear of exposure accentuated Rockefeller's rage at McCarthy joining Sen. Robert Taft in voting against the "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" bill that he had intensively lobbied. Members of his staff report that he raved and vowed to destroy McCarthy; that he made no secret of it.

A vicious campaign of vilification of McCarthy was launched in every medium of mass communication, here and abroad, which is controlled by the Dynasty. Their tax-exempt foundations and other agencies were brought into play. All of the overshadowing power for subversion and propaganda of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis were brought to bear on the vicious and virulent campaign to destroy McCarthy. The propagandists quickly converted his name into the epithet of "McCarthyism" that was soon on the lips of all "Liberals" as well as of folks who should have known better, as an expression of contempt. In reality, the contempt was directed against the manifestation of patriotism that his activities represented.

Within minutes after a statement or release by Sen. McCarthy or of his Committee, the gigantic propaganda machine that the conspirators have built up during more than a century, went into action to brainwash the "peasants" into a mass hysterical reaction to so-called "McCarthyism" that might well have proved their salvation if heeded. Cowardly members of McCarthy's Committee flinched and deserted him, as did many of his so-called "patriotic" friends.

When Sen. McCarthy undertook to investigate the granting of commissions in the Armed Services to notorious Communists, and announced his plans to investigate the infiltration of Communists and the use of Communist textbooks in the Academies at West Point and Annapolis, the conspirators "saw the handwriting on the wall". The facts, as related, were notorious, as was the destruction of the Armed Forces' records of Communists and other subversives by order of such Rockefeller agents as John J. McCloy. (71) Earl Browder made no secret of these facts; and he widely published boasts of these "accomplishments" of the Communist Party.

The trail of a thorough investigation of "WHO PROMOTED PERESS?" would have led ultimately to the orders authorizing such promotions by Rockefellers' close CFR associate (later head of the Chase National Bank) John J. McCloy. And ultimately, it would have led to the Rockefellers themselves. And it would have led, in particular, to their "Fuehrer", Nelson Rockefeller, the dedicated champion of Reds and their cause, and the virulent,

venomous hater of patriots ("fanatics of the radical right, more dangerous than the radical left") and of the "ugly vice" of patriotism that is so detested by all dedicated "internationalists".

"Defense of the Army" and an absurd pretense of "patriotism" were the pretexts used by the conspirators to block their exposure by McCarthy and his Committee. The pawn in this move was a Rockefeller employee, who had been recently appointed Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, Robert Tenbroek Stevens. Stevens was President of the textile firm, J. P. Stevens & Co., which it is reported had fallen into the clutches of the conspirators during the depression. Col. John Zott, West Point graduate who was sent by Rockefeller's Caltex subsidiary, Aramco, with drafted GI's, to geologize and drill their Saudi Arabian oilfield, informed the author that when, on his return to the U. S., he was placed in charge of Army procurement, he was instructed to give almost three quarters of the contracts for Army uniform cloth to J. P. Stevens & Co. In view of conflicts that invariably arise in connection with procurement, it is quite obvious that the appointment of Stevens involved a flagrant conflict of interest that should have made him a very vulnerable target.

The objectives of the conspirators in their attack on Sen. McCarthy were primarily three:

First. To make an object lesson of Sen. McCarthy in order to intimidate any official who might consider exposing them or demanding their prosecution for their crimes.

Second. To wear out public patience and interest in exposures, thereby averting being exposed.

Third. To cover up their conspiratorial trail by playing on patriotic attitudes of the "peasants" with regard to the Armed Services and on their emotions.

For these purposes they employed as counsel for the Committee of the Senate appointed to hear the charges, a ham actor who doubled as an attorney, named Welch, who was given full leeway in the display of his dubious talents. (He later was rewarded by the conspirators by given the stellar role in a motion picture to "glorify" himself.) And the conspirators arranged televising the hearings on a nationwide scale, making a circus of them. In order to make sure that Sen. McCarthy would not dare to present to the nation evidence that was available to him for exposing them and their conspiracy, they effectively intimidated him by various devices at their command.

The conspirators rigged the televised hearings before a Senate Committee of their Congressional agents and ac-

complices, on vague charges of harassing subversives in the Government service. In other words, McCarthy was tried for performing ably, courageously and patriotically, the duty for which he had been appointed. Simultaneously, they utilized every means at their command, which are almost limitless, to intensify their campaign of hate against him; and redoubled the cry of "McCarthyism", with the help of their illiberal, brainwashed, so-called "Liberal", pink and Red henchmen. A curious and extremely interesting phase of this "McCarthyism" campaign of hate was that it was joined in by his Catholic coreligionists, including numerous priests and prelates, and especially by the Jesuits who have distinguished themselves by their "liberalism" to the point of becoming leaders of the Red movements.

McCarthy and his attorneys had available to them evidence that would have exposed Rockefeller and his associates as ringleaders in subversion and treason, and in the conspiracy to destroy him and discredit his patriotic following. Exposure of Army Secretary Stevens as a Rockefeller employee and of the conflict of interest in his appointment, alone, would have raised grave doubts in the public mind. Among the witnesses who were prepared to volunteer to testify on behalf of McCarthy, were some of Rockefeller's confidential employees who had been present when he had expressed himself in the matter.

But the conspirators had a throttlehold on McCarthy that blocked him from entering a valid offensive against his principal enemies and openly exposing to public gaze their too obvious subversiveness and malice. The Senator did this in spite of the fact that he was warned and he knew that his failure to do so would be fatal. Whereas, as was pointed out to him, if he followed the example of Sen. Truman and exposed the conspirators as traitors, he also would be on his way to the White House. For the craven spirit of the Dynasty impels them to court their enemies and betray their friends. There has been some suggestion that McCarthy's reluctance to use some of the data available for his defense and his "pulling his punches" may have involved his marital situation.

McCarthy's failure to use the means at his command to counter the attack of the conspirators on him facilitated their propaganda in building up a crushing antagonistic sentiment among the brainwashed elements among the peasants, as well as among his fair-weather "friends" and cowardly supporters. Extremely telling was his abandonment to the wolves by his coreligionists, in and out of the Senate and Congress, by many clergymen, and especially



actual condemnation by some prelates. Even Sen. John F. Kennedy, in whose name there appeared a volume entitled **PROFILES IN COURAGE**, lacked the courage, and possibly the desire, to support Sen. Joseph McCarthy's outstanding patriotic services to the nation that he rendered at the actual sacrifice of his life. For his valiant patriotic activities, he certainly deserved better treatment by the nation.

The conspirators' agents on the Committee and the cowardly members of Senate who were scared to defy the "McCarthyism" propaganda flood that was loudly echoed by the Red and Communist press and communications media, traitorously condemned and censured McCarthy. They thus destroyed the effectiveness of the only man in their midst who had the courage and patriotism to defend the country against the conspirators. And they aided and abetted the destruction of the man himself.

In censuring Sen. McCarthy, his colleagues made it possible for the conspirators to intimidate themselves and all men in public life. It enabled them to serve notice on all the nation: **BEWARE OF EXPOSING OUR PLOT, OR FACE DESTRUCTION.** "McCarthyism" was made by the subversive conspirators an epithet synonymous with "patriotism" and equally "reprehensible." (11, pp. 327-8)

Shortly after the hearings, Sen. McCarthy's health began to fail. This is not an unusual experience for those who oppose the conspirators, which is a distinctly unhealthy occupation. It is the trail of a multitude of deaths. His illness "baffled" the physicians who treated him at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, the same institution where Forrestal was hurled to his death. (123) McCarthy's health went steadily and rapidly downhill to his death in the institution.

McCarthy's medical attendant issued a death certificate and a statement to the press that indicated to the informed that he had been murdered in some unknown fashion. The death certificate read:

"Cause of death: Acute hepatitis, **CAUSE UNKNOWN.**"

Simultaneously the physician released a statement to the press that Sen. McCarthy had not suffered from an infection that caused the symptoms of hepatitis. To understand the medical significance of these facts, one must bear in mind that hepatitis may develop as a manifestation of either an infection or of poisoning. Since the Hospital made it quite clear in its press release that the cause of the hepatitis and death was not infection, the inference to be

drawn from the death certificate is obvious. THE CAUSE OF McCARTHY'S DEATH WAS, IN EFFECT, CERTIFIED AS POISON, BY THE BETHESDA NAVAL HOSPITAL, WHERE HE HAD BEEN UNDER TREATMENT. (See frontispiece)

The obvious question raised by McCarthy's death certificate is: "WHAT IS THE POISON THAT CAUSED THE DEATH?"

The laws of the land dictate that the deaths due to unknown causes must be investigated by postmortem examinations to eliminate the possibility of murder. Such postmortems are compulsory and routine. There may be no interference with them by anyone. And no consent is required of the surviving members of the family. Burial of the corpses without postmortems is a felony under both local and Federal laws.

No move was made by the conspirators to comply with the law and determine by postmortem what caused McCarthy's death. A number of McCarthy's associates and intimates, including his hometown friend, Mr. Engel who acted on behalf of his family, approached this author with the request that he attempt to induce the authorities involved to order that an autopsy be done on the corpse to determine the UNKNOWN CAUSE of his death and to eliminate the possibility of murder as the cause of death.

This author requested compliance with the law, by phone, of all the officials in the various parts of the country who were involved, including: officials of the Bethesda Naval Hospital; officials of Montgomery County, Maryland, where the hospital is located; officials of the District of Columbia; Federal officials; officials of the State of Wisconsin; and officials of Appleton, Wisconsin, McCarthy's home town. These efforts to secure compliance with the law met with no success. Each official "passed the buck". The excuse that they offered for their violation or disregard of the law was:

"MRS. McCARTHY OBJECTS TO AN AUTOPSY."

None of them explained why it was that the wishes of any McCarthy, including his recently acquired wife, superseded the criminal laws of the land. It did not seem to matter to the responsible officials that their failure to comply with the law put them in the position of being accomplices after the fact in a felony, in a possible murder. Obviously extremely powerful influence bore on the matter.

WHY? WAS McCARTHY MURDERED BY HIS ENEMIES, BY THE CONSPIRATORS WHO FEARED HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES? IS IT A MATTER OF CHANCE THAT THE KEY MEN WHO

**BLOCKED THE CONSPIRATORS' PLOT TO SEIZE THE PRESIDENCY, INCLUDING SEN. ROBERT A. TAFT, HAVE MET MYSTERIOUS DEATHS? CAN THIS BE AN EXPLANATION OF THE KENNEDY ASSASSINATION?**

An extremely interesting but assiduously neglected phase of the Kennedy assassination and its "investigation", or "whitewash, was presented in a story published in the N. Y. Daily News of November 10, 1963, by Joseph Cassidy and Lester Abelman. (136) They related that Pres. Kennedy visited New York on the preceding day, shortly after Nelson Rockefeller had announced his candidacy. He stopped at the Carlyle Hotel, that is reported to be jointly owned by the Rockefeller and Kennedy interests. They reported that the Secret Service maintained the "tightest vigilance on a New York visit in recent years"; and that no one, even newspaper reporters, were permitted to approach the President. No explanation has been offered, or sought by the "investigators", for this extraordinary vigilance by the Secret Service in New York as contrasted with the lack of vigilance in Dallas. Was the service warned that Kennedy's life was in danger in New York? Did they have reason to believe that an attempt would be made on his life in New York? A clarification of this matter might throw considerable light on the unexpected assassination in Dallas.

To set at rest the suspicions of murder raised by the McCarthy death certificate and the inquiries launched into the matter, Drew Pearson falsely alleged in his syndicated column that the hepatitis had been caused by alcoholism. In so doing, he cast a serious reflection on the reputations of the Bethesda Hospital physicians. For they would be poor specimens of the profession if they could not recognize cirrhosis resulting from the vitamin B deficiency caused by alcohol, and treat it accordingly. Sen. McCarthy's associates vouch for the fact that he had not been able to take liquor because of his illness for many months prior to his development of the hepatitis. Whatever poison precipitated his death, they attest that it was not alcohol. The obvious purpose of the Pearson column was to draw a "red herring" across the conspirators' trail.

Nelson Rockefeller has been insistently and dictatorially vocal on all matters that would swing the Republican Party into full "bipartisan", or "omnipartisan," support of all so-called "liberal", New Deal and pro-Communist subversions. These he absurdly calls, in the words of his Red ghostwriters, "the mainstream of Republican thought". He insists that they are essential for attaining his goal: "To

make Democracy live". With the characteristic semantic perversion of Reds and so-called "liberals", he alleges that they are "... the sound and honest conservatism that has firmly based the Republican Party in the best of a century's traditions . . ." In short he campaigns on the insane premise that Communism and New Dealism are Republicanism. And it is his "grandiose idea" that brainwashed American peasants must accept the thievishness of Communist "internationalism" and its "New Deal" counterfeit as the basis of their political organization, instead of the Constitution and patriotism. This is a frank expression of his, and his fellow conspirators' purpose, to reduce the nation to the totalitarian device of a single political party, the REPUBLICOCRATIC COMMUNIST PARTY, with himself as its dictator.

This explains why Nelson Rockefeller, as the real behind-the-scene, omnipartisan political boss of the nation and as overt New Dealer and Trojan Horse who has planted himself in the Republican Party, has made every move in the past several decades that has sapped, undermined and defeated the Republican Party from within. It explains the imposition of a Democratic unknown, Wendell Willkie, for example, on the Republican Party in 1940, as its Presidential candidate. It explains why he and his fellow conspirators destroyed Sen. McCarthy with their "McCarthyism" campaign which was joined by every medium of mass communication controlled by them; and his unusual silence in the matter.

The treatment accorded Sen. McCarthy by them was effective in splitting the Republican Party wide open. Much to their delight, it gave their Democratic henchmen control of Congress. The success that crowned his efforts encouraged Rockefeller to continue his wrecking activities from within the Party, as a bogus Republican. He continued to force on the Party his "internationalism" that is reviled as treasonous by true patriot Republicans.

An expert at the art of cuckold, he has undertaken to drive true Republicans out of the Party and embrace it in wedlock with Red subversion, with himself as Presidential candidate. With this purpose, he launched on a campaign to destroy any and every candidate who remotely resembles a Republican. By the traditional tactics of the Dynasty, Nelson Rockefeller has barred them from any voice in the Party or in the selection of its candidate. Taft, Knowland, Knight, Jenner, Nixon and any other possible rival for the Presidential nomination of himself as Republicocratic Red Presidential candidate on the Republican ticket has been craftily destroyed politically. One can imagine Nelson

Rockefeller's glee at being rid of so formidable a rival as Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

There is no need for conjecture regarding the conspirators' plot to assassinate McCarthy. It was openly promised by one of their agents, a delegate to the secret, higher level "internationalist" conferences for the sell-out of our country, that was arranged for the conspirators by their Polish double-agent Dr. Joseph H. Retinger, was fronted by Prince Bernhard, Dutch Royal consort, and was held near Arnhem, Holland, under top security, at the Hotel de Bilderberg.

David Rockefeller, personally represented the Rockefeller Empire at this conspiratorial Bilderberg Conference, the members of which were later to play key roles in the rape of Congo. Rockefeller was accompanied by a group of their CFR agents, including a number of them who who had been planted in the Eisenhower Administration. Among them were Dean Rusk, President of the Rockefeller Foundation; Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for "International Peace"; and C. D. Jackson, Assistant to President Eisenhower who was picked for the job by the Secretary of State Gen. Bedell Smith, former head of the conspirators' CIA.

Charles Douglas Jackson was the most vociferous of the Rockefeller agents in the group and one of the few of its members who spoke in official capacity, as Assistant to President Eisenhower. He had won his position as a leader of Red fronts. Assistant to the president of TIME and then general manager of LIFE, in the 1930's, he found his way to the top of the Red front, as President, in 1940, of the Council For Democracy. From there he rose rapidly in the ranks of New Deal Reds as assistant to the U. S. Ambassador to Turkey, deputy chief of the Office of War Information, and deputy chief of the Psychologic Warfare (propaganda) Division, SHAEF. Returning to Time Inc. he became the editor of the most "liberal" of its publications, FORTUNE, in 1952. From that post, he quite naturally drifted into Eisenhower's Red entourage, with which he usually seemed most at ease. He was quite at home in Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

The Rockefeller delegates to the Bilderberg Conference found their European fellow conspirators quite alarmed about Sen. Joseph McCarthy's exposure of their Red agents. They were even more alarmed about his attack on "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" in which they presumably shared some crumbs that fell from the Rockefeller table, some payoffs. C. D. Jackson, acting as spokesman for his bosses, assured the alarmed foreigners, at the first meeting

in May, 1954, that Sen. McCarthy would soon be eliminated. His words, reported by Alden Hatch, among others, in his book **BERNHARD, PRINCE OF THE NETHERLANDS** (140, p. 242):

**"WHETHER MCCARTHY DIES BY AN ASSASSIN'S BULLET or is eliminated in the normal American way of getting rid of boils on the body politic, I PROPHESEY THAT BY THE TIME WE HOLD OUR NEXT MEETING HE WILL BE GONE FROM THE AMERICAN SCENE".**

It was not long thereafter that Rockefeller employee, Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, Robert Tenbroek Stevens was appointed Secretary for the Army and brought the drummed up charges against Sen. McCarthy that were used by the conspirators to assassinate him politically. Three years later the physical assassination of McCarthy was accomplished.

There is occasion for interest in the relationship between the conference held at the conspirators' Sea Island domain by the Bilderbergers on March 28-29, 1964, and the recently accomplished assassination of Pres. Kennedy and the plotted withdrawal of any gold reserve for the dollar.

Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.'s role in the McCarthy purge is of special interest. As one of the top-ranking "liberal", or Red, "internationalist" agents of the conspirators and UN delegate, he participated in the cabal's White House conference at which the plot was laid.

## **CHAPTER XV**

### **THE ROCKEFELLER REPORTS NELSON ROCKEFELLER "MUSCLES IN" AS REPUBLICAN DICTATOR**

**"Nelson . . . Preferred To Change Not His Affiliation But The Philosophy of HIS Party . . . And Has . . . Succeeded . . ."**  
**(THE FABULOUS ROCKEFELLERS, Silverberg, p. 109)**

Nelson Rockefeller has been insistently and dictatorially vocal on all matters that would swing the Republican Party into full "bipartisan" support of all "liberal", "New Deal"

and pro-Communist measures—in terms of his own favorite expression of purpose: “**THAT WILL MAKE DEMOCRACY LIVE**”. It is noteworthy as a revelation of his true attitude and purpose that he rarely, if ever, refers to our government as a Republic; but always refers to it as a “Democracy”.

Rockefeller is even more stridently vocal in attacking things of which he disapproves. In the McCarthy persecution that was certain to disrupt the Republican Party and effect its defeat at the polls, Nelson Rockefeller was curiously silent. It is a Rockefeller tradition to mask by silence and pretended indifference their most vicious treacheries. This serves to hide their key role played and their hearty approval. This approval was fully confirmed by the Rockefeller-controlled media of mass communication with their insistent, strident attacks on “McCarthyism,” which has been the conspirators’ pet term of derision of patriotism, that displaced their epithet “isolationism”, and by their condemnation of Sen. McCarthy.

The elimination of Sen. McCarthy, the split in the Republican Party that it caused, and the consequent victory of the Democrats that gave them complete control of Congress, perfectly fitted into Rockefeller’s plan to seize the Party and make it more completely serve his purposes. There remained, however, a number of Republican leaders who might block his absolute domination of the Party and dictation to it, and might themselves be his rivals for the Presidential nomination. They were not wholeheartedly “internationalist” but though less reluctant than McCarthy and Taft to support “foreign (Rockefeller) aid” thievery, they did not favor it; and they were inclined to be patriots, or “isolationist,” and were squeamish about betraying our country.

Prominent among these potential rivals was Vice-President Nixon’s California colleague, Senate majority leader, William F. Knowland. He stood out as an opponent of Rockefeller’s “liberal” cohorts and as possible Presidential timber of the same calibre as Nixon. A cunning scheme was hatched by the conspirators, in which both Rockefeller and Eisenhower undoubtedly had a hand, to eliminate both Knowland and Nixon as possible threats, by setting them against one another. It involved losing California for the Republicans. But in Rockefeller plans that was not a material objection. The plotters had Vice-President Nixon convey to Sen. Knowland and California Governor Knight the order to switch places on the Republican ticket in the forthcoming election, “for the good of the Party”. Though both were certain of reelection to the posts which

they held, Knowland became candidate for Governor and Knight, for Senator. With powerful assistance and financial support of the conspirators, the Democrats defeated both candidates. And Rockefeller was rid of Sen. Knowland, a powerful rival for the Presidential nomination.

But Rockefeller and his "liberals" had gained an even greater advantage. Craftily, the "deal" had been arranged to make it appear that the plan had originated with Nixon, to eliminate rivals for control of the Party in California. The Rockefeller-controlled press and mass communication media announced this as the objective. As a result, the defeated candidates, and their numerous followers vented their resentment and their hatred on Nixon. Nixon was as effectively destroyed politically in California by this crafty maneuver as was Knowland. Subsequently Nelson Rockefeller put the finishing touches on Nixon's political career.

There was an ironical but amusing denouement to this California treachery. Former Gov. Knight has had no suspicion that he was a victim of a master conspirator, and not of Nixon's design. He has become an ardent supporter of the man who brought about his political debacle. His subservience to Nelson Rockefeller is so abject that in 1963 he embarrassed his idol by prematurely opening headquarters for the 1964 Presidential nomination campaign.

By 1955, Nelson Rockefeller decided that he had sufficiently identified himself with the Republican Party to camouflage his Red, Democratic "New Dealism"; and that he had attained sufficient stature and influence in the Party to force on it the acceptance of his Marxist revolutionary and pickpocket dedication that had made his path a bit rough, at times, during his appointive tenures when he had encountered officials who were truly Republican. It had frustrated and irritated him to discover that they were not dedicated to the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis conspiracy of bankrupting the nation and subverting and destroying our Constitution and Republic. As has been noted, Rockefeller and his Red ghostwriters never express a desire to have our Republic prosper and survive. Their insistent desire is: "TO MAKE DEMOCRACY LIVE".

Rockefeller resigned his official post in the Eisenhower regime and proceeded to force his "liberal", "New Deal" program on the Republican Party and to prepare the way for attaining his goal by the normal elective route: "entering the White House through the front door". This blatant political propaganda of Rockefeller's took the



form of what was sardonically labelled by him a "Special Study Project" by one of the usual so-called "committees" of his agents, pawns and dupes that he sets up to echo his dictates.

In flagrant violation of the law, he financed this frankly political activity of his with the tax-exempt funds of his foundations. This means, in effect, he forced the taxpayers to pay for his campaign to further his plans to subvert the nation. Curiously, the Internal Revenue Service which is charged by the law to prosecute such diversions of tax-exempt funds to political uses and to shut down on the violators, jail them and confiscate the tax funds that have been entrusted to their foundations, has failed to comply with the law. Even when at a later date, as will be related, a naive IRS investigator exposed another such violation by Rockefeller, the Government failed to comply with the law. Clearly it is the attitude of our Government dominated by Rockefeller, that he and his psychopathic whims and lusts are the law; that "the King can do no wrong".

The illicitly financed political propaganda that embodied Rockefeller's dictates were published at the expense of the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation and were publicized as the ROCKEFELLER PANEL REPORTS. These so-called "REPORTS" are represented by Rockefeller press-agent Morris on behalf of his patron, as "an effort to provide a blueprint for approach to future national problems." (43, p. 308) Developments proved them to be propaganda to impose the conspirator's schemes for totalitarian subversion, as a "bipartisan" device, on the Republican Party and its platform, thus bringing it into full conformity with the Democratic.

The personnel of these panels cast a clear light on the political purposefulness and uses of the reports. All of the panel members are "internationalists" of the same stripe as Rockefeller, who have been his employees, stooges, pawns and sycophants. (78, pp. xxiv-v). They include such "Republicans" as:

ANNA M. ROSENBERG (now married to another Rockefeller CFR associate) the fiery Red import from Hungary, who long has been on the Rockefeller payroll, reputedly at a salary of \$5,000 a week, as go-between for Labor and the Party, whose record has been related.

CHESTER BOWLES, the "liberal" advertising executive who made his "liberalism" pay off with a multi-million fortune in the advertising game while the nation was held in the throes of a depression; who is "at home" in many

Rockefeller supported Red fronts and has well served the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and its satellite, India, in the capacity of "American" Ambassador for India. He played a key role in writing the 1960 Democratic Presidential campaign platform in conformity with the Rockefeller Reports.

CHARLES H. PERCY, president of Bell & Howell Co., Trustee of Rockefeller's University of Chicago, Chairman of the Board of the "liberal" Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation. He played the key role in writing the Republican Presidential campaign platform, in 1960, in conformity with the Rockefeller Reports. He now seeks election as a "Republican" governor of Illinois.

LESTER B. GRANGER, executive director of the heavily Rockefeller subsidized, "liberal" organization for agitation among the colored folks, the National Urban League (the headquarters of which, at 14 East 48 Street, New York City, was given to it by Nelson Rockefeller's "odd" brother, Winthrop, as a memorial to their abolitionist mother) whose name and activities are not unknown to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON, President of the Carnegie Foundation For International Peace, associate and successor of Alger Hiss in various of his posts, whose identification with the Rockefellers and dubious State Department record have been related. (62, p. 121)

DEAN RUSK, who according to Freda Utley (62, p. 121) owed his appointment as Under Secretary of State to his association with Rockefeller, Alger Hiss and Joseph E. Johnson; who as related, "distinguished" himself and won the gratitude of the conspirators by "patriotically" insuring American defeat in Korea by his role in forcing the dismissal of Gen. MacArthur, and was rewarded by Rockefeller with appointment of President of the Rockefeller Foundation. His appointment by Pres. Kennedy, who was unacquainted with him personally, he owed to the Rockefellers, who gave him a leave of absence from his Rockefeller Foundation post. As Secretary of State, he undeniably has served the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis with devoted singleness of purpose.

PHILIP E. MOSELY, whose mentality and "patriotism" are most indicative of the character of the panels, director of "studies" of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, disciple of Hoffman Nickerson, Rockefeller subsidized Professor of International Relations at Columbia U. and officer of its Russian Institute, and Assistant Director of Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation. The views of the conspirators and the objective of their subversive

propaganda was clearly stated by him in a pamphlet of the Headline Series of their Red, Foreign Policy Association, as follows:

"Over the long run, great numbers of people will judge both the Soviet and American systems, *not by how much individual freedom they preserve*, but by how much they contribute, *in freedom or without it*, to develop a better livelihood and a greater feeling of social fulfilment." The attitude of Mosely, like that of his Rockefeller boss, is that for American "peasants" as for the Russian moujik, freedom is non-essential. Only "security" counts. They do not go on to relate their "liberal" sentiment that maximum "security" is most readily available to three groups: slaves and subjects of a totalitarian dictatorship; prisoners in jails; the dead. This is the "PROSPECT" that the conspirators offer us and seek to give us, with sugar coating, in their political platforms. It is the effluvia of psychopathic minds, and certainly not Republicanism.

EMMETT JOHN HUGHES, Red, Democratic, tricky Rockefeller employee who serves as his alleged "brain" and ghostwriter after serving Eisenhower in the same capacity and then betraying him in so-called MEMOIRS (76), director of their shady "philanthropic" IBEC and member of their CFR.

Those are representative of the characters who dictate what Rockefeller represents is "the mainstream of Republican thought". If any mention is made anywhere in the "REPORTS" of our nation being a Republic that has been eminently successful in enabling us to lead the world, the author has not been able to find it. An entire section (78, pp. 395-469) is devoted to the "POWER OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA", in which is made a casual reference "to the conception of the United States as a constitutional republic". (434) But it disdainfully relates that "it conforms to the formal mechanism of existing democratic governments".

Communist propagandists rightly represent that Soviet Russia is the only true "democracy". They define "democracy" as being synonymous with Communism. And in a practical sense, that is true. For pure democracy is mob rule. It invariably degenerates into the seizure of power by the most ruthless, violent and criminal gangster in the mob, as it has in the Soviets and wherever else it has been tried. It becomes rule by force and violence, by gangsterism. One can readily understand, therefore, the paeans sung by the Rockefeller racketeers and their minions on the theme of "democracy"; and why Nelson Rockefeller insistently proclaims that he wants to "make Democracy

live", and to "change . . . the philosophy" of the Republican Party to make it a rubber stamp of the Democratic. Looting would be materially facilitated thereby, though there is no evidence that it requires any facilitating. One can also understand his insistence that he, a dyed-in-the-wool Democratic Red is the only true Republican; and all others are the "fanatic radical right".

Nelson Rockefeller expressed the "grandiose idea", in the "modest" volume of his views assembled and edited by his pressagent, James Poling, under the title of ROCKEFELLER RECORD, (79, p. 35) that he assembled the nation's "best brains" to make the "Reports" to guide the nation. (79, p. 35) But biographer Morris makes clear whom Rockefeller meant when he demurely speaks of the nation's "best brains", when he reported that Nelson imposed on the panel "agreement". (43, p. 309) Agreement with whom? With Nelson Rockefeller, naturally! In short, Nelson Rockefeller adhered in this matter to the tradition of the Dynasty that is expressed in John D's "encyclical", Occasional Letter No. I, that stated the purpose of subverting our Republic as the determined purpose of his bogus "philanthropy", the General Education Board:

"In our dreams we have limitless resources (the wealth of the nation) and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands."

Nelson Rockefeller has always been certain that his is "the best brains in the nation". Is not the largest pile of loot derived from generations of the rawest gangsterism, brigandage, piracy and incited warfare adequate proof of that? As for his "committees" and "panels" we have the acknowledgement of his pressagent, Morris, that they "yield themselves with perfect docility" to his "molding hands", in "achieving agreement" (43, p. 309).

The conclusion which Nelson Rockefeller made certain that his "handpicked" committee bring in, is his glib expression:

"Democracy is a powerful idea . . . because it draws much of its strength from religion . . ." (78, p. 395) This is the "change" in "the philosophy of HIS Party" that he decrees is "the main stream of Republican thought". Quite clearly, Nelson Rockefeller is a "Trojan Horse" who has planted himself in the Republican Party for the purpose of imposing his predatory, Red, "New Deal", Democratic platform on it to further his dictatorial purposes. He should carry the tag RED ROCKY, THE REPUBLOCRAAT.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE PLOT EVOLVES: ROCKEFELLER SEIZES NEW YORK GOVERNORSHIP

After romping through the Administration of reverent Eisenhower, who gave him a free hand, as the boss who had bought him the Presidency, Nelson Rockefeller arrived at the decision that the time was ripe to emerge entirely into the open and launch on the first step of the end stage of the plan to openly take over the country as its elected, "indispensable" Presidential dictator preliminary to establishing the "internationalist" so-called "One World Federalism" under his dictation. The conspirators had satisfied themselves that the nation had forgotten the long record of crimes of the Dynasty and the prediction made by the Supreme Court, in 1911, of its menace to our Republic; and that the people had been duped into the belief that Rockefeller is a benevolent "philanthropist" and not a "Robber Baron". For had he not carried off the boondoggling racketeering of the CIAA, the wartime treachery in the State Department, the United Nations betrayal, an endless series of "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" deals, numerous malodorous behind the scenes and open maneuvers, without creating widespread suspicion or alarm?

The elaborate and well-laid plot lay well beyond the limited mentality of Nelson Rockefeller himself. Basically it followed the centuries old scheme for world conquest and domination conceived by Ignatius Loyola and his Marrano followers (14, p. 95) that was formulated by Jesuit Adam Weishaupt in the Illuminist-Communist plot to force the Vatican to reestablish the Jesuit Order after it had been abolished by Pope Clement XIV as immoral and a menace. It was aped by Weishaupt's paranoid disciple, Moses Mordecai Marx Levy alias Karl Marx, after it had become the basis of American and French "democratic" political organization. And it was adapted and formulated for the early American scene by Clinton Roosevelt (1), and for the current scene by the unsocial "scientist", Hoffman Nickerson. (39)

Trillionaire "philanthropist" Rockefeller was enabled by the power and resources of the Dynasty, to indulge one of his "grandiose ideas", to be super-Napoleonic world dictator. His favorite portrait of himself, that he distributes to his friends, is one by Yussuf Karsch that depicts him in a Napoleonic pose, holding a globe in his hand, as world dictator. Pressagent Morris explains that Rockefeller has sufficient insight into his mental limitations to leave the details of carrying out his "grandiose ideas" to others. (43, p. 289)

Honest self-expression has become a thing of the past in public life. Employment of ghostwriters and doubles has become "accepted practise". It is curious that when a student employs a ghostwriter to turn out his themes and theses, the courts hold both guilty of fraud. It is no less fraud for men who control the destinies of nations to employ ghostwriters to dictate their thoughts and write their speeches. However, the number of public figures of the present era who do their own thinking and writing can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Still fewer are the number who can deliver an extemporaneous address. Most men in public life today are bogus "images" created by advertising talent, pressagents, ghostwriters and other fraudulent devices.

Nelson Rockefeller, whose biographers are advised to acknowledge that he is incapable of abstract thought or of planning, unable to spell and read correctly and otherwise incompetent, is of the latter class. The key man who was originally employed by him to do his thinking, planning and writing for many years, was political reporter Francis A. Jamieson. A shrewd politician, he served as Rockefeller's "brains". His death created a glaring void in the Rockefeller "image".

A veritable army of ghostwriters, theatrical producers, advertising men, propagandists, newspaper publishers, medicine show barkers, columnists, shills, pollsters, fixers and run-of-the-mill strong arm men and gangsters serve to create the Rockefeller bogus "image" and to cater to his whims. If he should get the notion that he wants a piece of the moon, there are certain to be a host of minions ready at hand to serve in that cause. Quite frequently, if not regularly, they are paid to serve him by the unwitting taxpayers, often, as will be related, in complete disregard of the law. For the Rockefellers seek "to make money". And the use of their own money to pay their expenses, rather than "other people's money" is not the path to a trillion dollar income or loot.

The "ghosts" who write his speeches and other public

utterances and publications are a motley crew among whom his "soul mates", "pinks" and Reds, predominate. One of the most "liberal" of these is Jamieson's successor, Emmett John Hughes, who is also an employee of Rockefeller's IBEC. Hughes, as has been related, acknowledges himself to be a New Deal Democrat and "internationalist" and hostile to patriotism and Republicanism. His latest published work is a vicious, treacherous attack on the program that he was employed by the conspirators to enunciate as the policies of Pres. Eisenhower as his ghostwriter, before he was taken back by Nelson Rockefeller to serve him. (76)

At the same time that Nelson Rockefeller was romping through the Eisenhower Administration in Washington, he was also busily guiding the activities of the Democratic Party back in New York, through his agents. His purpose was to ensure his election as Governor of New York, as a steppingstone to the White House, by disrupting the opposition. His control of the Democratic Party and its auxiliary, the so-called "Liberal" Party, was assured by his Council on Foreign Relations associates and agents who included Sen. Herbert Lehman, W. Averell Harriman, Thomas K. Finletter, David Dubinsky and numerous others. Control of the Red, "Liberal" Party also was assured him by his participation through his wife, Mary Todhunter Clark Rockefeller, in its organization.

It was as simple a matter for Rockefeller to arrange disruption of his Democratic opponents as it was for him to dictate his nomination by the Republicans. It merely required a bit of Machiavellian planning. The first step was to bolster the plutocratic tradition in New York's Governorship, following in the line of Roosevelt and Lehman. This was done by arranging the nomination of W. Averell Harriman and his election on the Democratic ticket. All had been "liberal", or Red, "do-gooders" and New Dealers, trusted stooges who served to delude the "peasants".

Rockefeller's CFR agent and associate "broke the ice" for Nelson Rockefeller's seizure of the Governorship and looting of New York State. Rockefeller's agent Gov. Harriman furthered the conspirators' objective and his boss's career, by taking his orders and appointing him chairman of the Temporary State Commission on the Constitutional Convention to rewrite New York State's Constitution. Chairman Rockefeller could be depended upon to dictate to the Commission a Constitution that would serve him and the Rockefeller Empire most effectively in "making money", their avowed constant objective. It can be safely

assumed that Rockefeller initiated the plan for rewriting the Constitution. It is his express conviction that all Constitutions, including that which was made the basic law of the land, must be rewritten at frequent intervals—whenever it suits his purposes and interests to remove any barrier which stands in the way of “making money”.

Shortly thereafter, puppet Gov. Harriman proposed the nomination of Rockefeller by the Republican Party for the Governorship as his opponent and successor, in a speech given, in March 1957, before the legislative press correspondent's dinner in Albany. Following the intensive publicity, Rockefeller's agents led by his campaign manager, Judson Morhouse, and John Roosevelt who rigged and organized, at his instance, a “Draft Rockefeller” committee, Rockefeller arranged his “draft” as nominee.

A more correct statement of the situation would be: “Nelson Rockefeller made a highly profitable purchase of the Republican nomination.” For the “Rock Mob”, (as the Rockefellers were nicknamed by their kinsmen in their New York Daily News as a tribute to their aptitude in racketeering) have managed to make the quest for public office as costly to others as it is profitable to themselves. These costs and profits from political campaigns derive from innovations introduced by the conspirators.

Political campaigning and the quest for public office has become, in steadily increasing degree, a matter of brainwashing and duping the electorate, the so-called “peasants”. The process that is mockingly called “education”, has become in increasing degree under the direction of the bogus “philanthropic” conspirators’ direction, a device for conditioning the rank and file of the people, whom they label “the masses”, to accepting brainwashing from their so-called “liberal” sources and responding hysterically to the dictates and order of the conspirators only, with a conditioned reflex that is instant, compelling and irresistible.

Radio and television have become the most important of the mass media for “conditioning the masses” to automatic, reflex response to the dictates of the conspirators. They are used as media for persistent, repeated and constant suggestion that “molds the minds” of even some of the more intelligent elements in the community. They have largely taken over the pristine role of religions for this purpose. And they are used with great effectiveness by the “planners” and plotters to create delusions regarding office seekers that are called “images”.

Nelson Rockefeller, by nature a dictator, is ever bent on imposing his will and views on others. He did not fail



to recognize the value of control of the air for attaining his dictatorial objectives. His Rockefeller Center deal with Radio Corporation of America gave him effective control of that organization. He was largely instrumental in usurping the air channels which are rightly the property of each and every one of us and of the nation, and in incorporating that monopoly of the air into networks controlled by himself and fellow conspirators.

Once the monopoly of the air had been established with the aid of a Government agency set up for the purpose of maintaining it, a major problem in Rockefeller execution of the Nickerson program of converting our Republic into a plutocracy, in which the wealthy would dominate all public offices, as a step toward an absolute, monarchic dictatorship became readily soluble. The use of the air channels and networks was barred to almost everyone except the conspirators. They set up "regulations" that suited their purposes and were ratified by their agents in the Federal Communication Commission. Among the regulations were those that made every statement other than those that accorded with their own subversive mouthings, "controversial", and barred from broadcasting and publication. The air channels and networks have become an integral part of the monopoly of mass communications created by the conspirators, following the precepts laid down by Adam Weishaupt, for subverting the nation. (103, pp. 291-7; 104)

That life-blood of the Rockefellerers—loot, or "profits"—that they assure us are never lost sight of in whatever they do, were amply attained by making access of the public who are allowed it by the conspirators, to the air channels that had been stolen from them, enormously costly. The situation enabled the conspirators to attain two objectives: First. To reach exclusively the large captive audiences that can be reached only by radio and television. This means that only a person possessed of great wealth, or one who is supported by great wealth, can reasonably hope to succeed, in most instances, in winning nominations and elections. For the moneys that can be derived from the rank and file are inadequate. There are few persons or groups who can manage the enormous sums required for electioneering for an office of importance, after paying their income taxes. Those individuals or groups are to be found mainly among those who pay no taxes: either the criminal and labor elements, or the so-called "philanthropists" who are exempt from taxation and require the rest of the community to pay the taxes that they evade. And even the tax-exempt persons must

violate the law and commit a felony if they use exempted foundation funds for political purposes. In short, the expense of a major campaign can be afforded only by the criminal element whom Hoffman Nickerson designated "The Permanent Type Of Rich Man". (39, pp. 9-24) And his plot and plan laid out for the conspirators of a monarchic dictatorship, or elective monarchy (39, pp. 274-302), is brought more readily within range of attainment, by the conspirators' monopolistic control of the airways and the other media of mass communication.

Second. Rockefeller's control of those media also nets enormous profits for him and the Dynasty, which revert to their own purses. Money spent by Rockefeller on campaigning flows from one of his pockets to another of his pockets. In addition, the money subscribed by the public for the support of his campaigns flows into the same pockets, as do also the funds expended on the campaigns of his adversaries. Obviously, his campaigns and those of his henchmen are not an expense, but a rich source of profits and loot.

Rockefeller pressagent Morris reports that a reporter covering his gubernatorial campaign remarked:

"The secret ingredient of this campaign is money."  
(43, p. 327)

He did not make it clear that the money does not flow *out* of the Rockefeller purse, but *into it* in the form of profit and tribute. At a later date it was discovered by the Internal Revenue Service that much of the money used by Rockefeller in campaigning has been tax-exempt foundation funds used criminally, in violation of the law.

The complaint voiced by members of Congress and other independent candidates for public office, that the enormous and mounting costs of campaigning now bars all but the extremely wealthy or the extremely venal from public office, is readily understandable in view of these facts. (135) It also makes it quite apparent how successful have been the conspirators in transforming our Republic into a plutocratic autocracy. This device for attainment of the objective is, in reality, Nelson Rockefeller's improvement on adviser Nickerson's plan, that he effected when he obtained a controlling block of RCA stock when renting space to it in Rockefeller Center.

With the start made by Nelson Rockefeller, the conspirators had no more difficulty in establishing a monopoly of the air channels than racketeering John D. the First had in establishing his illicit oil and other monopolies. Indeed, the conspirators found their task far easier and

simpler. It merely required a bit of corruption at the top levels of the Government. They placed their agents in key Government posts that they set up to establish and maintain their monopoly, including the Federal Communications Commission. This has given them almost complete and absolute monopoly of the air channels, of radio and television, the most effective media of mass communications.

The consequence of the Rockefeller monopoly of the air is, in effect, the sale of the highest offices in the land to the highest bidders, subject solely to the approval of the conspirators. To reinforce their powers, the monopolizers of the air channels have set up a rigid censorship to serve their conspiratorial purposes. One of the basic rules of that censorship is that only "liberalism", or Communism, is "non-controversial". Any attack or exposure of the conspirators and the subversions that they use the air to disseminate, is "controversial" and is therefore barred from the radio and television channels except under very exceptional conditions.

Thus when this author was requested to broadcast in connection with the 1948 Dewey campaign by the Republican Party, he selected the topic Communist penetration of "education" under the New and Fair Deals, especially as illustrated by the administration of a women's college in New York City, Hunter's College. Shortly before he was supposed to go on the air, the authorities of the network demanded that the talk be turned over to them for censorship. It was rejected because of exposure of Communism, and activities of notorious Communists, which rightly should have been major issues in the campaign. The author was asked by Republican officials to submit to censorship by columnist George Sokolsky. He consented in the hope of getting some of the facts before the public. Sokolsky explained that he was steadily subjected to such censorship. And he advised eliminating from the text some of the most vital material, as the price for getting some of the facts to the public. But, he pointed out, on occasions other than a political campaign, it would be virtually impossible to get by the censors with any comments on the situation.

The publications and media of mass communication that are not directly amenable to censorship and control by the conspirators have been forced into subjection by schemes directed at their jugular veins—monopolies of press services and syndicates, of paper and advertising, of equipment and of labor through control of unions involved. During the period of critical shortage of paper

and the extortionate increase in price of pulp fixed by the newsprint monopoly, John D. Rockefeller III was chairman of the Paper Industry Board; and the conspirators established a throttle-hold on the newspaper industry.

During the same period huge advertising agency monopolies, such as McCann Erickson that controls most Standard Oil advertising and Foote, Cone, & Belding were built up. They have been merged, more recently, into a vast and powerful super-monopoly of advertising, press-agentry and publication. This monopoly bears the name Interpublic Inc. Its rapidly multiplying accounts now total close to half a billion dollars. Its financial power is such that it can throttle even the most powerful publications by withholding advertising accounts of such magnitude as to threaten insolvency. And it has done so, in the process of reaching out for direct control and monopolistic ownership of the publications for the purpose of establishing vertical monopoly of the advertising and publishing fields for the conspirators, the Saturday Evening Post is an example, such as was originally conceived by Weisaupt. (104; 103, pp. 291-7)

Recently Rockefellers' tax-exempt AIAESD reached out for control of the press with purchase of 100% preferred stock of the Oceanside Blade Tribune. INTERPUBLIC is reported to have been responsible for the lukewarm support of Nixon and the Republican Party in California in the 1962 gubernatorial election, as well as in the Presidential election in 1960, at the behest of Rockefeller principals.

A tremendous improvement on the device of stealing elections by "repeating" perpetrated by their gangster agents, invalidating ballots by marking them in the process of "counting", miscounting them, "stuffing" ballot boxes, and the numerous other devices that had become traditional, was effected by the conspirators with their introduction of voting machines. These machines are essentially nothing more than interlocked multiple counters. And they readily could be constructed in such manner as to enable the voter to see his vote record for the candidate for whom he casts it. Actually the voter on the present day voting machines has no way of knowing for whom his vote registers. He merely knows that the levers that he pulled down represent his choice. The reason for this situation is that the voting machines were introduced by the same "honorable" elements who traffic in slot machines and other gambling devices. And the very last thing they and the conspirators desire, the thing that is

furthest from their minds, is to give the "peasant suckers" a break.

Only two persons know how and when a vote cast on a voting machine records. One is the employee of the voting machine company who services and sets up the machine. The machine can be "rigged" to do all sorts of tricks. The second is the election judge in charge of the machine. It is he who pulls the cord, or raises the button, that releases the lock of the machine and permits the voter to enter. If, however, he holds the cord taut and does not release it, or if he leaves the button up, on some of the machines, the vote will not be recorded in spite of the depressed levers. Classes are held in some sections of the country, for instruction of the election judges in the art of "fixing" the voting machines. The advantage of stealing an election by use of voting machines is that there is no possibility of the public detecting it, and still less possibility of correcting it by recount. It is the ideal device for stealing elections, frustrating the will of the people, and furthering criminal political conspiracies. The Louisiana Legislature, in the course of an investigation into voting machines and the potentials of their corrupt uses, was given a demonstration of "fixing" of the machines. There is now coming within the range of possibility the use of remote electronic controls in the machines with which the vote of each person may be immediately known to the conspirators and automatically changed to conform with their wishes. They would make it possible that a man be elected even if everyone votes against him. (139)

Several months before Rockefeller seized (bought and paid for) the New York Republican gubernatorial nomination, control of the only company then supplying voting machines to the State, the Automatic Voting Machine Co., was quietly purchased by the Rockwell Manufacturing Co. (Redistribution of this stock to stockholders has been announced recently.) After the election, satisfaction was so great with the results obtained, that all the remaining stockholders were forced out and compelled to accept twenty dollars a share for stock that long had not sold higher than four dollars,—which is a good measure of the degree of "satisfaction".

Subsequently the only other company manufacturing a voting machine, AFTER DEMONSTRATIONS IN LOUISIANA OF ITS READIER MANIPULABILITY (139), Shoup, was taken over by General Battery & Ceramics Co., the stock of which company is traded on the American Exchange. Shortly thereafter it was introduced

in New York and was "successfully" used in a hotly contested New York City election which the conspirators' henchmen duly won.

Rockefeller enjoys an especial advantage in seeking office and in elections in general. Due to his holdings, the more there is spent on elections, the greater are the profits of his interests. No matter how much money he may personally contribute to a campaign, he is certain to indulge in his favorite vocation of "making money". The more the sucker public contributes, the more numerous the contestants, and the more hotly an election is contested, the more there is spent on the campaigns, including his own, the greater are the Rockefeller profits.

Polls of voter preference prior to elections are increasingly being used to influence the votes of the "peasants" in the direction desired by the conspirators. Their propagandists are using such polls with constantly greater cunning in brainwashing the electorate. The effectiveness of widely publicized voter polls is based on an elemental bit of psychology, the desire that has been increasingly inilled in the "peasants" to conform and to be on the winning side. Coupled with this is the naive acceptance of propaganda that is repeated often enough. In the parlance of their propagandists, as repeated by one of their pawns, Hitler's agent, Goebbels:

"A lie will come to be believed the truth, if repeated often enough".

How craftily the conspirators manipulate public opinion is the subject of an exultant boast by the Director of Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, in his annual report of 1948-9 (17, p. 36), of their success in duping the public into believing that our country has "a 'moral commitment' to give military help to the free nations of Europe." He amusedly recounts that the conspirators had succeeded in imposing their views on the nation through the broadcasting of their own conspiratorial views as "authoritative" and emanating from "leading citizens" by their official propaganda medium, the New York Times. George Gallup and Elmo Roper, two of the principal pollsters, are both members of Rockefellers' Council on Foreign Relations, their "agents". Is it unreasonable to believe that they operate in the same manner as their CFR, and serve their master loyally?

The conspiracy to convert our Republic into a plutocracy, in which public office will go increasingly only to extremely wealthy individuals, had so far succeeded by the late 1950's that the Republican Party officials openly sought a candidate who could outspend millionaire "lib-

eral" Gov. Harriman in the campaign. The situation was "made to order" for trillionaire "liberal" and "philanthropist" Nelson Rockefeller who would not have to spend a penny of his own, only tax-exempt public funds. It was exactly as had been planned.

Having attained the nomination, the next move of the conspirators was to split wide open the Democratic Party, at its convention, through Rockefeller's "liberal" agents in that Party. The split was created by Thomas K. Finletter's demand that he be nominated Senatorial candidate and that the Democratic choice, able District Attorney Hogan, be cast aside. Finletter was supported by fellow "liberal", or Red, Council On Foreign Relations member, former Gov. Lehman, and by Red, subversive Eleanor Roosevelt. Presumably by pre-arrangement, Tammany Leader Carmine DeSapio, a "liberal" who had never failed to collaborate with the Rockefeller interests, made a show of opposing "liberal" Finletter and created for Nelson Rockefeller, the Republocratic boss during several decades, the trumped-up issue of "bossism" that served him in two elections.

The campaign "battle" was cunningly "rigged" to delude the "peasants". Theatrical and television producer "Pat" Sylvester Weaver was called in to train Rockefeller in the delivery of his ghostwritten speeches and to coach him in "acting human". Among the stunts he was trained to do in order to prove qualified for the Governorship was to eat blintzes in the Ghetto and spaghetti in Italian districts, to wear a continual grimace that passed as a smile and indication of "happiness" and confidence, to engage in pre-arranged impromptu talks with "the public" and to pretend to "mix with the crowd".

The deceit and fraud of this "mixing with the crowd" was forcibly brought home to this author by his effort to speak to Candidate Rockefeller at one of these bogus "public mixings" of his at Court Square, Brooklyn. It had been difficult to get at him, because contrary to the usual campaign practise, information was withheld from the public as to his whereabouts at any particular time, apparently to avoid confrontation. But a friend had notified the author that messengers had come to the doors of the offices in buildings in the neighborhood to notify them that "Philanthropist" Rockefeller would condescend to "mix" with them in Court Square at 11 A.M.

On arriving at Court Square, a group of about two dozen persons was found to be standing in a circle about a clearing, waiting for the appearance of the candidate. Questioning revealed that many of them were Rockefel-

ler's employees, who had been sent there to assure him of an audience. In due time, Nelson Rockefeller arrived at the Square in a car driven by his son, Steven. They were accompanied by a black-shirted roughneck attired as an American Nazi, who walked through the crowd protecting his bosses. Nelson and Steven Rockefeller walked around the circle shaking hands and speaking with certain of the crowd. Anyone else who attempted to speak to the candidate was seized by the Black-Shirt, roughly dragged out, beaten and turned over to police officers standing nearby. The author was among those who experienced this treatment. He extricated himself by presenting his credentials as press correspondent.

The same situation presented itself at the subsequent opening of the Brooklyn headquarters on the Square. Rockefeller gave one of his prepared "extemporaneous" talks before the assembled Party faithful on the "glories of our freedom" and his desire "to make *democracy* live". The author meekly asked if he had the freedom to question Rockefeller regarding his record. He was immediately jumped on by the Bundist Black-Shirt and dragged out.

Nelson Rockefeller's affection for the Bundists led him to sponsor the first public parade in New York after World War II, of the German-American Bund, operating under the alias "German-American Committee", on the last Saturday in September prior to his election. It was held under his sponsorship in connection with his campaign. Starting on East 61st Street, it turned up Fifth Avenue past the reviewers' stand at 72nd Street, where Rockefeller did the honors with his puppet, Mayor Robert A. Wagner Jr. and continued up Fifth Avenue to 86th Street, where it turned East through the German colony in Yorkville. No mention of it was made in the newspapers in order to avoid rousing patriotic ire. Since then it has become an annual event under the same auspices.

Nelson Rockefeller followed what has become his customary routine, or "line", in campaigning. He attacked his submissive agent, Harriman, but failed to mention that the Governor had been following his orders; and charged him with being fearful of his "boss" Carmine DeSapio. He promised all who would vote for him, whatever their hearts might desire. He undertook to be "everything to everyone". To the negroes and Porto-Ricans he promised "desegregation", preferential treatment in everything including endless and unquestioning "Relief" payments and subsidy of illegitimate breeding; to the politicians in Rock-



away Beach, he promised a new pier that never materialized; to the taxpayer, he promised lower taxes and economy. Once elected, none of them other than the vociferous Reds were ever able to reach him, even on the phone; and every promise was observed only in its breach. Biographer Morris quoted a reporter's characterization of Rockefeller's campaign, in the words:

"The secret ingredient of this campaign is money". (43, p. 327)

In other words, it was characterized by the corruption that prevails in all Rockefeller activities. And as usual, the funds involved were largely, if not entirely, "other people's money", not the least of which was tax and tax-exempt funds.

In spite of the fact that he had been nominated by the Republicans, Rockefeller refused to run as a Republican. The name of the Republican Party was conspicuously absent from his campaign literature. "Red Rocky", the Trojan Horse within the Republican Party, insistently proclaimed his desire "to make Democracy live". And he assiduously courted and won the support of the Reds, of the so-called "Liberal" Party the organization of which he had supported through his wife.

Nationwide, disgusted Republicans stayed away from the polls, driven away by the "New", "Fair" and "Ike" Deals that had been imposed on the Party by Rockefeller and his Red cohorts. But with the help of the split that his agents had created in the Democratic ranks, of his submissive "opponent" and of the Reds and "liberals" he was one of the few candidates on the Republican ticket to win the election. What role was played in the election by "fixed" voting machines, is not known. An important factor in this "standout" victory of Rockefeller among the Republican candidates in the nation at large, was the treacherous campaign of Rockefeller and his henchmen in disrupting the Republican Party and undermining its leaders. The "framing" of McCarthy, Knowland, Knight and Nixon, which has been recounted, did not exhaust the list.

Gov. Rockefeller was provided by his ghostwriters and coaches with an inaugural address that cleaved close to the entire Red, "internationalist" Party Line. He spouted it falteringly, but never gaged on it. He pledged his "services" not to the State of New York, but to "One (Rockefeller) World". And in effect he proclaimed himself its "Fuehrer". His biographer Morris quotes the Press as noting that the speech was that of a would-be Presi-

dent, and not that of Governor of New York State. It dealt chiefly with foreign affairs, that are no concern of a Governor, in a dictatorial manner. (43, p. 331)

## CHAPTER XVII

### GOV. ROCKEFELLER "MAKES MONEY" & ROLLS UP RECORD OF CORRUPTION

Immediately following his inauguration, Gov. Rockefeller's psychopathic lust for "making money", for looting the "peasants", and his chicanery went into full play. He had campaigned on a platform that promised economy, pay-as-you-go budgets and "fiscal integrity".

During the campaign, the author and his associates questioned the honesty and sincerity of his intent in a petition that challenged him to disavow the tax-exemption that permits him and his clan to virtually avoid taxation, which read as follows:

Governor Nelson Rockefeller,  
Albany, N. Y.

Sir:

We note that you are gravely concerned with the fiscal problems of the State; and that you propose the adoption, locally, of the device that you and your associate, Beardsley Ruml, originated and applied on the national scene to make sure that none of us "peasants" who work for a living can possibly escape the privilege of paying taxes, to lighten the burden of our pay envelopes. With a view to lightening the burden that you carry, we urge on you the adoption of a simple and effective fiscal remedy that has probably never occurred to you. We urge that you and your kin and associates abandon the numerous dodges and devices that you have had written in our laws, that enable you to evade the privilege of paying taxes on billions of your income. We urge that you stop evasion of taxes by yourself, your kin and your interests, and that you all pay your full share of the tax burden which you have imposed on us in two decades of your public career in an endless array, starting with hemispheric "defense", right down to your most recent "foreign" aid promotion. It has not escaped us that all of those measures have

greatly profited you and your interests. And we condemn the ruthless greed that has impelled you to shift the burden of taxation that is and should be yours, onto our shoulders, by such dishonest devices as: foundations that promote your business and political interests; "art" museums filled with trash that serve to gain tax exemption for your property after a certain number of years; "gifts" to tax exempt institutions that you control, such as that of Rockefeller Center property to Columbia University, that enabled you to shift the entire burden of property taxes on your highly profitable property on to us; your flight of capital, that you have extracted from us by numerous devices, to such lands as Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina and Saudi Arabia; and the ironic legal device whereby you force us taxpayers to guarantee the safety of that loot from expropriation in those lands.

"We demand that you promptly put an end to these dishonest tax evasions and that you all pay up the taxes you have evaded, while looting us, during the many decades past. We have estimated that it would make our City, State and Federal Governments solvent once again, and would make possible the reduction of our taxes to a small fraction of the present levy. This honest act would wipe out the shame of your fake "philanthropies" and would be deemed by us a redeeming evidence of a newly awakened sense of probity in you. It would earn for you the sobriquet "Honest Nelson", in place of "Tax Looting Nelson". It would materially further your ambition to make yourself Dictator of the U.S.A. and of the Western Hemisphere.

"The Greater New York Committee Opposing Tax Looting by "Philanthropists" Signed

Instead of meeting the challenge that he and his cohorts pay their fair share of the tax burden and end their tax evasion, which would probably completely remedy the budget deficit, Gov. Rockefeller demanded that the Legislature pass a bill that greatly increased the burden of honest taxpayers. It also imposed his favorite device of "withholding", to insure that no one who honestly works for a living can join the bogus "philanthropists" in evasion of taxation. Payment of taxes was speeded up by advancing the dates for payment of installments. The income tax base was changed to conform with that of the Internal Revenue Service so as to give the conspirators the benefits of the tax evasion measures that they had introduced in the Federal tax administration. And the paperwork involved in the keeping of records by the taxpayer was enormously increased.

Nothing could have served to make it clearer that Rockefeller and his cohorts were not paying their fair share of the taxes than did the measure imposed on the State at his insistence. The law prior to amendment had required that persons like himself, who were in the highest tax bracket, pay in addition to the 91% Federal tax, a 7% State income tax, making the total 98% of income. The law imposed by Gov. Rockefeller served to increase the State tax in the highest bracket to 10%, making the total tax that he himself would be liable for, if he did pay his legitimate tax on his income, 101%. Can one conceive of a miser deliberately undertaking to increase his own taxes?

The tax increase imposed by Rockefeller was a clear-cut expression of the purposeful itch to "loot the peasants" in order to bring them closer to a submarginal existence. The purpose is facilitating their subjugation and submission to a totalitarian, "welfare" State, in furtherance of the subversion of our Government to a monarchic dictatorship. This serves to carry out the conspiracy that was aptly enunciated by Lenin and Stalin: "The path to Sovietization of the U. S. lies in bankrupting it and its people." New York State Comptroller Levitt pointed out from the start that the increased tax was not requisite for balancing the budget; that its objective was merely further looting of the citizenry and of the State. By the end of the year, the accuracy of Levitt's prediction was fully confirmed. A surplus of approximately one hundred million dollars over and above budget requirements had developed.

As might be expected, the tax increase drove many industries out of New York, and materially increased unemployment. This clearly proved the fraud of Rockefeller's favorite pretense that he aims to "increase the rate of growth" in the State. Whole sections of New Jersey have been built up by industries fleeing New York taxes, which were "the straw that broke the camel's back". Among them are units of the Rockefeller-dominated Drug Trust including American Cyanamid.

Rockefeller's dedication to increasing the cost of living for the "peasants", his New York subjects, found expression in the field of education. Many colleges, both State and local, have long provided higher education free of any charge. This permitted many men and women from poor and middle class families to secure an education. That enabled numerous of them to rise to positions of responsibility and leadership. When Soviet Russia's "Sputnik" was given priority by the conspirators, the occasion

was used to exaggerate the "excellence" of Russian education and the rapid growth of Soviet scientific and technologic personnel under the system that provided free education to whomever had the capacity to learn. The conspirators made loud outcries on the need for greatly increasing the ranks of our scientifically trained personnel to meet the challenge. Gov. Rockefeller did not fail to take advantage of this chance to make himself heard.

Rockefeller took advantage of the situation by once again fleecing the "peasants". He demanded of Legislature that it pass a bill that would make it possible to stop providing a free college education to students in New York's colleges. It mattered not to him that this measure would reduce the number of those able to secure college educations and would run counter to national interest that demands a tremendous increase in trained, scientific personnel. In view of his record of betrayal of our national interest and his scorn of patriotism, is it not conceivable that this may have been his malign purpose?

Rockefeller demanded the enforcement of all measures advocated by the DAILY WORKER and by the Communist Party and its "Liberal" counterpart. He vigorously opposed any attempt to reduce the staggering and steadily mounting costs of Relief and Welfare to the taxpayers, resulting from deliberate colonization of New York by the conspirators, with idlers, incompetents and criminal scum, that has made of New York a hotbed of vice and crime. He fought and opposed measures that would impose residence requirements as a condition for being placed on the Relief roles; that would deny Welfare payments to mothers breeding illegitimate children, that is rapidly increasing the State's population of those elements to the point where they will rapidly outstrip the more desirable elements, and will soon make an accomplished fact of the Communist plan to convert the U. S. to a second Africa. At the same time it bids fair to bankrupt the State and many of its desirable citizens.

Rockefeller demanded and lobbied through Legislature so-called "desegregation" laws that will accomplish a number of purposes of the conspirators and their Red allies, whose support he assiduously courts. His housing "desegregation" law bars property owners from rejecting undesirable tenants and neighbors. It penalizes them for refusing to rent to objectionable tenants. Coupled with rent control laws and regulations that prevail in New York, that force some landlords, other than themselves, to subsidize tenants and deny them the right to protect their properties from damage, or even destruction, by the

tenants, Rockefeller and his Red cohorts have virtually destroyed for a large proportion of landlords all rights of private ownership of property that are assured by the Constitution. These laws insure the development of new slums by destructive tenants, that the conspirators can later steal. The packed and prostituted courts support this subversion of justice and the Constitution; and support the conspirators in their land and property grabbing thievery.

The communist publication, the **DAILY WORKER**, in its issue of March 13, 1956, urged the prompt adoption of water fluoridation by New York in its boldly headlined lead article. (126, p. 1) Gov. Rockefeller, shortly after his inauguration, led a delegation, in his official capacity, that demanded of his puppet, Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr., that he order pollution of New York's water with fluorides. (127, p. 1; 128, p. 1)

Some understanding of Rockefeller's intent "to make Democracy live", as do the Soviets, can be had from an examination of the water fluoridation conspiracy that he intensively pushes. One of his manias is his notion that there are too many people in the world for him to "manage". He and his pseudo-scientific minions regard the rising birthrate that prevails among some peoples, as a "population explosion". The Rock Mob (the name applied to the Rockefeller brothers by the N. Y. Daily News as a tribute to their gangsterism) has been sold on the idea that there must be restriction of the number of children brought into the world by people other than themselves and the persons on Relief who bear illegitimate children promiscuously. (The NAACP and the Urban League demand this as a "civil right" that they value highly: and the Rockefellers can not deny those "abused" and over-privileged groups anything. The subsidy by Relief and Welfare agencies of selective breeding by this element is rapidly making a reality of the Communist scoffing that the U.S.A., like Africa, will soon become a black nation.)

Population control has become one of the prime purposes and, indirectly, the most profitable project of the bogus "philanthropies" controlled by the conspirators. To further this purpose they have subsidized a wide array of organizations manned by like-minded or prostituted "scientists". Their propagandists have flooded the nation's press with stories headlined: "BABIES MORE DANGEROUS THAN ATOM BOMBS!" (N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun)

The chief opposition to the birth control conspiracy are the churches and religious sects that accept the Bib-

lical verse, "THOU SHALT BE FRUITFUL AND MULTIPLY", as a divine dictate rather than a priestly assurance of fertility at a time in human development when offspring were rated as commercial assets. The most formidable opponent in the Western world is the conspirators' pet detestation, the Catholic Church.

Water fluoridation is especially valued by the conspirators as a device for outwitting the Church. For relatively few persons other than scientists engaged in the work are aware that it had been definitely established, shortly prior to the launching of the fluoridation conspiracy, that fluorides inhibit ovulation as well as development of the ovum and fetus, and is a birth control measure.

The intensive study of the poisonous action of fluorides was first launched by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and others in the early 1920's. It was discovered that fluorides used in insecticides contaminate feeds of farm animals and prevent their reproduction. Pregnant sows fed the fluoride containing feed lost their litters; and hens failed to lay eggs. This was a serious matter; for pigs and chicks have commercial value. Phillips, Halpin & Hart, a research team, reported in 1935, in an article in the *Journal of Nutrition* (p. 93) that fluorine behaved like lead in poisoning the egg by concentrating in and combining with fatty substances in the yolk of the egg, and inhibited laying. They reported that the fluorine in the yolk increased from three parts per million to more than fourteen parts per million. (137) Numerous studies proved that fluorides are largely retained in the body and build up to poisonous concentrations even when minute amounts are ingested. In addition to its birth control action on the female, fluorides poison and sterilize the male. And it has long been used for that purpose on mean, ugly bulls, in some regions. Alarmed by these findings, the Department of Agriculture tried to secure the passage of legislation barring the use of fluorides as insecticides, to protect farm animals from poisoning and protect the farmer from losses.

Rockefeller is acutely aware of the poisonous and birth-control action of fluorides. For the Rock Mob, through their Foundation, subsidized research on it, at that time. They distributed a publication by a Scandinavian researcher, named Hans Borei, that was published abroad, to the medical and research libraries in the U.S.A. (129) Hans Borei offered an explanation for the findings of Nobel prize winner, Prof. Otto Warburg, on the effect of fluorides in changing the chemistry of a normal cell to that characteristic of a cancer cell.

Professor Warburg's researches on cell metabolism revealed that the cancer cell differs from the normal cell in that it can not oxidize its food, as does the latter. Instead, the cancer cell ferments its nutriment. In his search for a chemical that converts the metabolism of the normal cell to that of a cancer cell, and causes it to ferment nutriment instead of oxidizing, Prof. Warburg discovered that sodium fluoride was effective in bringing about this change in cell metabolism. This was the first intimation, about half a century ago, that fluorides can cause cancer.

The effect of water fluoridation in causing cancer in humans was confirmed in a report made, in 1954, to the House Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee by Dr. John W. Knutson, Chief Dental Officer of the U. S. Public Health Service. (80, p. 375, Chart 8) He presented evidence in the form of his Chart 8, on DEATHS FROM CANCER, U. S., GRAND RAPIDS & MUSKEGON (1943-50) that after seven years of fluoridation beginning in 1945, the incidence of cancer in Grand Rapids increased more than 25% over its incidence in the control, unfluoridated Muskegon; and more than 30% higher than the average incidence of cancer in the U.S.A. Newburgh, New York, another town in which fluoridation was tested, has had an equally shocking increase in its cancer death rate, according to the information obtained from its health officer.

Water fluoridation is an ideal device for controlling the so-called "population explosion" that so gravely concerns Nelson Rockefeller and his cohorts, underhandedly and without raising suspicion or alarm among the "peasants" and their religious leaders. It reduces the number of births, thus cutting down the population increment. At the same time, it increases the incidence of cancer and cuts down the population by hastened deaths. In the latter, it is slower in its action than wars engineered for the purpose. But judging from the intensity of effort put by the conspirators into imposing it on the nation's communities, they regard it as steady and reliable in trimming man's numbers to a figure satisfactory to themselves.

Water fluoridation serves the conspirators in another manner that suits their purpose. By inhibiting the action of the enzymes that are especially essential for the metabolism and function of the nervous system and the mind, it poisons and "tranquillizes". This action has been especially valued by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. It makes their victims more suggestible, docile and submissive. Anna Pauker, the Communist leader of Roumania, is reported to have boasted: "Give me enough fluorides, and



I can keep any people in submission". Fluorides have been extensively used in Soviet slave-labor and prisoner-of-war camps. During World War II, it was reported by Major George Racey Jordan, (81) that enormous amounts of fluorides were shipped to Russia, by plane, through the Great Falls, Montana air base, for that purpose. In view of the current increase of the rank of patriots, whom Nelson Rockefeller denounces as "fanatics of the radical right . . . more dangerous than the left", one can understand the desire of the conspirators to resort to "tranquillizing" their American "peasants" to supplement their brainwashing efforts.

The Rockefellers do not suffer financially from fluoridation. Among the largest producers of fluorides are their American Agricultural Products Co. and Hooker Chemical Co. The former produces enormous quantities of fluorides in Florida, as a waste in the preparation of phosphate fertilizers from a fluorophosphate rock. Most of the fluorides must be removed to avoid killing the crops fertilized with the phosphate. Fluoride is a waste product for which use in insecticides provided a market until the Department of Agriculture acted in the 1930's, to protect farm animals from its poisonous effects. Disposal of the waste by dumping it into the streams and the ocean was instituted. It caused death of fish and other marine life, and gave rise to a "red plague". The government ordered the dumping into water stopped. The wastes were then buried in pits in the ground. This caused death of vegetation over an area of many square miles due to fluoride poisoning. The Department of Agriculture intervened to stop burying of the fluorides. The solution of building concrete blockhouses for storing of the fluorides was costly.

The pollution of drinking water with fluorides for the sterilizing and "tranquillizing" of the peasants proved to be ideal for the purposes of the conspirators, and enabled them to "make money" thereby. American Agricultural Chemical Co., however, is not the only avenue through which profits from fluorides flow into Rockefeller coffers. Fluorides are a source of profit also to the Hooker Chemical Co. The former Miss Blanchette Hooker is Mrs. John D. Rockefeller the Third.

The "population explosion" and birth control agitation provides the conspirators an opportunity for "making money" on an enormous scale from the sale of the steroid products of their Drug Trust as contraceptive pills. The pills have been proved to cause death by venous thrombosis; and ample evidence proves that the steroids cause profoundly injurious disturbance of the endocrine glands,

body metabolism and health, as well as causing cancer. Nevertheless that conspirator-dominated Food & Drug Administration has falsely certified these drugs as "safe"—until such time as the number of victims has become sufficiently great to cause widespread recognition of their danger.

In the meantime, the conspirators are netting enormous profits from the sale of these poisons by their Drug Cartel. "Internationalism" and "foreign aid" add tremendously to these profits. For the conspirators compel American taxpayers to defray the cost of providing these "contraceptive" steroids through "foreign aid" channels to be distributed free of charge to the women of Asia and Africa, for alleged "birth control" there. Fortunately, however, the native women sensibly refuse to take the poisonous pills and cause their "philanthropic" benefactors much concern because of fear of loss of profits from this phase of "foreign aid". Stocks of the companies that supply these steroids have soared on the basis of the outrageous profits derived, and have given the conspirators enormous profits. Thus Syntex stock has risen from a few dollars to four hundred dollars a share on the basis of this skulduggery.

Another phase in which "liberal" Republocrat Gov. Rockefeller has followed the Communist Party Line is in absurd exaggeration of the so-called "atom bomb" and "end of the world" propaganda in which our own bombs have been used as bogeys to scare the more imbecilic amongst us and to effect our submission to the conspirators. This scare is being craftily used as an excuse for the policies of appeasing the Soviets and for increasing purchases by our Defense Department from the industries controlled by the Dynasty. Also it served as a pretext for Gov. Rockefeller's attempt to force all property owners to buy and install so-called "bomb shelters" that would be more likely to serve as tombs than as shelters.

It is possible that Rockefeller's attitude was in part influenced by cowardice. HUMAN EVENTS mockingly commented that Rockefeller was undertaking the role of "General Mole" and attempting to lead the nation into a cowardly retreat underground. However, the scandal surrounding the exposure of the corrupt financial involvement of Rockefeller's adviser and associate, one of the leaders of his Administration, Joseph Carlino, in a company, Lance Inc., a firm that engaged in selling glass fibre "shelters", throws some light on a monetary motivation of Rockefeller's bomb shelter agitation. Since the scandal was brought to light, there has been curiously lit-

tle mention by him of bomb shelters. But there has been no evidence of the conspirators' change of heart with regard to their view that "BABIES ARE MORE DANGEROUS THAN ATOM BOMBS!"

Gov. Rockefeller unblushingly made the first objective of his Administration the lobbying of bills that would directly promote the financial interests of his Dynasty, and enable it to "make money". He has never hesitated to use his public office for the promotion of private interests and nepotism. The very concept of "ethics" has been repudiated and scorned by him. Among the first bills that Rockefeller demanded be passed by the Legislature were two that were of especial interest to the Dynasty for "making money". The first was a bill that allows Rockefeller's New York City banks to expand throughout the State by establishing branches. This had been barred by laws that aimed to prevent their monopoly of banking in the State. Under irresistible pressure applied by Gov. Rockefeller, the bill was passed by the Legislature.

A second bill that has a high financial interest for the Dynasty is one that permitted the sale of stale and often putrid milk in the City of New York. Mention has been made of Rockefeller's takeover of the milk distribution industry during the second and third decades and setting up a monopoly that initially centered about their control of National Dairy Products and Borden Companies, that Henry Wallace dubbed in the WALLACE FARMER, the Milk Trust. (26, pp. 93-120) As in the case of all Rockefeller Trusts, the consumer has been mercilessly looted. Shortly after their takeover of the industry, the price to the consumer was increased several hundred percent, and the price paid the dairymen who provided the milk was proportionately lowered. At the same time the quality of the milk was lowered by adulteration.

In the effort to control the deterioration in the quality of the milk provided by the Milk Trust, New Yorkers prevailed on the health authorities to require the companies to date the milk to check the sale of superannuated, stale and putrefying milk. Inability to unload their stale milk on New Yorkers resulted in a cut in the profits of the local distributors of the Trust. Such a check on their "making money" is viewed with grave alarm by the Dynastic conspirators, as a threat to their "security".

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller had no sooner been inaugurated than he launched on a drive to eliminate the stamping on milk containers of the date when it had been pasteurized, that was required by the officials of New York City. He lobbied the bill with all the intensity and

force that Rockefellers summon to fight any check on their "making money". The Legislature obediently passed the bill that stopped the dating of milk.

As a result of the elimination of dating, the quality of the milk that was delivered in New York deteriorated rapidly. No matter how old and stale the milk, it now could be foisted on the public by Rockefeller's Milk Trust. (11, pp. 93-120) The complaints grew so loud and insistent from householders, and from mothers who found that the milk was too putrid to feed their infants, that the Republican Party decided that something must be done to relieve it of the blame for the deterioration of the milk. And the measure decided upon under the pressure of public opinion was restoring the dating to insure relatively fresh milk.

Rockefeller bitterly opposed the plan of the Republicans to restore milk dating, obviously because of the adverse effect it would have on Milk Trust profits. His contempt for public opinion, of the "peasants", as the conspirators speak of us among themselves, showed most clearly. He issued releases in which he took a firm stand against restoring milk dating. He blamed the putrid and sour milk on his Democratic enemies. And he alleged that the Democrats had gone around town and put vinegar in the milk containers. However, he never adduced any proof of this obviously puerile and false allegation. Eventually, Rockefeller's political advisers were able to secure from him a grudging agreement not to veto a bill restoring dating of milk.

This instance illustrates the fact that Rockefellers bitterly oppose anything that might impede their "making money". They determinedly fight to continually increase their loot, no matter what may be the resultant suffering to others, with not the slightest concern about ethics, morality, decency or honesty.

By far the richest plunder of the Dynasty from the Administration of Gov. Rockefeller is derived from his favorite device, that he has used to maintain a pretense of "balancing the budget" and maintaining a "pay as you go" policy, from private corporations, or "Authorities", financed by the taxpayers and operated under charters that place them above the law. It is the same device that he introduced on such vast scale into the "New Deal" "coordination" boondoggling thievery. More than seven hundred of them, almost all of them operated at a deficit, consume virtually the entire income derived from the conspirators' Federal Income Tax device.

These "Authorities" are exempted from taxes. In addi-

tion to any funds with which they are provided by the taxpayers, they are financed with bond issues that are guaranteed by the taxpayers through the government, bear relatively high rates of interest, and are tax-exempt. In addition to the high tax-exempt income derived by the conspirators through the bonds with which they have provided themselves, a rich profit is derived by them from control, operation and manipulation of the "Authorities". Despite the public financing, the conspirators bar public checking or investigation of their operation, as exemplified by the case of their Port Authority of New York-New Jersey. And to cap the climax, these "Authorities" loot the public mercilessly and perpetually for any services that they offer.

The Rockefeller Administrations of New York State have been the costliest and most corrupt in its history. Within a period of six years, Rockefeller has doubled the State's budget to almost three billion dollars. Instead of economizing, which was his campaign promise, the State's payroll was heavily padded. Not the least of the additions to the payroll have been his numerous retinue of personal retainers and employees, his so-called secretaries (his present wife "Happy" is reported to have been among them), his kinsmen (including his brother and cousins), his ghostwriters, his "yes men", his "braintrusts" and numerous others, whom he has made an invariable practise to saddle on the payroll of every government agency with which he has been connected. They are his "royal court". In some instances, these persons whom he places on the public payroll devote most or all their time and energy to his personal and private interests. The Aldrich cousins are being used by the conspirators for political promotion because they escape the stigma of the Rockefeller name.

This corrupt nepotistic practise was the basis of charges of violation of the law made against Gov. Rockefeller by this author to Attorney General Lefkowitz. The charges are stated in the following letter.

February 24, 1960

Attorney General Lefkowitz,  
Albany, N. Y.  
Sir:

I write in behalf of a group of associates, and of myself, on a matter that vitally concerns the taxpayers and citizens of the State. It is our attitude that corrupt acts of public officials are as culpable in a white man as in a colored, as reprehensible in a high official as in a low, as excusable in a man of American origin as of Italian,

and certainly as heinous in a man of wealth as in a poor man. The law is no respecter of persons. It is your duty to act. Have you the courage to do your duty and apply the law indiscriminately?

The corrupt practise to which we refer, is a matter of public record, which makes us a bit surprised that you have not acted on your own initiative, without our complaint. The New York Times published the facts in its issue of December 24, 1959, under the headline: **BIG STAFF PUSHES ROCKEFELLER DRIVE**. The article states that four officials on the State's payroll for an aggregate salary of more than sixty thousand dollars, have been used by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in his private enterprise—in his effort to force the Republican Party to make him, a Red New Dealer, its Presidential candidate. This story has not been denied by Gov. Rockefeller or any of the other persons involved. The Times stated, truthfully:

"Fabulous and fantastic are the words . . . used to describe the organization now in readiness to advance Gov. Rockefeller as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President . . . A FEW OF THOSE ENGAGED IN THE ROCKEFELLER POLITICAL OPERATION HAVE STATE JOBS. MR. (R. BIRDELL) BIXBY AND MR. (L. JUDSON) MORHOUSE ARE BOTH MEMBERS OF THE (STATE) THRUWAY AUTHORITY AT \$17,000 A YEAR EACH. MR. (RICHARD) AMPER (NOW DECEASED, WHOSE SALARY WAS QUOTED BY THE N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, ON FEB. 9, 1960, AS \$18,700) AND MR. (ROBERT T.) McMANUS ARE ON THE STATE PAYROLL (AS PRESS SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY, RESPECTIVELY)"

The Times of Feb. 13, 1960, in its obituary, stated:

". . . Mr. Amper accompanied Mr. Rockefeller virtually everywhere he went."

Thus it is an undenied fact that Gov. Rockefeller has used persons whose salaries are paid by the taxpayers of the State for the conduct of his private business, his campaign. This is as dishonest, and unfair to the taxpayers of the State as stealing the money involved from them. One might think that a person whose income runs into billions, who manages to minimize or completely evade the payment of taxes on most of it by various dodges, and who has consistently made use of tax-exempt foundation

moneys for political purposes, in violation of the law, and who thereby increases the burden of taxes for the rest of us, would pay the salaries of persons he employs in his private business. Not to do so is more reprehensible and criminal than accepting bribes from private individuals, that places no direct burden on the taxpayers.

I demand on behalf of my associates that you bring action against Gov. Rockefeller on the charge of corrupt practises, as you are required to do under the law.

Very truly,

Emanuel M. Josephson

The reference in the first paragraph to "colored" was a timely one. At the time, Hulan Jack, colored Borough President of Manhattan, was under fire for a lesser offense, for accepting services in the redecoration of his apartment that were valued at about four thousand dollars, from a contractor doing work for the Borough. The case did not involve the diversion of services of a public employee at the cost of the taxpayer, which is an even more flagrant violation of public trust, as in the case of Gov. Rockefeller. Hulan Jack was ousted for his lesser offense. In the case of Gov. Rockefeller, no action was taken by the District Attorney in spite of a letter received in reply from him in which he promised to "investigate" the case and report on it.

The complaint in no wise deterred Gov. Rockefeller from repeating the offense. Thus when he flew to Venezuela to honeymoon with the divorced wife of his employee, Dr. Murphy, his second bride, he took with him on this "public business", a captain of N. Y. State Police and two bodyguards. This, incidentally, belies Rockefeller's attitude that his private affairs are no concern of the "peasants". What affair is more private than a honeymoon? Nevertheless, he made that a charge on the public, and deprived the State of New York of the services of a State Trooper, Captain Galvin, in company of a security officer, Hugh Blondary and Stephen David, an aid, during his "royal" honeymoon on his 112,000 acre Venezuelan duchy. (119)

Of all the scandals exposing the widespread corruption of the Rockefeller Administration in New York, the collection of bribes and the blackmailing of retail liquor licensees by his appointees, State officials and the State Liquor Authority, most clearly revealed his corrupting influence. Fronting for the Rockefeller Administration in this payoff racket that mulcted millions of dollars from the retail liquor licensees, was an appointee of his, Martin Epstein, a lawyer stricken with cancer, who refused to

waive immunity when summoned before the Grand Jury. He was relievedly dismissed by Rockefeller. Undoubtedly there was some element of regret in this dismissal. For Epstein had been recommended for the post by the Republican boss of Brooklyn, John Crews, who had "delivered the vote".

The trail of the liquor dealers' shakedown racket led directly to Rockefeller's office and inner circle. After the dismissal of Epstein, the Playboy Club found it necessary to employ Rockefeller's campaign manager and political mentor, Judson Morhouse, at the cost of ten thousand dollars, before it could get its liquor license. When Morhouse was called before the Grand Jury to explain the deal, he resigned from the two State jobs that Rockefeller had given him in payment for services rendered to him personally as his campaign manager and his "intimate political adviser" at the expense of the taxpayers. He refused to waive immunity (the equivalent to pleading the Fifth Amendment) as required of officeholders; and retained a criminal lawyer, Sol Gelb, to represent him in the matter.

Gov. Rockefeller expressed his approval of the activities of Judson Morhouse and his law firm by turning over the post of chairman of his campaign committee to an accomplice, Morhouse's law partner, thus making sure that his plan and program would continue under the same "high calibre" auspices. The situation has, as commented by TIME (82, p. 30), "certain fascinating overtones". These include the following items:

1. Would it be incredible, in view of Nelson Rockefeller's practises in "making money" and his affirmed views on government and levying on the taxpayer and the community, his family's practises and traditions, his intimate association with the culprits and his continuation thereof, to suspect that he or his campaign shared in the shakedown loot? The answer is plainly: "No. There is every reason to believe that he did".

- a. Nelson Rockefeller's first highly lucrative "business" experience, as a "ten-percenter", under the trade name of Turck & Co., was a sort of shakedown racket set up by him in connection with Rockefeller Center. Rockefeller found it so profitable that he ousted his partners, changed its name, as has been related, to Special Work Inc. and incorporated it into the Rock Mob's joint enterprise, Rockefeller Bros. Inc.

- b. Gov. Rockefeller has openly avowed his adherence to the spoils system even in face of the exposure of the cor-



ruption of his Administration. He is quoted by TIME as averring: "I believe in the patronage system." (82 p. 110) This Rock Mob belief is borne out by the entire history of their villainies as well as by Rockefeller's own record. They echo the cry: "To the victor goes the spoils".

The "vanquished," meaning the duped voters and the public at large and special groups, are the victor's to loot, according to Rockefeller who invariably meets protests directed against each new phase of the looting with the remark: "THEY WANT THE SERVICE. AND THEY MUST PAY FOR IT".

The so-called "service" as often as not is a new looting device that the public abhors and detests. The billions of dollars of tax funds that have flowed into the coffers of the Rockefeller industries of all varieties represent but a small fraction of the patronage and spoils. Legitimacy has never been a Rockefeller forte. And the only difference in looting nations, as in the case of gold, and individual interests and groups, is that the latter are more dangerous than the public "mass men" and "peasants". In this case, the desperation and courage of a few liquor dealers have proved it once again.

c. John D. Rockefeller made the Dynasty's first "big" money, as has been related, by bootlegging unstamped Harkness liquor to Civil War soldiers. And despite the pose of temperance, the Rockefellers have always had an intense interest in the profits available from liquor. During the Prohibition era, in the initiation of which, for their own ulterior purposes, they played a key role, "pious" hypocrite John D. Rockefeller Jr. continued, as has been related, to derive rich profits from the bootlegging and sale of liquor as speakeasy landlord and protector and in other directions. Illicit "profits" from the liquor industry are Rockefeller "tradition".

d. Involvement of the Mafia in the shakedown, as indicated by the arrest, in Chicago, of one of the "collectors" for the liquor racketeers points to the involvement of Rockefeller, patron of the Crime Syndicate. Their association was described by Lait and Mortimer. (32, pp. 183; 312)

e. The "proud" Rockefeller tradition that nothing is too low to stoop to in order to make money, whether it be polishing shoes or weeding a lawn, as well as less laudable activities, including horse thievery, swindling, bigamy, theft, forgery, arson and murder, the shakedown racket and numerous others of even more despicable character.

The conspirators almost succeeded in censoring the story of the liquor shakedown racket in the New York

press by means of a strike engineered by one of the unions, their vassals of Hoffa's truckers monopoly, that involved a small fraction of the laborers on the paper. It continued for more than three months. However, an unexplained breach developed between the conspirators and the editor of their Time-Life-Fortune group, Henry Luce. A possible explanation may rest in the fact that Luce had been a close friend of Pres. Kennedy, who wrote the preface for the latter's book **WHY ENGLAND SLEPT** (83, pp. xiii-xxii). LIFE started a New York section during the strike that appeared to have as its prime purpose the exposure of the Rockefeller regime and its liquor dealers shakedown racket. It made futile the censorship by a strike that cost the newspapers and their employees many millions of dollars. The strike was terminated. But relatively little has appeared on the subject of the shakedown racket since then in the New York City newspapers. The N. Y. MIRROR, which had been most active in exposing the criminal activities of the conspirators, was put out of business.

An enforced "tacit understanding" effect by his "omnipartisan" agents has suspended investigation into the liquor racketeering during Republocrat Rockefeller's campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. A material help in enforcing this silence was the vengeance threatened by Gov. Rockefeller on the retail liquor dealers who had "squealed". His first move was to demand increased fees and taxes for the liquor licensees. Then he appointed one of his usual "committees" (in this case, called Moreland) to echo his rage by forcing reduction of the artificially high liquor prices fixed by the State Liquor Authority, and recommending that the monopoly of the sale of liquor that it had given to a limited number of favored licensees should be terminated. This would mean wiping out the large part of their investment in their businesses that had been spent in fees and graft in obtaining their licenses. The situation serves to highlight the "accepted practise" of governmental profiting from human vices and deriving a sizable part of its income from exploiting them.

After assuring himself that these measures would not adversely affect the earnings of his Rainbow Room restaurant business, but would improve the wholesale liquor business earnings, Rockefeller forced the adoption of most of these measures, after initial rejection by Legislature, in a special session which he ordered for the purpose.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### ROCKEFELLERS DRIVE TO ELIMINATE ALL LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY & TO SEIZE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION FOR NELSON

Nelson Rockefeller has only abysmal contempt for us Americans, whom the Dynasty contemptuously label, among themselves, "peasants" and especially for the patriots among us whom he calls "the lunatic right". He places implicit trust, on the basis of past experience, in the success of the Dynasty's bogus "philanthropic" foundations and their pressagents, advertising agencies as exemplified by Interpublic Inc., control of all media of mass communication and prostituted "educators", in duping the public into accepting his dictates and being led like a bunch of sheep.

He and his advisers and "Brain Trust" appear confident that the time is ripe to execute the final stages of the plot drawn up by their associate, Hoffman Nickerson, (39) for an American totalitarian monarchy. So rapidly has the scheme developed and ripened that Nelson Rockefeller envisages it as encompassing not only the U.S.A. and the Western Hemisphere, but also the entire world, with himself installed as Dynastic monarchic dictator. That is the substance of his *THE FUTURE OF FEDERALISM* (42) and the other tracts that have been "ghosted" for him and published in his name.

The first step in carrying out this plot is seizure of the post of President of the U.S.A. This Nelson Rockefeller has undertaken to do with tactics of treachery and deceit that are characteristic of his tribe, especially of the ancestor whom he most intensely admires and seeks to emulate, John D., the skinflint crook. He undertook to attack and discredit the leaders of the Republican Party by open criticism and behind the scenes maneuvers.

The first open and obvious effort to eliminate the most formidable rival for the Presidential nomination, Vice President Richard Nixon, was the humiliating and dangerous mission to Ghana on which he was sent, and narrowly escaped death. He was sent to render homage to the frankly Communist Negro dictator of the largely un-

civilized, absurd parody of a republic, Kwame Nkrumah, the self-styled "saviour" of Ghana. Ghana was the first of the so-called "democracies" set up by the conspirators through the (dis)United Nations. The apparent purpose was to reward Nkrumah and his Ashanti tribesmen for seizing fellow Negroes and selling them to the slave traders to supply the Saudi Arabian slave markets that are being maintained by the conspirators with the full knowledge, support and tacit approval of their UN agency and its Assistant Director, Rockefeller agent and employee of their Foundation, Ralph J. Bunche.

The Negroes seized and enslaved by Nkrumah's Ashantis in one of Ghana's principal "industrial" enterprises supplement those that are supplied the Saudi Arabian slave market by Mohammedan religious practises. (54, p. 167) Wilfrid Thesiger, in his book entitled ARABIAN SANDS, reported that Rockefeller's Aramco and Caltex have greatly stimulated this slave trade. (54, p. 168) Many of the Negro boys captured and sold into slavery, or sold by members of their families to the slave traders, are brutally castrated. And those that survive the mutilation, when grown up, serve as eunuchs in the Saudi Arabian harems. (54, p. 175)

Viscount Maugham, in a speech made on the floor of Parliament, squarely laid the blame for international protection of the Saudi Arabian slave trade on Rockefeller's Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco) and the tremendous influence that they wield in international affairs. (54, p. 173)

In the process of demeaning the national dignity of our country and aligning it behind this sordid slave trade, in order to serve the interests of the Rockefeller Empire, Vice-President Nixon was sent to Ghana by the conspirators. Perhaps not unintentionally, the plane in which he flew developed engine trouble and almost crashed. He had a narrow escape from death that would have eliminated him as a Presidential rival.

At a later date, Nixon and his wife were sent by the conspirators to Nelson Rockefeller's grand duchy, South America, for the pretended purpose of "winning the good will" of his subjects. It was represented to American "peasants", by the conspirators' pressagents, that it was essential that the man whom we choose as our President must be acceptable to other lands that are "being supported by us" through so-called "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" as well as to the "internationalists" and other breeds of Communists. Nixon's South American "mission" gave the conspirators an opportunity to stage a dramatic demonstration that was

designed to prove that Nixon was not a satisfactory President in the eyes of the South Americans. They had their Communist agents, more particularly those in the sheltered hotbeds of Communism in those lands, the universities where it was arranged that Nixon should convey the tribute on behalf of our country, prepare violently abusive demonstrations against the Nixons.

In Venezuela, the land dominated by Nelson Rockefeller and his Creole and Standard Oil Companies, the demonstrations against our "good will" ambassadors, the Nixons, that were staged by the conspirators, assumed especially great violence and abusiveness. These might well be regarded as reflecting the attitude of Rockefeller. Nixon and his wife were spat on, abused and subjected to physical violence that was reported to have endangered their lives. The conspirators' prostituted press did not fail to stress the contrast between the reception given the Nixons in Rockefellerland, and that accorded to Nelson Rockefeller by his Venezuelan Reds and other subjects.

Not content with the demonstrations intended to eliminate Nixon as a potential nominee in the pending nomination campaign, the conspirators undertook to accord the same treatment to his sponsor, Pres. Eisenhower, in another of their duchies, Japan. The conspirators treacherously arranged a State visit by Pres. Eisenhower. Violent demonstrations were staged protesting Eisenhower's visit, with much the same purpose as those arranged in South America for Nixons. Student riots and demonstrations were of such magnitude and intensity, as to create concern for his safety and security if he should visit Japan.

Rockefeller responsibility for the riots, and sympathy with them, was clearly indicated by a letter written by the Dynasty's "Crown Prince", John D. Rockefeller the Fourth, in a letter to a Kyoto newspapers (later reprinted in LIFE magazine) in which he praised the students for staging the riots so well. John D. the Fourth had been sent to Japan for the purpose of learning the language and customs of the land, and to establish social business and political contacts. The objective: to prepare him to take over from his father the control of Japan's industrial monopolies, the Zaibatsu, and the domination of Japan.

John D. the Third and his wife have spent a large part of each year in Japan looking after the Dynasty's interests that had been grabbed as their war loot that had been gained at the expense of the blood and lives of our GI's and the moneys of our taxpayers, in World War II which they engineered for that purpose. They are reported to have learned to read, write and speak Japanese, to tolerate

Japanese society and make themselves "at home" in it. No doubt they are tiring of this distasteful but highly profitable chore, and plan to retire to pleasanter fields when their son and heir has learned enough to take over as "behind-the-scene" master of the "barbarians". For this chore, it was reported John D. the Fourth was allowed the maximum that the Dynasty could afford in the way of expenses, until he had learned to "shift" (loot?) for himself, twenty-seven dollars a month.

In his letter to the Kyoto press, John D. the Fourth sang the praise of the Japanese students for their role in staging the demonstrations that affronted Pres. Eisenhower and our country, and forced abandonment of the State visit to Japan. In this treachery, he demonstrated himself to be true to the tradition of the Rockefeller Dynasty, a thoroughbred "internationalist". For this he was rewarded with a swivel-chair post in Washington in the Kennedy Administration.

Gov. Rockefeller, having thus undertaken to discredit his opponents, set out on a cross-country tour that was intended to pave the way for grabbing the 1960 Republican Presidential nomination. A disappointingly frigid reception was accorded him. In Los Angeles, he and his wife found it necessary to personally phone their friends to appeal to their vanity and servile cupidity to attend the rigged reception at the Beverly Hilton Hotel. In the Northwest, Oregon and Washington, he was greeted by broadcasts that detailed his malodorous record.

On his return East, Rockefeller was showered with inspired postcards from the patriotic women of the West that challenged his quest for the nomination on the basis of ugly phases of his past activities. He was a bit shocked to find how widely known and how despised was his record. Undoubtedly in the vain hope that attacks on his so vulnerable record would cease, Rockefeller announced, in the following month, on Christmas eve, his pretended withdrawal from the nomination campaign.

As soon as the 1960 Republican Convention was slated to begin, true to expectations based on the Rockefeller tradition of deceit, Gov. Rockefeller emerged on the scene and sought to dictate to the Convention his nomination. He arrived in Chicago with the New York delegation in tow and with four other delegations supposedly pledged to him, on the Thursday preceding the opening of the Convention. He took over for headquarters for himself and the New York delegation, the Sheraton Tower Hotel. He arrogantly demanded the first place on the Republican ticket and announced that he would ac-

cept no other nomination, though none had been offered him. He decreed that his chief opponent, Vice President Nixon, would not win. And he refused to pledge himself to support the Republican ticket if he were not nominated.

The platform on which Rockefeller proposed to run as "Republican" candidate, was identical with those "liberal", "New Deal" and Red, "internationalist" schemes of his that were echoed and rubber-stamped by his Red agents and "yes-men" of his various "committees", or "panels", in the ROCKEFELLER REPORTS. (78) They were the schemes that collaborator Chester Bowles had written into the Democratic platform; and which his minion, Percy, wrote, subsequently, into the Republican platform at the dictates of his boss, Rockefeller. Rockefeller insisted on a plank that demanded a continuation of his so lucrative "foreign (Rockefeller) aid". He demanded an increase in Defense Department expenditures to provide more loot for the Dynasty. In shrieks that reflected his craven terror, as well as his lust for loot, he demanded that billions be provided for the construction of bomb shelters.

Rockefeller's atom bomb and shelter hysteria, which later proved to have a large element of profit for Republican leaders, provided an amusing interlude. His lurid and mad predictions of havoc, of world destruction, that would ensue from "imminent" atom bombing of our country by the conspirators' Soviet partner, were taken seriously by a mid-western religious sect known as Covenant of God. To avert the "imminent" atom bombing and "the end of the world" predicted, they announced their plans to immediately go underground in shelters that they had built and remain there for the following two weeks to avert the destruction of the world that would be caused by the bombing threatened by the candidate. And in a fanfare of publicity, they went underground.

On the Thursday preceding the opening of the Convention, Gov. Rockefeller held a nationally televised press conference in his Chicago headquarters. (Such national coverage is enormously costly to the public and to the Parties, but is a rich source of profit to the conspirators.) None of the press correspondents there present asked Rockefeller the obvious question, that would have been propounded by this author had he been present, to wit:

"Governor, why have you not joined your atom-bomb-terrorized followers, the Covenant of God sect, in their underground shelters?"

On the opening day of the Convention attention of the members of the delegations pledged to Rockefeller was called to his involvement in the so-called "slum clear-

ance and urban redevelopment" land grabs and steals. This was highlighted in the cartoon entitled "BOGUS 'PHILANTHROPIST' LOOTS US" that was widely distributed among four of the five delegations that had been pledged to him, together with a biographic sketch entitled ROCKEFELLER'S QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENCY—OF THE U.S.S.R. At the end of the day's distribution of this data, the delegations were no longer his. It was questionable if he could have been nominated for the post of dog-catcher when the delegates learned of his control of the Public Administration Clearing House ("1313") and its dangerously subversive activities and fostering of public looting by officials organized into a conspiracy against the public. Many of his New York delegation would have liked to desert his ranks, but they feared his vindictiveness, they whispered.

Following the televised press interview, Gov. Rockefeller had invited the press correspondents and the delegates to a "victory ball" that was to be given by him on the following Tuesday at the Sheraton Tower Hotel. By the time Tuesday evening had rolled around, Rockefeller knew that his chance for any sort of personal victory, other than effecting the defeat of the Republican Party, was virtually nil. Numerous press correspondents and delegates showed up at Rockefeller's Sheraton Towers "Victory Ball". A band of the type that tone-deaf Rockefeller favors (that play on the "principle": "The louder the noise, the better the music.") blared away for the dancing crowd.

Gov. Rockefeller failed to make his appearance to greet his guests at the ball. His wife, Mary Todhunter Clark Rockefeller, the "Liberal", and his Harlem-doting son, Rodney, formed the reception line, with toadying, double-crossed California ex-Governor "Goodie" Knight, dancing attendance on them. The greetings extended by them to the Negro guests were especially effusive. Waiters circulated on the periphery of the dance floor and in the adjoining reception room, offering refreshments, both solid and liquid, to the guests who reasonably assumed that they were expressions of Rockefeller's hospitality.

At about midnight, there occurred something that astonished the guests. The waiters began passing out checks for the refreshments that had been served to all of them, including the press correspondents. They were so nonplussed that the correspondents set up a committee to investigate the odd refusal of their Rockefeller host to pay for the hospitality that he had extended to them. According to the dispatches carried on the U.P. wires and pub-



lished on the front page of the World-Telegram and Sun on the following day, they found Gov. Nelson Rockefeller engaged in a heated argument, that lasted for hours, with representatives of the Republican Party. Rockefeller's attitude was reported to be that since he could not have the nomination he had changed his mind about paying for the affair. The report amusingly intimated that he felt that he could not afford it under the circumstances; and "welshed". Abashed, the Republican Campaign Committee, it was reported, effected a settlement with the invited guests. It offered to pay for the scant solid refreshments served, out of campaign funds; but required the guests to pay for their vastly more substantial liquid refreshments. It appears to be a toss-up whether this incident is an illustration of characteristic Rockefeller bogus "philanthropy", their psychopathic miserliness or another demonstration of their "ethics". It fully matched Gov. Rockefeller's fulfilment of his campaign promises and platforms.

During the months prior to the Convention, Gov. Rockefeller had followed his usual custom of insuring the defeat of the Republican Party in event of their failing to give him the Presidential nomination. In his customary spirit of "rule or ruin", he and the Dynasty had viciously attacked President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon whom he made it clear he would not support in case of nomination. Rockefeller's publicist-biographer, Robert Silverberg, makes his anti-Republican attitude quite clear in his honest but damaging campaign propaganda published as a Monarch Books paperback under the title THE FABULOUS ROCKEFELLERS, in January 1963 and hurriedly withdrawn from the bookstands a few months later. (51) He reports the reaction of Republican leaders in the quotation:

"He is campaigning for the Democrats! He is doing more harm to Nixon than Kennedy could do in a dozen speeches!" (61, p. 140)

This was merely a confirmation of a similar opinion of him that they had expressed on a previous occasion, quoted as follows:

"That Rockefeller! . . . He's nothing but a Socialist in Republican clothing!" (61, p. 121)

Pressagent Silverberg correctly reflected the sentiments expressed freely in the press at the time, in the statement: "Rockefeller . . . was carrying out a Machiavellian scheme to bring himself the 1964 nomination." (61, p. 140)

On the eve of the Convention, Gov. Rockefeller insured the defeat of Nixon (and of the Republican Party)

in the ensuing election by compelling him to make a widely publicized, cringing and humiliating night flight to New York to force him to bow down to his dictates as boss. In his usurped role as bogus Republican political boss that he arrogantly assumed on the basis of treacherously undermining the true Republican Party leaders and of mouth-ing Red, so-called "liberal" propaganda and blasting it nationwide through all the media of mass communication which he and his fellow conspirators control, Rockefeller undertook to publicly dictate to Nixon and the Party the acceptance of the same Communist inspired platform that had been avidly accepted by the Democratic Party in the exact form in which it had been drawn up under the direction of his "New" Deal "soul-mates", including his panelist agent, Chester Bowles. The "Republican" version of this Red platform had been imposed by another panelist Chas. Percy (now seeking Republican nomination for Governorship of Illinois).

Rockefeller's dictation to Nixon and the Republicans meant that he required them to accept as their platform the Red, "internationalist," treasonous plot to subvert our Constitution and Republic; and to repudiate the patriotic, nationalist, American electorate who constitute the majority of true Republicans. Rockefeller's plot served to deprive all true and patriotic Americans of their franchise, of any voice in their Government and of their basic and true civil right to elect a loyal American President. It reduced our country to the one-party system that characterizes all totalitarian governments, including the Communist. And it continued the treachery whereby Nelson Rockefeller and his fellow totalitarian, "New" Deal conspirators have disfranchised a major part of the nation without the use of the familiar poll tax device.

Nixon proved by his "knuckling down" to Rockefeller's subversive dictates and submitting to being his pawn, that he lacked the fighting spirit, courage and patriotism that one expects of a real, true American. He proved himself to be "phoney" and counterfeit, and almighty anxious to worship at the shrine of Mammon in the hope that he might grab a crumb fallen from the Rockefeller altar. He would have won the admiration and vote of every true American, who constitute the great majority of the nation, and would have won the election, if he had defied the conspirators. One wonders, in view of his servile act, if Nixon would have dared expose the Communist activities of Alger Hiss, if he had known of Rockefeller's intimate relationship and domination of Hiss. It seems that

his veneration for money and wealth, no matter how ill-gotten, would have precluded it.

Nixon's running-mate, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., who is a dedicated "internationalist" or Red, as well as a Rockefeller CFR agent, did his best to insure the defeat of the Republicans; and was rewarded for it by the conspirators with an appointment by Pres. Kennedy as Ambassador to Viet Nam.

Rockefeller is reported to have prepared the coup de grace for servile Nixon and the Republicans, in a deal made with Joseph Kennedy and the Democrats prior to the Democratic Convention. The deal is reported to have provided that the conspirators would throw the Democratic nomination to John F. Kennedy on the condition that he would "lay down" if Rockefeller secured the Republican nomination. But if Rockefeller was not nominated, he would "arrange" the election of Kennedy on condition that Kennedy would become one of his Council on Foreign Relation agents and would permit him to dictate all policy-making appointments on the Cabinet. A Rockefeller secretary has told her friends that Rockefeller has boasted that he voted a straight Democratic ticket in the 1960 election.

These reports derive confirmatory support from the character of the Cabinet appointments made by Pres. Kennedy, directly after the election. Kennedy's appointees were Rockefeller Council on Foreign Relations agents whom Kennedy had never met, and so-called "Republicans". For his Secretary of State, Kennedy chose a person with whom he was totally unacquainted, the President of the Rockefeller Foundation, fellow member of the Council on Foreign Relations and successor of Hiss in the State Department, Dean Rusk.

Rockefeller venom followed Republican Presidential candidate Richard Nixon to the polls. In California, his home State, pressure was brought to bear by powerful Interpublic Inc. and other agencies to compel local newspapers and other media of mass communication to withdraw their support from Nixon, or at least "to damn him with faint praise". False "friendly advice" and pressure was brought to bear on him to agree to participate in ill-advised debates on television that could only serve to publicize and further the interests of his adversary, Sen. John F. Kennedy. Pressure was brought on him to refrain from appealing to the patriotic elements who comprised a large sector of his followers, by vigorous attacks on the Communists and their fellow travellers. Indeed, the position

into which he was forced by the conspirators in his own Party created the impression that he regretted the exposure of Alger Hiss and his fellow conspirators, which had projected him into national limelight; and that he himself had become a fellow traveller.

There was abundant evidence that the election was crudely stolen by all of the traditional crooked devices openly employed on an unprecedentedly vast a scale, together with the newer device of "fixing" the voting machines. The conspirators' Crime Syndicate in Chicago openly boasted that they had stolen the election in Illinois with 200,000 crooked votes. From many sections of the country there came well confirmed reports of crooked voting and stealing of the election, that assured a reversal if investigation and recount had been demanded by the Republican Party and its local officials. Funds had been subscribed by persons in various parts of the country to pay for a recount in Illinois. Its Governor had announced that he would authorize a recount and favored it. But sufficient pressure was brought by the conspirators and their agents to avert undoing their steal and disfranchising of the nation.

The foundation for Nixon's elimination in California, as well as in the nation at large, had been laid when he was used as a messenger boy by the conspirators to eliminate Sen. Knowland and Gov. Knight by inducing them to exchange places on the Republican ticket. As has been related, their defeat won Nixon their enmity and the hatred of their followers. Another factor in their defeat was clearly brought to light after the election. Democratic Governor-Elect Brown announced immediately after his election that he was flying to the East Coast to confer with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Was his "mission" to render homage to Rockefeller, that was announced in the Los Angeles Times on the day after election, a deal for payoff for Rockefeller's treacherous support? Undenially Rockefeller could not have been unhappy about driving from the public scene his most dangerous rival for the Presidency. Rockefeller's pal, Alger Hiss, gloated over the revenge on Nixon for exposing his treasonous activities. Was that an element in his boss's attitude?

## CHAPTER XIX

### ROCKEFELLER CAPERS, FOLLIES, RASCALITY & DEPRAVITY

After winning his rigged reelection, Rockefeller became more arrogant than ever in his contempt of public opinion. With the help of his host of pressagents and propagandists whom he had placed on the public payroll, he began to assert himself as self-declared boss of the "tri-partisan" Republicratic "Liberal" (Communist?) Party and national dictator of manners and customs.

Control of all media of mass communication facilitated the process and made it cost-free as well as profitable. Any expenses involved were defrayed by the taxpayers by the simple device of putting campaign managers and numerous personal employees on the public payroll. Even his "indigent" relatives were placed on the payroll in as outrageous display of bald nepotism as American history offers. Campaign expenses were further lightened by "shakedowns" of liquor licensees by the Governor's official staff and by his appointees, as has been recounted.

A constant flow of press releases and interviews airing the "grandiose ideas" of Nelson R(ex) and/or those of his "liberal" or Red "ghostwriters" and "brain trusters" have been fed to the public through newspapers, magazines, radio, television and every other utilizable device. Seldom has a day passed that one or more of his "quaint" notions accompanied by photographs of his grimaces (that express either his lack of emotional control or else the "emoting" that he has been taught by his trainer, the TV producer "Pat" Sylvester Weaver) has not hit the headlines to nauseate and disgust the public. Several incidents in the personal, but not-so-private lives of the Rockefellers have supplied crescendo passages to the Rockefeller propaganda and publicity.

The odd marriage of Winthrop Rockefeller to divorcee "Bobo" Sears provided a heart-throb for feminine America that was exploited to the utmost by the Rockefeller pressagents. But little of the true but strange aspects of the story was released by them. Nothing was mentioned

about some interesting phases of her residence in an apartment loaned her by her divorced ex-husband, on Third Avenue, New York, under the noisy El. Nor was anything said about some even stranger aspects of the habits of Winthrop that were intimated in Polly Adler's book, **A HOUSE IS NOT A HOME** and baldly stated by Lyle Stuart in his book, **THE SECRET LIFE OF WALTER WINCHELL**. (85, p. 230) It was presented by their press-agents as a "pure romance" of a modern "Cinderella".

The pressagents truly represented that the Rockefellers were delighted to learn of his interest in a woman, despite Bobo's background. And they urged him to follow her to Florida in the family plane, when she fled to the peculiar refuge of a cafe "society" friend's home. The press reported that in the course of this pursuit, the plane was momentarily grounded. But the wedding took place promptly on his arrival.

Various rumors made the rounds regarding the reason for the separation of Bobo and Winthrop. Some attributed it to Winthrop's "homophile" nature. (85, p. 230) Others reported that the "nigger in the woodpile" was Bobo's insistence on going to mass and confession during her pregnancy, which did not please the Baptist Rockefellers. The couple separated. Bobo returned to her parental farm in Indiana with her child and little else other than some jewelry, a victim of Rockefeller penuriousness. For a time she was able to provide for herself and her child by disposal of some of her possessions. But in due time, she arrived at the end of her means. An endless series of legal skirmishes involving an army of attorneys signalized the effort of Bobo to get her trillionaire, "philanthropist" husband, Winthrop Rockefeller, to provide for their child.

Bobo was driven to seize the Park Avenue apartment in which Winthrop lived, which he had provided her as their home, and which was rightly her own, in a desperate attempt to force him to provide for her and their child. But she lacked the means to hold out and provide for their child, Winthrop Jr. At this juncture, she was advised to call a press conference in the apartment and relate some of the plans that she had heard the Rockefeller brother discuss in their Sunday conferences. In particular she related that Nelson Rockefeller proposed to "make himself President without being elected". The story was carried by the Saturday magazine section of the conspirators' New York Post.

Immediately after the appearance of the story, Bobo is reported to have received urgent phone calls from Rockefeller attorneys offering her a settlement for herself and

her son of more than six million dollars. Only one stipulation was required of her. She was required to agree that she would never open her mouth again with regard to Rockefeller affairs, on the penalty of forfeiting the entire settlement. She then surrendered the apartment with its pornographic collection that was reported to be the world's largest, and obtained a divorce.

The marriage of Gov. Rockefeller's son, Steven, to their former Norwegian servant, Anne Marie Rasmussen, with what was reported to be the grudging consent of his parents, was intensively exploited by his pressagents and campaign manager, as another "Cinderella" affair. Steven, the "apple of Nelson's eye" had distinguished himself as a Princeton University student by displaying the familial bigotry and intolerance. As chairman of the inter-dining club committee, Steven Rockefeller had decreed that Jewish students should be barred from the clubs. This revived anti-Semitism that for decades had been absent from the campus. The Jewish students who protested, he is reported to have advised that they could leave the university if they did not like his ruling.

Shortly thereafter, Steven proved his loyalty to the Dynasty's tradition of Red "liberalism" by inviting his father's pal and "fall guy", jailbird Alger Hiss, to come to Princeton and address the "American" Whig Cleosophical Society. This invitation was extended about the time that Hiss was released from the Lewisburg Penitentiary where he had been incarcerated after conviction for perjury in connection with the treasonous, wartime delivery of information to the Communists. Princeton alumni throughout the country were shocked by this act of disloyalty. They drew up petitions which they sought to post on the bulletin boards of Princeton clubs around the country. They were barred from so doing by order of the University's Board of Trustees, that was headed by Steven's uncle, John D. the Third.

Father Halton, the university's Catholic chaplain who was attached to the Thomas Aquinas Foundation that was dedicated to work among the students, protested the invitation extended by Steven Rockefeller to Alger Hiss, as a subversive and disloyal act that could only serve to foster treason among the students. Pressure was brought to bear on the President of the University to oust Father Halton. He refused and was ousted by retirement. His successor complacently ousted the chaplain. Fr. Halton received the support of his bishop, and he was free to express his sentiments in the matter. That highly displeased the conspirators. Pressure was brought by them on the Vatican

to have Fr. Halton silenced. In due time, orders arrived from Rome through the Papal Legate that resulted in the withdrawal of the bishop's support, and silenced and transferred Fr. Halton. For these "distinguished activities", Steven Rockefeller was honored by Princeton when he graduated.

Steven, reflecting the Dynasty's attitude toward patriotism, did not join the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at Princeton. Subject to the Universal Military Training Act that was decreed for all American subjects of the Rockefeller Empire, Steven was not able to follow his father's example in completely dodging the draft. He did, however, evade the full two year term of military service that was required of other draftees by taking advantage of a regulation that permitted those engaged in vital defense industry tasks to serve on active duty for a six month period and enter the active reserve for a period of years—provided that they return to the defense industry. At the time that Steven Rockefeller was allowed this dodge, he was not known to be engaged in a defense industry. Furthermore, the Armed Services had suspended this rule and had shut down on the six month service period and required a full term of service of two years, for the rank and file draftee.

Following his discharge from the service, it proved that the "vital defense industry" in which Steven Rockefeller occupied himself was campaigning with his father for his reelection; and marrying his Norwegian maid and breeding. Subsequently he entered the Union Theological Seminary, in order to determine if he was interested in preparing for the clergy. It remains to be seen to what exalted swivel-chair "military" post he will follow his father when the Dynasty has engineered its next war, on the basis of his "distinguished military service".

Rockefeller and his press agents capitalized heavily on this "personal affair" in his campaign buildup. It was stressed that the intimacies of Steven and Anne Marie had actually begun in the sacrosanct shrine, the Rockefeller home, and at Princeton; and that Anne Marie had been a lowly servant in the home of the Rockefeller "Fairy Prince," who had been condescendingly elevated, in Cinderella-like fashion, to the rank of Princess. It was intensively publicized as an international cause celebre; and pointed out that the groom's father, Nelson, was on the doorstep of the White House and about to enter it as the next President of the U. S.!

The next cause celebre of Rockefeller's that was intensively exploited by his pressagents, with no injury to his



political schemes, was the death of his son, Michael, in Dutch New Guinea. The background of this tragi-comedy was the traditional Rockefeller training of their offspring, which requires that they must manifest the traditional familial psychopathic character before they are admitted into its inner circle and given a voice in the administration and disposition of its pelf. Michael deviated from what has been the "normal" in the Dynasty. He showed what appeared to be an interest in science, in anthropology, instead of mere psychopathic greed. And this, evidently, was cause for alarm. Michael Rockefeller found that he had to prove that his scientific interest could yield a high rate of "profit", or loot. This he undertook to do by staging a cheap and ill-equipped expedition to primitive Dutch New Guinea for the purpose of following the Rockefeller tradition of inducing others to carry out criminal activities that would yield the Dynasty a profit, loot. Michael's specific purpose was to induce the natives to murder one another to supply him with fresh specimens of a form of "primitive art" that is so dear to Rockefeller, shrunken heads.

Michael's objective was to sell the heads to his father for exhibition in his so-called "Museum of Primitive Art". The "Museum," housed in a former Rockefeller home at 15 W. 54 Street, New York, serves for tax evasion on property that is being assembled for an extension of Rockefeller Center. Housed in the basement, the exhibits consist of several dozen borrowed, crude, aboriginal items. For viewing them, Rockefeller "philanthropically" charges fifty cents admission; and for a skimpy two-penny "catalogue", one dollar. Business had not been very good at the "Museum". Michael's objective appears to have been multiple. His exploit in securing the heads could be intensively publicized, greatly enhancing their lure. His father, Nelson, could then afford to pay him a relatively high price for them out of the profits derived from exhibition in his "Museum". Thus Michael might have won his spurs by proving that there is adequate loot in anthropology.

Michael Rockefeller offered the savage, scantily "civilized" natives (who had only recently been weaned from their headhunting and cannibalism by the local Dutch administrator by the threat of execution for murder) ten times the price for freshly shrunk heads that had prevailed before outlawing by the Dutch. He offered the "enormous" price of ten axeheads, equivalent to thirty admissions to the "Museum". The Associated Press reported that the natives had naively appealed to the Dutch officials for permission to resume headhunting murders

to enable them to earn the "huge price" offered by Rockefeller.

It is poetic justice that Michael Rockefeller probably turned out to be the victim of the crime that he had plotted. It was an unusual denouement in the annals of Rockefeller crime! The plotter became the victim of the crime that he had planned. This may be a hopeful sign. Another unusual feature of the crime was the fact that a Rockefeller risked his own life in its execution, for the first time in the annals of the Dynasty, after millions of lives had been destroyed in a seemingly endless series of wars in its service.

Nelson Rockefeller's gesture of a rescue flight to Dutch New Guinea served to secure himself unlimited front-page, melodramatic publicity for his forthcoming campaign for reelection to New York's Governorship. In the meantime there had developed a contretemps—the announcement of the separation of the Rockefellers and their plans for divorce.

While Gov. Rockefeller was in New Guinea with his daughter, Mary Strawbridge, Michael's twin, his wife, Mary Todhunter Clark Rockefeller gave the cited interview that was published in the November 19, 1961 issue of their New York Journal-American. In polite language, she voiced the sentiments of the family that Gov. Rockefeller is non compos mentis, delusional, paranoically penurious and aberrant in his relations with his employees. The full significance of the latter charge was not appreciated by most of the readers until after his reelection, when he hurriedly married the wife of a Rockefeller employee, Dr. Murphy, who worked for them at the Rockefeller Institute, directly after she had divorced her husband and yielded to him the custody of her four children.

To overcome the revulsion of public opinion regarding his marital infidelity and to insure his reelection, Rockefeller was again aided by his agents in the Democratic Party. Led by a group of so-called "liberals", or Reds, who were members of the Rockefeller Council on Foreign Relations, in that Party, headed by ex-Governor Lehman, and joined by Eleanor Roosevelt, the conspirators staged a ruinous split in its ranks. The pretext for the split was represented to the public as being, amusingly enough, "bossism" by Tammany leader, Carmine DeSapio, whose real bosses were Rockefellers and their agents. The conspirators nominated as their gubernatorial candidate an absolutely unknown Jewish District Attorney Morgenthau who they were certain would go down to defeat. Much

to the astonishment of the conspirators, despite their manipulation of the Rockefeller-controlled election machinery, Rockefeller fared rather poorly in his campaign against the unknown Morgenthau. In contrast with the low campaign chest of the Democratic Party that ordinarily receives rich support from Rockefeller and their agents, Gov. Rockefeller drew heavily on all agencies and individuals dependent on the State, and also more or less indirectly on the taxpayers who were levied on for the payment for patronage.

Like Rockefeller's Administration, the election was the costliest and most corrupt in the corruption-rife annals of New York State. While drawing on the citizenry for funds to pay for endless radio and television broadcasts and rigged "interviews", which netted his agencies and himself fat profits, Gov. Rockefeller wooed the electorate with his usual made-to-be-broken campaign platform and pledges. He did tone down his yelping for bomb shelters. No doubt this was because of the still fresh exposures revealing that his henchmen, including Assembly Speaker Joseph Carlino, had been malodorously involved in a conflict of interest in the promotion of glass fibre bomb shelters by Lance Inc., a company of which he was director.

He assiduously wooed the Negro and Porto Rican vote with the issues of desegregation and unlimited welfare and relief subsidy. The latter, he charmed in Harlem with speeches delivered in Spanish. His campaign, like his Administration, followed every curve of the Communist Party Line especially in his dedication to "internationalism". And he pledged that he would not repeat the tax gouge which he had imposed directly after his first election and which had driven numerous industries out of the State and greatly intensified unemployment. He pontificated on national and international issues in a manner that made it obvious that he was campaigning for the Presidency rather than for the Governorship. And he refused to pledge that he would remain in office for the entire term of four years and not set his course for the White House.

Directly after his reelection, Gov. Rockefeller revealed his basic dishonesty and deceit. He sharply increased taxes levied on all vocations and industries in the guise of increases in permit and license fees; and also a variety of nuisance taxes. And he introduced changes in the administration of the State's income tax law including advancing the dates of payments. He levied on the State the highest tax bill and budget in its history. He indulged in his practise of setting up "commissions" to echo his dictates and

for the purpose of placing his private employees and his kinsmen on the public payroll. When confronted with his dishonest and callous flaunting of his campaign pledge on taxation, Rockefeller brazenly tossed off the remonstrances with the shifty, hypocritic pretense that the huge increase in fees "is not an increase in taxes". With the clear-cut objective of bankrupting the State, he at the same time vigorously opposed the reduction of the tremendous cost of welfare and relief expenditures by the imposition of a residency requirement for granting of relief to prevent migration into the State of shiftless persons for the sole purpose of collecting relief payments. And he again ignored the challenge to end the evasion of taxation by himself, by his family and by their bogus "foundations".

Comptroller Levitt protested the tax increases imposed by Gov. Rockefeller as unneeded, provided that the rate of expenditures by the State were not increased. Rockefeller characterized Levitt's statement as false. He alleged his objective was "fiscal integrity", a "pay-as-you-go basis".

In the following year, Rockefeller's Republican henchmen joined Levitt in denouncing his "fiscal integrity" as "fiscal fraud". The full extent of Rockefeller's juggling of the State's finances and his thorough deceit and dishonesty came to light with exposure of a huge increase in expenditures in the extension of patronage and numerous crooked devices for covering up a huge deficit, in spite of the fact that the budget had been increased by more than 50%, to almost three billion dollars. Republican State legislators joined their Democratic foes in denouncing Rockefeller's budget as dishonest and full of "pork barrel" and loot. On February 13, 1964, at the very time that Rockefeller was in New Hampshire campaigning in the Presidential primary and lying about his "fiscal integrity", Republican Assemblyman Edwyn E. Mason denounced Rockefeller and his dishonest juggling of the budget and predicted, as a result, huge deficits in ensuing years that would necessitate doubling the budget in the near future. (130; 131) Eugene H. Nickerson made the uncontradicted statement:

"There has been the most elaborate and complicated machinations by the Governor to obscure this fact . . ." (130)

The full measure of Rockefeller's fiscal frauds came to light in September, 1963, when Rockefeller and his henchmen proposed the sale and rent-back of State office buildings to help cover up the huge deficit and the lie that he was running the State on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. It

was frankly acknowledged that the future cost of renting back the buildings would greatly increase the cost of the space to the State and further increase the deficit. It was not revealed whether Rockefeller and his Dynasty proposed to purchase the buildings and their valuable sites, and to gouge the State in future rentals. Other crooked devices that are Rockefeller favorites, such as the multitude of publicly financed private "authorities" and costly bond issues yielding high rates of interest to the conspirators and completely tax-exempt, were not dilated upon at the hearing. Nickerson stated:

... while the Governor contends that he is on a "pay-as-you-go" basis, he is borrowing in an intricate way designed to hide the true effect from view.

"We might be tempted to ignore this as a harmless piece of chicanery, more revealing of the Governor's character than hurtful to the public, if it were not for the fact that the public is paying such a steep price for this kind of thing."

Comptroller Levitt has reported that Rockefeller's fraudulent pretense of "pay-as-you-go" and fiscal integrity will cost the taxpayers more than \$171,000,000.00 in interest on the deferred obligations alone. This sum will flow largely into the purses of the conspirators, who place these prize, tax-exempt securities in their portfolios. This public looting and fraud are the Rockefeller concept of "fiscal integrity"!

With his reelection won by duping of his "peasant" electorate with false propaganda and other dishonest devices, Gov. Rockefeller proceeded to prove that he is "a chip off the old block". He set an example in ethics and morality for the nation in following in the footsteps of his criminally psychopathic forebear, bigamist "Doc" Bill Rockefeller. For several years there were rumors of an affaire with Margaretta ("Happy") Fitler Murphy, the wife of a Rockefeller employee, Dr. Robin Murphy, which were highly reminiscent of John D's treatment of his help. These rumors were confirmed when she abandoned her husband and four infants and secured a "quickie" divorce in Idaho. Shortly after her divorce, Gov. Rockefeller hurriedly married her in May, 1963.

In an article in the Rockefeller-controlled Saturday Evening Post issue of June 22, 1963 (86, pp. 15-9) written by Joe David Brown, entitled THE GOVERNOR'S HAPPY LADY appear some revealing, intimate data regarding Rockefeller's new bride, "Happy". She is described as "sloppy", "dirty" and slovenly. It relates that a mother of three infants, she left her husband and children

to join Rockefeller and be at his side in his political campaigning. After his election, she remained at his side through 1959, in New York and Albany. Early in 1960, she left Rockefeller's side to return to her home to be delivered of her fourth child, her third daughter, Malinda. After the birth of the child, she returned to the side of Gov. Rockefeller, where she remained until she left to secure her Idaho divorce.

Highly suggestive of the true situation is Brown's opinion that the three year old Malinda would live with Rockefeller and his "Happy", whereas the other three children would remain in custody with "their father", Dr. Murphy. Subsequent press releases revealed that Dr. Murphy refused to surrender the custody of the children that he had been given. (132)

The detestation in which Nelson has been held by many of the members of his family because of his aggressively domineering attitudes and other personal traits, of which they have freely complained to any listener, including their merchants, was reflected in the shunning of his second marriage ceremony and reception by many of them. Desmond, Rockefeller's latest pressagent and campaign biographer discreetly reports that the May 4, 1963 wedding took place in the home of his brother Laurance, at the family estate at Pocantico Hills; but was attended by only one of his sons, Rodman, and his wife and his step-mother. John D. the Third, he pointedly notes, spent the day in Virginia entertaining the first Mrs. Rockefeller. (133, p. 317)

The Rockefeller newlyweds, Desmond relates, flew to Caracas, Venezuela, in a commercial plane on their way to his duchy, the inaccessible Monte Sacro, in the Chirgua Valley. (133, p. 317) But Desmond carefully refrained from mentioning a number of notable facts in connection with the honeymoon, including:

1. Gov. Rockefeller, in the true tradition of royal honeymoons, was accompanied by State Trooper Captain Galvin, under orders, and by two of his personal security officers. This belied Rockefeller's false representation that the wedding was his personal private affair and of no concern to the press or to the electorate. New York's taxpayers were deprived of the services of their public officers, but had to pay their wages during this "private affair". This is but another instance of Rockefeller's impressing officials on the public payroll to serve him privately.

2. Rockefeller, with his bride, in the capacity of Venezuelan overlord, received a royal reception in Venezuela

that contrasted sharply with that which had been prepared for and accorded to Vice President Nixon and his wife. (87, p. 24: 2)

There was the "coziness" suggestive of aboriginal Mormonism in the housing arrangement made by Rockefeller for his new family. He moved in with his new wife into an apartment at 810 Fifth Avenue, a floor below that occupied by his first wife. Even ultra-tolerant New York cafe "Society" lifted an eyebrow at this new arrangement. It was, no doubt dictated by Rockefeller's parsimony-inspired "tight control of household expenditures" about which his first wife complained.

The situation is a striking demonstration of Rockefellers' adherence to family "tradition" in these matters. His action was a hereditary throwback to his great-grandfather, quack patent medicine vendor, horse thief, swindler, bigamist, rapist and "good mixer", "Doc" Bill, the psychopathic criminal founder of the Dynasty. "Doc" Bill, it is reported, as noted, brought his newly-wed (bigamous?) wife, Elizabeth Davison, the mother of John D. to live in the same home with his mistress and the two children he had had by her. This appears to be one of the "superior" proud traditions of the Rockefellers.

On their return from their "royal" Venezuelan honeymoon, Gov. Rockefeller trotted out his "Happy" on every possible occasion, with the puerile enthusiasm of a youngster showing off a new mount in the spirit of "Love me, love my hore". In an equally juvenile spirit, Rockefeller omitted from his biography in the official New York State Directory, any mention of his first wife and his six children by her. But not many months later there emerged evidences that his enthusiasm for "Happy" had waned. Mention of the omitted first wife and family were restored in the Directory.

Of even greater import were the "inspired" lines in the above-quoted article by Brown in the Saturday Evening Post (71, p. 18) describing "Happy" as a sloppy female who puts her clothes away folded but dirty and whose house looks "as if it came out of a second hand store". The irritation that it must cause her "lover boy", Nelson, can be surmised from the fact that he is so meticulous that if he fancies that one of his crazy paintings hangs on the wall a degree off angle, he arises in the middle of the night to adjust it. Since Rockefeller interests control the Post, it looks as if the article were designed as public reprimand. And it created the impression that the "lover-boy" was shedding his rosy glasses.

Whatever the intimate situation may be, Gov. Rocke-

feller has plumbed new depths of contemptibility in politically exploiting his wife's, "Happy's", pregnancy. This innovation that signalized a new low in American political campaigning, and a new high in Rockefeller's shabby crudeness, cheapness and poor taste, followed up his announcement that "Happy" was "expecting". It was an execrable bit of pressagentry. On the first page of the N. Y. Daily News of January 1, 1964, there was published a portrait of Gov. Rockefeller posing with an infant in his arms and pregnant "Happy" standing at his side. A "streamer" headline above the picture quotes Rockefeller as remarking: "It's good to hold a baby". On page 3 of the newspaper there appeared a follow-up story of the publicity stunt that was in equally poor taste. The Rockefeller of this disgusting bit of poor taste is the fellow whose pet phobia is OTHER PEOPLE'S BABIES, whom he and his propagandists label "THE POPULATION EXPLOSION". They have inspired newspaper headlines such as the one that appeared in the magazine section of a Saturday issue of the N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun a number of years ago with the headline: "BABIES MORE DANGEROUS THAN ATOM BOMBS".

Though Rockefeller promulgates the view that other people's babies are a menace to the world and peace, and has launched through the Dynasty's foundations numerous birth control movements and measures, he does not hold the same view regarding the products of his own fruitfulness. The situation leads one to wonder. Does Rockefeller think that the pleasures of breeding and of holding infants are to be reserved for himself? If this is true, it would not be the first time that this psychopathy has played a role on the American scene.

John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida (theistic Communist) Colony held the same view regarding himself and put it into practise in his Colony. Like the leaders of the thousand or more Christian Communist colonies that thrived in the U.S.A. during the 19th century crackpot era, Humphrey Noyes declared himself to be a "reincarnation of Jesus Christ". He was accepted as such by the followers who flocked much as the current generation flocked about the "Beatles", to join his colony, and worship him. Noyes, as Christ's reincarnation, ordered that all married couples must separate and have no relations with one another. The women and girls were confined in one house and the men and boys in another. Only Noyes himself, as "reincarnated Jesus Christ", and a few select "disciples" could have any relations with the women. For, he represented, in his cunning psychopathy, that as the



Lord, it was his duty to "improve the human race". (2, pp. 361-409) In his book HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS, Noyes undertook to "justify" this scheme. (134) One wonders if it can be expected that "population explosion" foe, Rockefeller, will advance such plan for birth control, as one of his "grandiose ideas"?

While Gov. Rockefeller was adjusting his marital life to his complete satisfaction for the nonce, he insistently dictated to the press and to the public that his ethical and moral conduct were of no concern to them. Despite the costs of his courtship and honeymoon which he had imposed on the taxpayers, he insisted that it be set apart from his political life. It remains to be seen what are the sentiments of the public on this score, if they can manage to express them at the polls without abridgement or deprivation of their franchise.

Under the guidance and direction of his "liberal", Red "brain trusters", Rockefeller arrogantly undertook to dictate to the Republican Party the adoption of his Red New Dealism as its tenets, and in the words of his publicity agent Silverberg, "to change not his affiliation but the philosophy of his party . . . transforming the Republicans . . ." (61, p. 109). In so doing, as has been related, he did not disdain to flagrantly violate the laws of the land. Press dispatches reported that an unsuspecting employee of the Internal Revenue Department had undertaken to treat Rockefeller in the same manner as any other taxpayer. But he soon discovered his error! A columnist reported the incident in more detail than did the brief dispatch. He related that Gov. Rockefeller had been caught using the tax-exempt funds of the Rockefeller Foundation in clear-cut and flagrant, criminal, violation of the law, for his political activities, his quest for the Presidency, in 1960.

It is difficult to understand why the Internal Revenue Service that so hounds the little fellow who has deducted a ten dollar expense item of which they disapprove, has failed to discern that the funds of the entire Rockefeller Foundation Trust are used almost in their entirety for political activities and for the influencing of legislation in the Dynasty's interest, in flagrant violation of the law. The law requires that such violations shall be penalized not only by forcing the foundations to pay the taxes that would have been levied in the absence of tax-exemption during the entire period of its existence, with enormous and virtually confiscatory penalties, but also requires that the existence of the foundation with its tax-exemption be terminated, and that the parties involved in these crimes

shall be criminally prosecuted with as much vigor as is any other organization or citizen, with penalties that include both fines and jail sentences.

The columnist acknowledged that the Rockefeller Foundation faced "real trouble". But, he related, Rockefeller and the Foundation were, neither of them, penalized with a confiscatory penalty and jail sentence, as are the rank and file of Federal income tax evaders. The Internal Revenue Service apparently adheres to the doctrine, with regard to the Rockefellers, that "the King can do no wrong". Rockefeller was let off "scot-free" on his promise that he would not be caught at it again. And we "peasants" still continue to enjoy the privilege of paying for them the taxes that the Rockefeller "philanthropists" do not pay, and which they probably would evade paying even if they were required to do so.

Equally criminal, still not thoroughly investigated and untouched by the sleuths of the Internal Revenue Service, was the fund raising by shakedown of retail liquor licensees by the official family and intimates of Gov. Rockefeller, to which reference has been made. It served to make clear, however, the reason for the failure of New York State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz to investigate and prosecute the Governor's violation of the State's Corrupt Practise Act which were recounted in the cited petition. It was brought to light in the course of the liquor dealers' shakedown investigation that Lefkowitz, his law firm and his successor were heavily engaged in the liquor license business. It brings to mind the old adage: "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones".

## CHAPTER XX

ROCKEFELLER PROMISES IF ELECTED:  
ERADICATION OF "VICE" OF PATRIOTISM.  
RED "INTERNATIONALISM"—AS "FEDERALISM."  
DOMESTIC & "FOREIGN AID" LOOTING  
FOREVER.

What sort of a government does campaigning Rockefeller offer us if he makes himself President? There need be no doubt about this. For Rockefeller has made it ultra-clear what he proposes to do with us, with our Republic

and with the Constitution on which it is based, if he becomes President. He has done so in numerous speeches, in the "reports" issued by committees that he has set up to echo his schemes, and in articles and a book that have been ghostwritten for him and published in his name.

The most recent Rockefeller publication bearing on the topic is **THE FUTURE OF FEDERALISM**, which is, in effect, his ghosted version of "MEIN KAMPF". An analysis of its contents will be presented later in this chapter. Let us first consider the outstanding motive behind the scheme, Rockefeller's basic, psychopathic motivation: fear of poverty and quest for absolute security, giving rise to the desire for "making money", which he and his truthful pressagents and biographers clearly state on his behalf. This is the motivation that is at the root of his "internationalism" and his insistence on its corollary "foreign aid". For both of them mean to him "making money" on the grandest conceivable, on a worldwide, scale by conquest and plunder. And "internationalism" is the antithesis of honest patriotism.

Intelligent love of one's country, patriotism, bars the way to world dictatorship and looting. Hiss's exposure made Nixon the idol of deluded patriots and feared by the "internationalist" conspirators. The conspirators accomplished Nixon's defeat in his home State, and that of the Republican Party in the nation. This defeat served to highlight the meagre victory of Rockefeller's that his pressagents touted as indicating the "necessity" of his being given the Republican Party's Presidential nomination in 1964. Such reward is "fitting" for the treachery involved in betraying the Party from within.

In order to make sure that Nixon's Presidential prospects and ambitions would not recover from the blow of his defeat in the California gubernatorial election, the conspirators arranged through Rockefeller agent, James Haggerty, for a television broadcast of obsequies for the political career of Nixon, over which Rockefeller associate and "fall guy", jailbird Alger Hiss presided. And later, to further guarantee that Nixon would play no significant role in the 1964 Republican convention, he was lured by what was represented as a fabulous financial offer, a partnership in one of the Dynasty's legal firms, to leave California which was the root of any political influence that he might still possess, to move to New York. In New York, he was mockingly welcomed by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, the architect of his downfall, and provided with a costly cooperative apartment in the same Fifth Ave. building occupied by the Governor and his wives. There, after a trip to Europe, he publicly an-

nounced at the end of September, 1963, his advocacy of the candidacy of Rockefeller for the Republican Presidential nomination. Nixon, in effect fawned and grovelled at the hand that slapped him down.

In the meanwhile, there appeared on the political scene a development that greatly alarmed Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and his fellow "liberal" conspirators. There has arisen a resurgence of the spirit of American patriotism that the Rockefellers and their fellow "liberals" and subversives thought they had destroyed by the campaign that they had persistently directed against the "vice" of patriotism that they identified with what they called "the folly of isolationism" and "McCarthyism". This threatens a dangerous setback and even defeat of their purpose of extending the Rockefeller Empire around the world and the universe, and of expanding the dominion of their Soviet partners and agents.

Rockefeller determinedly set about destroying the "menace" of patriotism. He rails at American patriots as "the lunatic fringe", "the radicals of the far right", whom he describes as "a greater menace than the radical left". Quite naturally, Gov. Rockefeller directs his fume and fury against the potential Presidential candidate who is the darling of the element who prefer to label themselves as "Conservatives" rather than as "American patriots". For as often as not, the first loyalty of themselves and their movements is to a religious denomination or sect and not to our country, our Republic and our Constitution. They subversively spurn the Constitution as their sole faith, as it was accepted by the sincere founders of our Republic. Instead, their faith lies in the very religions and denominations that the signers of the Declaration of Independence did, of necessity, repudiate. For the latter rejected and revolted against the concept of rulers "by divine right" which is the fundamental basis of all religions.

Rockefeller's attacks and ravings have been directed against Sen. Barry Goldwater, who has emerged as the "white hope" of the elements opposed to his Red, Illuminist-Marxist so-called "liberalism" that serves as a cloak for the thievish, totalitarian objectives of the conspirators. These attacks of Rockefeller's are being made in a "rule or ruin" spirit that is characteristic of him. To split the Republican Party wide open and insure its defeat unless he be given its nomination and, in the words of his publicity agent Silverberg, to "transform . . . the Republicans" into an agency of subversion and treason, is Rockefeller's overt purpose.

In a primary campaign speech, made at Concord, New Hampshire on January 4, 1964 and reported in a special dispatch to the N. Y. Times of the following day, Rockefeller laid bare the keystone of the conspiracy, which is the heart of his "internationalist" platform. (125, p. 47:1) He challenged Sen. Goldwater to answer the following questions:

"How are we going to preserve the solvency of this great DEMOCRACY (he never refers to our country as a Republic) of ours with fiscal integrity (bear in mind that he refers to the fraud perpetrated in New York in these words) and at the same time abolish the progressive income tax (imposed on us by his grandfather and namesake, Sen. Nelson Aldrich and exempting them from taxation)?

"How are we going to preserve the security of America if we abolish the major source of revenue, which is the source of support for our national defense (alias, for war industries which Rockefellers control, and are an important device for their looting of the nation)?

"How are we going to preserve security (of the Rockefeller Empire and its Soviet Axis partner) if we withdraw from the United Nations (a device which he created with the collaboration of Alger Hiss for the purpose that it has served so well: to block any opposition to the spread of Communism around the world for looting by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis)?

"How are we going to preserve security (for the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis) and stability (that it has made nonexistent except for themselves) in the world if we cut off foreign (Rockefeller) aid (thievery)?" The phrases in parentheses express the truth, which Rockefeller carefully omitted. They constitute the best and most obvious answers to his false pleas, that were uttered with the purpose of dividing the Republican Party by inveigling Sen. Goldwater into the same type of rigged debate that the conspirators had foisted on Nixon to bring about his defeat. Rockefeller's shameless hypocrisy in this matter is made much too clear by his refusal to debate his opponent, Morgenthau, in the New York gubernatorial race, because of the certainty that he and his sham and hypocrisy would have been exposed much too clearly with a bit of truth.

Rockefeller craftily relies upon Sen. Goldwater's loyalty to the Republican Party and his patriotism not to expose the ugly truth and not to jeopardize our national security by truthfully answering Rockefeller with the above-noted facts with a wealth of supporting data. This author re-

gards Goldwater's attitude as erroneous in both respects. And he will here answer Rockefeller's hypocritic questions, because they fully reveal Rockefeller's intent to intensify the betrayal of our country and its security. He also feels it incumbent to answer, because the censorship maintained by the conspirators, which distorts and falsifies the statements of the opposition, and presents their own leader's activities, no matter how nefarious, in a favorable light.

Nelson Rockefeller's "Chicken War" is a case in point. This affair came to a climax at the very time that Rockefeller launched his campaign for the Republican nomination, in October, 1963. Our farmers and poultrymen found that their chickens were excluded from the EEC market where they had previously sold more than forty million dollars of their production, by a tariff that discriminates against them. They were seriously hurt financially, both by the reduction of their sales by the exclusion and by the effect of the resultant overproduction on their domestic market. Rockefeller never fails to make himself heard on the matter of foreign, or "international", affairs. But on the matter of the "Chicken War", he was peculiarly silent. Though the interests involved, the farmers, constitute an important element in electorates, it was the one element that Rockefeller did not attempt to win over to vote with promises of everything that their hearts might desire. The reason is that Rockefeller is waging the "Chicken War" on the American producers. He knows that they can be won over only by his foregoing the opportunity to "make money" that he has created for himself by the "Chicken War".

Rockefeller control of the press and the censorship exercised by their agents have carefully withheld from the nation the ugly truth of the situation. There have been numerous newspaper stories and radio and television broadcasts on the "Chicken War", on the discrimination by the EEC against the American producers and on the injury it would do our sad trade balance. There were reports of retaliatory measures. But never once was the public told the truth about the "Chicken War", because the truth would lose Nelson Rockefeller the support and the votes of the groups involved. There is also the fear that if the truth were exposed, public outcry would force an end to the conspirators' "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" thievery.

The Kennedy Administration was helpful. Its representative in the matter was none other than Nelson Rocke-

feller's pal and agent, Eisenhower's "Republican" Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, who has never hurt the interests of the conspirators. The idle gesture of imposition of retaliatory tariffs on certain imports from the EEC, it is reasonable to assume, will do no injury to the interests of the Rockefeller Empire.

The U. S. News & World Report gave the first inkling of the situation in an article in its September 23, 1963 issue (p. 88). It was intended to "calm the storm" with the assurance that the matter "will be strictly academic in a few years". That will be small comfort to the farmers and poultrymen who will have been driven out of business in the interim.

The article related the story of Nelson Rockefeller's pseudo-"philanthropic" business that he set up in 1947 under the name "International Basic Economy Corporation," that follows the Soviet style designation of IBEC. Its purpose was private exploitation of the "foreign aid" projects that he had launched through the Government. The underlying objective of Rockefeller's IBEC enterprise has been gradual monopoly of all necessities of life, similar to that which the Dynasty has so profitably effected through its Milk Trust, and through such devices as chain supermarkets, farms and ranches organized into vertical Trusts. This the article failed to relate.

The article also failed to relate that these private ventures of Rockefeller's are largely financed at the expense of American taxpayers through the fraud of so-called "foreign aid" that was conceived and lobbied through Congress by Nelson Rockefeller personally; and that it constitutes an enormous source of loot for the Dynasty. It also failed to relate that American taxpayers are required, by various bills lobbied through Congress by the conspirators, to guarantee the safety of the "foreign aid" loot that the conspirators invest in foreign lands and of the profits thereon that accrue to them. It also failed to relate that both the loot and the profits are exempt from American taxes and constitute an ideal addition to their tax dodges.

Rockefeller, the article relates, teamed up his IBEC with Arbor Acres Farm Inc. to engage in the chicken business throughout the EEC markets, as well as in other foreign lands. The headquarters of this chicken business of "philanthropist" Gov. Nelson Rockefeller is in Aprilia, Italy. It supplements the chain of supermarkets that offer cutthroat competition to the native tradesmen. In Italy alone, Rockefeller most profitably produces and sells millions of

chickens each year. It and its Rockefeller owner are major factors in the takeover of the EEC markets from American producers and locking them out.

The article does not intimate the uglier aspect of this "foreign aid" conspiracy. This information had been published at an earlier date by the Wall Street Journal in the form of a statement that Rockefeller was establishing a chain of supermarkets in Italy with "counterpart funds", with financing by the American taxpayer. At a meeting of IBEC's stockholders, it was announced that this financing was provided in the amount of approximately six hundred million lire of Italian "counterpart funds". And feed for the chickens is furnished virtually gratis by American taxpayers and farmers.

This operation of Rockefeller's throws light on the modus operandi and technique of modern Rockefeller brigandage and racketeering. With few exceptions, Rockefeller's "foreign aid" bills were designed, as has been related, to evade the provisions of the Johnson Act which bars American loans to any foreign lands that fail to repay their earlier loans. The arrangements in these Rockefeller measures effectively barred the possibility that the "swag" would in any wise be reduced by repayment of any part of it to the looted American taxpayers. With characteristic Rockefeller "philanthropy", it was provided that none of the loans would be repaid to the American Treasury. Repayment would be made, supposedly, into "funds" set up in the various lands, not in American dollars that had been "loaned", but in the native currency of the "aided" lands—at highly depreciated rates. It is a curious fact that none of the lands acknowledge having received more than a fraction of the "loans" which our Government announced had been given them. And no one has succeeded in tracing the fate of the balance.

These so-called "counterpart funds", it was arranged, can be used only in the "aided" land in question, for vaguely specified purposes. In order to insure acquiescence of the members of Congress and to guard against too rigid investigation and accounting of the "counterpart funds", it was provided that members of Congress visiting those lands could make unlimited drafts on those moneys for their own use.

At a later date, the conspirators lobbied through Congress a bill that provided that a specified fraction, originally 25%, of the "counterpart funds" must be turned over to private enterprise (obviously meaning themselves, if one judges by subsequent developments) for the financing of business in those lands. With these funds the conspira-



tors have taken over and financed a multitude of industries in numerous lands that offer cheap labor. They offer cutthroat competition to American industry and labor. In many instances, such as their Japanese steel and transistors, their Italian shoes, typewriters and clothing and their ceramic products and crockery from numerous lands, the conspirators reduced tariffs for the products of their American-taxpayer-financed, overseas industries. This has resulted in the injury, ruin and bankruptcy of American industries and unemployment of American workers on a huge scale.

In addition to this reward for the "drafted" American involuntary financiers of this betrayal of themselves, the conspirators are using these moneys to undermine the dollar. The flood of these cheap imports has been used by the conspirators to create an unfavorable balance of trade for the U. S. Their foreign dollar credits thus created are being used by them to sluice off their gold loot hoarded in their domestic "Federal" Reserve Bank accounts to the accounts of their foreign banks of issue. Though this merely means that the gold is transferred from one room of the "Federal" Reserve Bank, reserved for domestic gold, to another room in the "Federal" Reserve, that holds the gold "earmarked" for their foreign accounts, it is being used by the conspirators to take advantage of the grip that the "gold myth" has on the popular imagination to create a domestic scare regarding the solvency of the Treasury. They now plan to intensify this by completely eliminating backing of our currency with gold. This scare, in turn, is being used to facilitate still another form of looting and brigandage which the author describes in his **THE "FEDERAL" RESERVE SYSTEM & THE ROCKEFELLERS**, (10) hastening U. S. insolvency and gold withdrawals.

Rockefeller and the Dynasty, in brief, are waging a financial and industrial war on our country of which the "Chicken War" is a minor aspect. It is merely a single facet of the conflict of interest, of the ruthless looting of American taxpayers, of the shameless racketeering that the nation suffers at the hands of these racketeers and brigands. It sadly confirms the unheeded prediction made by the Supreme Court in 1911 when it handed down its decision ordering the dissolution of the Standard Oil Co., to wit: if the conspirators are permitted to carry on they are certain to destroy our Republic.

With these facts in mind, it becomes easy to understand Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's bitter opposition to the demands of American patriots that there be terminated the treasonous "internationalism" of Communism and New

Dealism that have meant decades of looting and betrayal of our country, and have brought us to the verge of insolvency and financial dependency on lands that we have "aided", including the Soviets.

President Kennedy hailed in his July 4, 1962, Independence Day speech made in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the dependence of our country on the conspirators and their foreign allies, which is rapidly reducing us to political and financial colonialism. He advanced his "Declaration of *Interdependence*" as a replacement for the Declaration of Independence. It must have delighted Archbishop John Krol, to whom it was specifically addressed. And Gov. Nelson Rockefeller who sat in the audience with his gubernatorial colleagues of the membership of his "1313" Governors' Conference, was noted applauding this renunciation of the Declaration of Independence and, by implication, of the Constitution.

Nelson Rockefeller has forcefully expressed his determined opposition to any relief from the treasonous betrayal of our country effected by the conspirators. Warren Weaver Jr. reported in a special dispatch to the New York Times of October 20, 1963, that Gov. Rockefeller opposed the demands of American patriots, as expressed by Sen. Barry Goldwater, that there be brought to an end our national betrayal primarily by our withdrawal from the principal agencies in which Rockefeller and his Red accomplices have trapped us for their treacherous purposes: the so-called "United" (more accurately described as dis-United) Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Redevelopment (also labelled the "World" Bank, though the label "Rockefeller Bank" would be more accurate) and so-called "foreign" (more correctly "Rockefeller") aid. (89) In a campaign speech made before the students and faculty of Colby Junior College, at New London, New Hampshire, Rockefeller is quoted as saying:

"I disagree with Senator Goldwater's positions on each of these three issues *because I feel that they are not in the best interests of the American people*".

It would not have been in character for Rockefeller to have stated honestly:

"I disagree with Senator Goldwater because these three betrayals have been put over by me for the purpose of looting and despoiling the American people and enslaving them. Their perpetuation would be in the best interest of myself and my fellow conspirators."

That is the truth of the matter. As has been related, Nel-

son Rockefeller spent the major part of three decades building up the coordinated machinery for looting the nation and the world that is constituted by the three agencies from which he is acutely aware every loyal American, every patriot, hopes and prays our country can be extricated.

Bearing these matters in mind, one can readily discern that Nelson Rockefeller and the Dynasty would prefer to destroy the Republican Party from within rather than to risk the chance of permitting American patriots to wipe out the racket that he has built up and that is proving so enormously profitable to him and the Dynasty. That has been the real purpose, from the start, of his bi-partisan, or more truly omnipartisan, activities since the day he entered his acknowledged behind-the-scene role of political boss of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Even a cursory examination of the situation reveals how great would be the loss to the Rockefeller Dynasty and their Soviet partners that would be inflicted by the repudiation of those treacherous "internationalist" agencies by our country. Since Nelson Rockefeller and his subversive associates, including Lauchlin Currie and Alger Hiss, saddled them on the nation and its taxpayers, all effective resistance to the spread of Communism around the earth has been blocked by them. One of the obvious results of their activities has been to impose Communism on Cuba and to bring their "internationalist" conspiracy that much closer to their planned takeover of our own land. Their takeover of the Congo is a case in point.

A clear-cut picture of the meaning of the takeover of a land by these conspirators can be seen in the Congo situation. Rockefeller's interest in the Congo was aroused when, during the 1950's, Belgians sold the Rockefeller brothers a large block of stock of the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga. This served to focus their sight on the wealth of loot in the natural resources and the absurdly cheap labor of the Congo. The Belgians had made huge investments in the development of Katanga in which they were joined by the Societe Generale, in which the Jesuit Order is reputed to be a dominant factor. And at the cost of many lives and intense dedication, they had begun to wean the Congolese tribes away from savagery and cannibalism.

In the Rockefeller tradition, partners are only tolerated until it becomes readily convenient and possible to oust and loot them. Their "United" Nations ideally serves that purpose. The Rock Mob made an intensive personal survey of the situation. John D. the Third, as active head of the

foreign interests of the Dynasty, had made a survey of the riches of Africa and Katanga prior to the purchase of the stock.

"Following a two-month trip to Africa in 1948, John D. 3rd returned (to the U. S.) on November 14, so filled with enthusiasm about the commercial and industrial potentialities of that continent that it took all the efforts of his public-relations counsellor to divert his N. Y. Times interview to the supposed interest of his journey 'in connection with his work as Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation,' the health and welfare of the natives. Since then subversive agitation among the natives has risen to a new high level, fostered by such organizations as the Rockefeller-subsidized Urban League, under the stimulation of such Rockefeller pawns as Ralph J. Bunche. On January 18, 1951, John D. Rockefeller 3rd was present at a dinner given in Bunche's honor by the Trustees of the Phelps Stokes Fund to signalize his receiving the 1950 Nobel Peace prize. He lauded Bunche following a speech by the latter in which he predicted: '. . . it will not be many years before the same kind of upheaval now appearing in Asia (Rockefeller-Soviet Axis inspired) will be witnessed in Africa'." (11, pp. 39-40)

The above account predicting the plans of the conspirators was published by the author in 1952. The Rockefeller program for Africa, plotted in their Foundation more than a decade earlier, had become an official part of the Communist "Party Line". It was listed as such by American Communist Party leader Earl Browder, in his *TEHERAN—Our Path In War & Peace*. (90, p. 53) Subsequently it appeared as one of the express objectives of Nelson Rockefeller's Point 4 program.

The signal for the outbreak of violence in Congo was the day of departure of David Rockefeller from the Congo, in company with Ralph J. Bunche, an official of the "United" Nations and a dedicated agent of the Rockefellers who has since been appointed by them to their Foundation. The pretext used by the conspirators was the so-called "evil" of colonialism and the "principle" of "self-determination". Both of these hypocritic devices have served them well in looting and enslaving the world, in expansion of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis and in spreading the domain of the Rockefeller Empire.

The plot and plans of the conspirators were deeply laid. But they were dug out and brought to the light of day by Congressman Bruce, of Indiana, on the floor of Congress. (105) He revealed the fact that the strategy of the conspirators was to steal the property of the Union

Miniere du Haut Katanga. This was to be done through a Swedish iron mining complex, Grangesberg, that had originally been developed by a kinsman of the Duke of Edinburgh, Sir Ernest Cassel, but is now controlled by the conspirators. The President of Grangesberg is none other than Bo Gustav Hammarskjold, whose brother was appointed Secretary General of their U. N. Another officer of Grangesberg, Captain Linner, was placed at the head of U. N. Armed Forces, to personally direct the operation. Dag Hammarskjold met his death while on the scene of the operations in the Congo, when his plane was shot down, and his criminal mission ended.

Bruce's report made it clear that though Rockefellers were part owners of UMHK, (105, p. 18139) their greater interest is in their Copper Trust headed by the Anaconda interests. (105, p. 18140) He points out that Katanga copper production constituted the bulk of the overproduction that was holding down the price of the metal; and that the object of the conspirators has been to stop the Katanga production in order to enable the conspirators to "manage" the copper market in the same manner as they do other necessities, including milk, chickens, eggs and oil. He reported that the ousting of the Belgians and the fraud of "freeing the Congo of colonialism" was planned well in advance by the conspirators to facilitate their thievery. The agency through which they accomplished the rape of the Congo (as in the case of many other lands) was the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis agency, the "United" Nations.

Dag Hammarskjold, the brother of the President of Grangesberg, had been appointed by the conspirators to the post of Secretary General of the U. N., and Trygve Lie had been ousted, to prepare the way for the crime. Hammarskjold, in turn, appointed to various "United" Nations strategic posts in the Congo, officials of the various companies composing the interlocking network of the Copper and Metal Trusts. These included Sven Schwartz and Sture Linner, as well as several representatives of the American sector of the Trust.

The American accomplices in the conspiracy cited by Bruce are most interesting in view of subsequent developments. He heads the list with "President John F. Kennedy" (105, p. 18138; p. 18142), and his State Department that is headed by another Rockefeller employee and Red CFR agent, Dean Rusk. The two men in the State Department who directed the Washington end of the conspiracy are both Rockefeller CFR agents and former officers and attorneys of the Trust. Fowler Hamilton, a

director of the Liberian Iron Ore Ltd. (LIO) which is one of the units of the Trust, resigned his directorship to enter the State Department (105, p. 18146) as a subordinate of a former partner of the Paris branch of his law firm (that represented the Trust in these activities), George Wildman Ball, Under Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration. (105, p. 19148) Fowler Hamilton later became Administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID) in the State Department, where he was in excellent position to further the thievish and murderous Congo conspiracy.

The purposeful character of the tie-in of Hamilton's law firm with the Trust unit LIO is indicated by the fact that when he resigned his directorship in the company, he was replaced on its directorate by another member of the firm, his law partner, Melvin C. Steen, (105, p. 18146) where he "represented the American partners of the Swedish-American combine". The president of one of the key units of the Trust, the Liberian American Swedish Minerals Co. (Lamco) which had been formed by merger of Swedish interests with the International African American Corp. was another Rockefeller CFR agent and distant kinsman, Johnston Avery. It had employed Linner up to the time that he resigned to immediately be appointed by Dag Hammarskjold resident UN representative in Congo on the day of its "liberation," July 15, 1960. Thus the setting for this horribly "grandiose" crime was perfected.

The role played by the Communist partners of the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis in this phase of the conspiracy was graphically described by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen in his column in the Brooklyn Tablet of April 15, 1961 (106) that is quoted by Bruce (105, p. 18137-8). Dag Hammarskjold's Red successor, U Thant, pledged his support of the rape of Katanga, giving

"... specific assurance *in writing* that the bombs would be used only against Katangan military aircraft on the ground and against airstrips used by them." (105, p. 18150)

As might have been expected of a Red, his pledge proved not to be worth the paper on which it was written.

Another Rockefeller CFR Red, American Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson is quoted by Bruce as having stated

"The United States is very pleased with the plans of the Secretary General to bring Katanga under control." (105, p. 18150)

The Bilderberg group, another Rockefeller "international-

alist" front that, as related, they have set up under the auspices of Prince Bernhard, the consort of the Queen of Holland includes a number of persons who have played key roles in the rape of the Congo. Among them is the Swedish banker, Wallenberg, president of the Liberian Iron Ore Ltd. which is the holding company for Lamco. The Rockefellers are represented in it by David Rockefeller personally. Bruce succinctly sums up the situation in his words:

"And all of this in the satanic hypocrisy that cries to Heaven for revenge—in the name of peace, committed by . . . our elected and appointed leaders—in your name and mine.

"What a tragedy . . . in treasure, and lives, in brutality and horror, in maimed bodies and broken hearts." (106, p. 18138)

Failing to realize the true nature of the conspirators, Bruce wrote:

"You would expect Communists and lunatic leftists to be against business enterprise, but it is hard to see why heirs to great fortunes like the Kennedys, Harrimans and Rockefellers, or the beneficiaries of large foundations, like Secretary of State Rusk, or former corporations attorneys for huge foreign cartels, like Under Secretary of State Ball, would not see many virtues in a republican form of government . . ." (105, p. 18151)

Bruce would be less puzzled if he stopped to reflect that those fortunes are based on gangsterism and thievery, and continue to thrive thereon; and Communism is the most perfect of thievish devices, that makes possible the looting of whole nations through their governments and are most useful tools for the Rockefellers and their ilk; that foundations are the most convenient of their larcenous tools on the domestic scene, until such time as they find it suits their convenience to impose Communist totalitarianism or its royal counterpart on the nation; and that the agents who serve them in their foundations are, at heart, as vicious vultures as are they.

The Congo affair reveals once again, as did the conspirators' uses of the Marshall Plan, the vicious treachery of Nelson Rockefeller's "Chicken War" and most importantly the treason that involved us in two World Wars, the Korean "police action" and an endless series of minor wars and sell-outs, the true reason for their dedication to so-called "internationalism", "foreign aid" and "United" Nations and the enormous loot that accrues to them therefrom. Can one wonder that Nelson Rockefeller de-

mands that the platform of every political party pledge it to his "foreign aid" schemes, to "internationalism" and to support of their Rockefeller-Soviet agency, the UN?

The Congo affair clearly reveals the criminal and murderous intent of the conspirators. Katanga, which is the most highly developed region of Congo that approaches most closely to civilization, wishes to exert the so-called "principle" of self-determination and to secede from the primitive, savage part of the Congo. The Katangese and the people who had spent their lives and fortunes in developing Katanga wished to continue to enjoy the measure of civilization and development that they had attained. Katanga's resolve to peacefully retain its civilization and developments would have frustrated the thievish objectives of the conspirators who masked their criminal intent with the slogan: "Freedom from colonialism". The Katangese, in all honesty, opposed to the looting of their Belgian patrons and mentors, and rose to oppose the thievery of the "internationalist" thugs operating under the cover of their "United" Nations agency.

The Katangese soon discovered, however, that the "principle" of self-determination that had been enunciated for the conspirators by their unprincipled agent, Pres. Wilson, and adopted by their criminal U. N. agency, would apply only if they "determined" to submit to rape by the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis. When they refused to become colonies of either the Rockefeller Empire or its Soviet partner, the Katangese discovered that the supposed "riddance" of benevolent and valued "colonialism" by the Belgians meant for them victimization by a revival of savagery and cannibalism that had almost been eliminated.

Rockefeller asked the questions regarding the preservation of U. S. and world security and their dependence on "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" and the "United" Nations, with tongue in cheek and in sheer hypocrisy. As one of the chief beneficiaries of those criminal and subversive devices, he well knows that they are the principal agencies for destroying the security of the U. S. and the world and for impairing the solvency of our country. Who does he think he is duping with those questions? Does he really believe that we have all been moronized by his Dynasty's and its Soviet partner's propaganda and brainwashing? Or does he believe we are all a bunch of imbecilic "peasants"?

THE ENTIRE RECORDS OF BOTH THE CONSPIRATORS' "UNITED" NATIONS AND OF THEIR "FOREIGN AID" PROVE BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THEY PROVIDE SECURITY ONLY FOR THEM-



**SELVES, THEIR EMPIRE AND THEIR SOVIET PARTNERS. AND THEIR CONTINUED EXISTENCE INSURES STEADY ADVANCE OF THEIR CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY.**

Rockefeller's bleating plea for the progressive Federal income tax that is one of the basic features of the Marxist conspiracy, is equally false. He is well aware that the prime purpose for which the Dynasty had his grandfather, Sen. Nelson Aldrich, introduced the XVIth Amendment, on which the Federal income tax is based, was to enable them to use the Government to pry into the business affairs of everyone and to loot us at will and without limit. Another purpose was to make sure that no one would be able to build up a fortune that would rival theirs. Rockefeller is well aware that other taxes such as the excise tax and import duties do yield sufficient for all our legitimate Governmental financial needs. It is a matter of record that the entire yield of the income tax is consumed in paying the deficits of more than seven hundred Government corporations and "authorities" set up by and for them, that are illegitimately engaged in competition with private industry, are being deliberately mismanaged for the purpose of looting of the nation, and constitute devices for "making money" for his Dynasty and the conspirators by various means, both direct and indirect, as in the case of "foreign (Rockefeller) aid". Rockefeller also is well aware, from personal experience and profits, of the amount of thievery involved in Government "defense" expenditures and their deliberate use by the conspirators to "progressively" loot the taxpayers by the simple device of raising the tax levied to ever higher levels to which there is no limit in the law.

It is about time that Rockefeller and the Dynasty show a bit of the "fiscal integrity" which he falsely claims, by putting an end to the tax evasion, so-called exemption, which they have provided for themselves by the tax laws and regulations that they and their agents have written. Examples are the so-called "charitable contributions" Sec. 1.170-2, which in effect exempts from taxation persons whose contributions and taxes, if paid, would amount to 90% or more of gross adjusted income; the sections which exempt from tax income earned overseas; and the sections which exempt "philanthropic" foundations, even though they are used to finance business interests. It is safe to say that if the Rockefeller Dynasts would honestly pay the taxes on their trillion dollars a year income, the taxes which the rest of us have to pay would be cut to a small fraction of the present amounts. And Rockefeller would

be less anxious to increase the tax rate at every turn, but would be the first to demand its elimination. Being virtually tax-exempt, and profiting so heavily from the taxes the rest of us pay, one can understand Rockefeller's anxiety for a constantly rising progressive income tax. Especially interesting in this connection is I.R.S. Director Caplin's published statement that he does not pay the 91% tax on his income bracket.

For the rank and file of the nation, their "peasants", the progressive income tax, for which Rockefeller so plaintively pleads, means a marginal existence. It means scraping and scrounging, scheming and conniving, cutting corners and doing without, to provide their families with necessities of life. For many, even those in the higher income brackets, it means mortgaging their futures to provide an education, that has become so enormously costly because of Rockefeller bogus "educational philanthropies", for their children. If they are caught in the process of evading their income taxes in order to provide for their families beyond the scale of six hundred dollars a dependent, that was set decades ago when the dollar had a high purchasing power, they are heavily penalized and lucky not to be jailed. But when Rockefeller, despite his virtual exemption from taxation, deliberately flaunts and violates the law to finance his nomination campaign and his plan to take over the Government, as has been related, he is let off with apologies.

Were Rockefeller truly concerned with our national solvency, he would call for an end to the "foreign aid" looting. The real threat of insolvency of our Treasury consists of our unfavorable balance of international payments and trade. For a number of years our unfavorable balance has consisted of the "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" plus the payments for Rockefeller's foreign oil development and imports. These facts reveal the attack made by Rockefeller on the program of patriotic Americans and their champion, Sen. Goldwater, as sheer treachery and hypocrisy.

Rockefeller's attack on his opponent's suggestion that social security be placed on a voluntary basis and the allegation that it would "bankrupt" and destroy the system, is absurdly false. For social security has never been put on an actuarial basis that would provide sufficient income for the payment of claims against it; and in that sense, it has been insolvent from the start. That has been the chief concern in its administration, plus the added fact that indirectly all funds collected find their way into the Treasury to be used to defray current general government expenses. The deficiencies in the social security funds are made up

by the general tax levies. Consequently, the greater the number of persons *who do not join in* the social security program (as is the case with doctors and other professionals) the lower is the drain on its funds and the lesser is its degree of insolvency. Since under a voluntary social security system, it would be the larger earners, who would draw the larger pensions, who would stay out of the program because they can more advantageously provide for their own security, the advantage to the system of a voluntary basis is obvious. Instead of making the social security system insolvent, placing it on a voluntary basis would make it more closely approach solvency and more secure. Rockefeller's campaign issue with which he undertook to dupe New Hampshire voters, is his characteristic fraudulent misrepresentation of "fiscal integrity".

Rockefeller has repeatedly affirmed his dedication to thievish, revolutionary "internationalism". One can readily discern in his statements and publication the Red, "liberal" and at times Communist views of his ghosts. Rockefeller and his agents have been largely responsible for imposing them on our country as the outstanding feature of Roosevelt's regime, the so-called "New" Deal, in which he played so dominant a role. Nelson Rockefeller's every activity is an expression of it in practise. He likewise played a key role in imposing it, subsequently, on the Truman and Eisenhower regimes, as has been related. Rockefeller's "BRAINS", Francis Jamieson, however, was too shrewd to expose his boss by ghostwriting open declaration of the thievish, Communist "principles" for him to declaim.

After the death of Jamieson, Nelson Rockefeller's choice of alleged "brain" to do his thinking and ghostwriting for him was less discreet. He chose an avowed and dedicated Red, so-called "liberal", Democratic New Dealer who was more in accord with his own sympathies. Emmet John Hughes, a Princeton graduate, has been long associated with the "liberal" press: as correspondent in Europe and in Spain for Time Inc., at which time he wrote THE CHURCH & LIBERAL SOCIETY and REPORT FROM SPAIN both of which had a Red slant. On his return from Europe, he became an editor of the notoriously Red FORTUNE magazine, of which it has long been rumored that it was hopeless to seek employment unless one were a cardholding member of the Party. Hughes also served as editor of LIFE. He was chosen by Pres. Eisenhower, in accord with the latter's invariable choice of Communists or Reds to ghostwrite his views, speeches and publications, as his adviser and ghostwriter in his 1952 and 1956

campaigns, and during the first year of his first term.

Hughes boasts in the blurb on the front flap of his latest publication, that he helped draft many of Eisenhower's major addresses and messages. In that book of his, **THE ORDEAL OF POWER**, he exposes himself as endowed with the usual treachery and deceit (91) that are the pride of all "liberals" and Reds, their so-called "principles." Much in the same manner as characterizes Rockefeller for whom he has ghosted, Hughes attacked Eisenhower for uttering the ideas that he had ghosted and for following the plans that he had advised. One gathers that the chief fault that Hughes attributes to Eisenhower is that he was not more "liberal" than himself.

In the aforementioned blurb, Hughes further boasts that he was "Senior Adviser on Public Affairs to the Rockefeller Brothers." But he makes no mention of his identification with Rockefellers in their IBEC swindle. He still is one of its Directors, according to its 1962 report to its stockholders. His identification with Nelson Rockefeller personally, however, becomes quite clear when one compares the views expressed by Hughes, in his books, and those stated by Rockefeller in the Godkin Lectures that, in 1962, he delivered at Harvard University and subsequently published under his own name as **THE FUTURE OF FEDERALISM** (42). The content of these lectures leave little room for doubt that at the very time that Hughes was inditing the attack on Eisenhower, Nixon and the Republican Party he was being subsidized by bogus "Republican" Nelson Rockefeller and ghosted the latter's Red, "internationalist" speeches.

Later, still further evidence came to light that confirmed their relationship. Hughes's attack, **THE ORDEAL OF POWER**, was published by Atheneum. Several months later the same publishers released a paperbound edition of Rockefeller's ghosted book. On October 1, 1963, the publisher ran a large and costly display advertisement on Rockefeller's **THE FUTURE OF FEDERALISM** in the New York Times. And they announced in the news columns of the Times that the sum of \$40,000 would be spent in the advertising of the 95¢ paperback, even though it would cost the entire profits on more than 700,000 copies to pay the costs of the advertisements alone. And the publisher acknowledged that it was a certainty that no such number would be sold. Another full page advertisement appeared in the highly costly Sunday books supplements. It appears highly improbable that the publication of the two books by the same publisher was a mere coincidence, and was not inspired by the same persons with the

identical purpose of denigration of other leaders of the Republican Party and of building up Rockefeller's "image" as its leader and imposing his New Deal, "liberal" program on it once again as he had done during the two previous decades.

Nelson Rockefeller and/or his ghostwriter (or ghostwriters) in **THE FUTURE OF FEDERALISM**, undertake to perpetrate on the nation and the world a cruel deception and tongue-in-cheek hoax. The lectures are a practise in the dialectics that characterize Communism and other forms of totalitarianism. His use of the word "federalism" is a crude semantic perversion of the term. It is "double-talk".

Nelson Rockefeller's "Federalism" is not the governmental arrangement defined in the Constitution—a union of independent States that for the purpose of common good and self-preservation delegate a limited number of highly restricted, specified powers to an organization consisting of their elected and appointed representatives. The Rockefeller Dynasty and their fellow conspirators have done a thorough job through their "New", "Fair" and "Ike" deals, of destroying that concept. They have succeeded in gradually concentrating and centralizing ever more power, both political and financial, into their own hands, robbing the States of their rights and converting what was our Federal Government into a virtually private monopoly of theirs. In other words, under the leadership of Nelson Rockefeller and fellow conspirators, they are converting our Federal Government into the pattern of Illuminist-Communist dictatorships blueprinted by Weisshaupt and Marx, and modified for the American scene by their agent, Hoffman Nickerson.

What Nelson Rockefeller and/or his Red ghostwriters call "**THE FUTURE OF FEDERALISM**" is a Sovietized world dictatorship. In true Rockefeller tradition, they pretend to be opposing and fighting the very organization that they control, "internationalist", Soviet Communism. Indeed, Rockefeller acknowledged in his lecture that the form of the "Federalism" which he advocated is identical with that of the Soviets. But, he alleged, he and his fellow conspirators could do a better job of it. This is a familiar echo of the platforms which he has succeeded in imposing upon both the Democrat and Republican Party to make it fully match that of the Communist Party. He alleged:

"The Communist new order itself, incidentally, is based on a *false federalism* whose pattern may be found in the Soviet Union itself. . . . the Communists have merely taken our words, our forms, our

very symbols of man's hopes and aspirations and have corrupted them to mislead and to deceive in their quest for world domination." (92, p. 66) He failed to give this statement its full significance when he omitted:

"Even as I am now doing."

Nelson Rockefeller's ghostwriters have rendered a real service, however, in revealing the deceit and treachery of their master (and themselves) in the "doubletalk" and contradictions that they trick him into enunciating, entirely unsuspectingly. For example, they have him mouth:

"And it urgently requires, I believe, that the United States take the leadership among all the free peoples *to make the underlying concepts and aspirations of national sovereignty truly meaningful through the federal approach.*" (42, p. 74)

And how does, and has, he undertaken to "make national sovereignty more meaningful"? By destroying nationalism and patriotism and making the nation-state seem anachronistic, exactly as he and his Dynasty and its "Philanthropic" Foundation Trust have been attempting to do in our country. The words that he mouthed on the subject, in language and rhetoric that would earn a failing mark in a high school course in English, are:

"And so the nation-state, standing alone, threatens in many ways, to seem as anachronistic as the Greek city-state eventually became in ancient times." (42, p. 64)

In other words, Rockefeller seeks to make national sovereignty "more meaningful" by destroying it and replacing it with Red "internationalism", because it is more profitable for the Dynasty. For nothing is "meaningful" to the grasping Rockefellers unless it involves inordinate gains or loot.

Rockefeller acknowledged his role in carrying out Adam Weishaupt's Jesuitic Illuminist-Communist "United" Nations conspiracy. (42, p. 77) He also affirms that it has been a failure in maintaining world peace; and that it can not serve any other purpose than a debating society, in the following words:

"The United Nations has not been able—nor can it be able—to shape a new world order . . . the UN lacks the strength to master or control the forces that it confronts . . . is a forum . . . a channel for daily communications . . ." (42, pp. 64-5)

This "forum" has cost the lives of thousands of GIs. No Rockefeller has fallen! To them it means "security"!

Rockefeller failed to make mention that the very real and effective service of the "United" Nations, for which

he helped design it, has been to paralyze any resistance to the expansion of the Rockefeller Empire and its Soviet partner in the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, to the world-wide spread of the thievish, murderous Communist scourge. With the duplicity and sham on which the Rockefellers pride themselves, he lays the blame for this sought-for accomplishment on their own Soviet agents. But when American patriots and so-called conservatives make the same estimate as his own of the UN the basis for demand for our withdrawal from the surrender of our sovereignty that he helped his pal, associate and agent Alger Hiss, effect, he attacks them and their champion Sen. Goldwater as the "radical right" and "a menace." Can one have better proof that the disuniting "United" Nations is serving well and most profitably the purposes of Rockefeller and his gang despite his pretense of dissatisfaction with it? Can it be doubted that his Red ghostwriters realized that the brainwashed morosity of his Harvard University audience would blind them to the absurd contradiction and disregard of the truth involved in his lectures?

Rockefeller's pronouncements, it has been rightly stated, however respectfully, by Robert Welch (93, pp. 6-7) are identical echoes of the Communist Youth magazine, *Konsomolskaya Pravda*. This gentle rebuke came as something of a surprise. It was elicited by a vicious frontal attack made by Nelson Rockefeller on Welch and the John Birch Society, that prior to then had been regarded by many as useful tools of Rockefeller for use by him and his fellow conspirators as whipping posts to discredit patriotism, patriots and all who oppose his "internationalist" thievery. Some support appeared to be lent to this view by several things. First, Robert Welch confessed in an interview given the New York Times that he was a member in good standing of a Red, subversive organization that long has been financed by the Rockefellers, their League For Industrial Democracy. He said that he joined it to find out what the subversives were doing, and maintained his membership in it. Second, a large proportion of the John Birch Society directors have been members of Rockefeller's agency, the Council on Foreign Relations, interlocking them. Only Spruille Braden, Rockefeller's CFR agent, has resigned. But Rockefeller's attack on Welch and his Society elicited from him the gentle reply:

"To the Communists, anybody who gets in the way of their takeover of the United States is a 'lunatic' and a 'fascist madman'. To Nelson Rockefeller, anybody who gets in the way of his takeover of the Re-

publican Party is a member of the 'lunatic fringe' and guilty of 'subversion'. That's a pretty farreaching parallel, Governor, with many puzzling ramifications and undertones". (93)

No one acquainted with Rockefeller's ancestry, his training and the entire range of his views and activities, and with the ghostwriters whom he employs and saddles on his public minions, should find puzzling the identity of Rockefeller's views with that of the Communist Party. Nor should anyone be surprised at the identity of the views expressed by Rockefeller in his Godkin campaign speeches at Harvard with those published by his "liberal" ghostwriter and employee, Emmet John Hughes. In an article written and published in his name in the Empire's Council On Foreign Relations house-organ (13) FOREIGN AFFAIRS of April, 1960, Nelson Rockefeller states, as PURPOSE AND POLICY of himself and his gang, effecting and making a success of revolutions. This is readily understandable when one stops to consider the matter. Revolutions create optimal conditions for looting on the most grandiose scale and yield maximal loot. They are the ideals of the Illuminist-Communist "liberal", especially when coupled with "internationalism" which widens its scope to the entire world and even the universe. He greets the past half century of strife, turmoil, war, violence and brigandage which the Rockefeller Dynasty has played a major role in engineering, with their ghastly toll of fortunes and lives, as "blessings of freedom". He hails the disrupted, absurd tribal aggregates of Africa, reverted to savagery, as a "free world", to the preservation of which he demands that our country dedicate itself. In reality, the only freedom that exists in these scantily civilized but thoroughly Communized "democracies", is the "freedom" to once again enjoy cannibalism; and the "freedom" of the Rockefeller Dynasty and its Soviet partner to loot them. That is the "ideal" toward which, Rockefeller demands, we must strive. (13) The attaining of this "ideal" is characterized by Rockefeller as "political creativity, boldness and vision" (42, p. 4) "invention" and "the federal concept and its evolution". It is all so fantastically insane that it must be classified as mad, "grandiose ideas" about which he had his biographers intone.

Before leaving the "doubletalk" prepared by Gov. Rockefeller's "ghosts" as a campaign speech to be delivered at that hotbed of Communism and New Dealism, Harvard University, in the guise of Godkin Lectures, a review of the bald lies in connection with his Governor-



ship of New York State, stated therein is in order. Gov. Rockefeller represented that he had restored "fiscal integrity" in the State by increasing taxes and reducing expenditures. The baldest of the prevarications was the representation that by increasing taxes he had improved the "economic climate" of New York State for business and arrested the flight of industry. Numerous workers have been forced into the ranks of unemployed in New York by the ever greater of flight of industries, that was forced by the increased taxation, to other States. Whole sections of New Jersey have been built up to accommodate businesses and industries fleeing New York to avoid the Rockefeller tax increase. And not a few of the Rockefeller enterprises were among those that fled the State of New York and Rockefeller taxation, many of them overseas.

But the truth seldom hampers the Rockefellers. Seldom can any critic of theirs manage to gain expression in the media of mass communication, most of which they control (not excepting Harvard) so absolute is the censorship that, as has been related, they have established through such advertising and publicity monopolies as Interpublic Inc. As a consequence, Rockefeller felt free to omit any mention of the outstanding feature of his administration as Governor of New York State in his Godkin campaign speech, even though it has become so notorious that in spite of their censorship, many phases of it have "leaked" out in the press.

The sham of the conspirators' "liberal" and "civil rights" agitation on behalf of the colored is sharply highlighted by the investigation made by the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Rigging of Voting Machines that was created by House Concurrent Resolution No. 33 at the 23rd Regular Session of the Louisiana Legislature. It was published in pamphlet form by W. H. Joe Cooper under the title WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT RIGGING VOTING MACHINES & VOTING MACHINE LAWS. (139) on the basis of demonstrations given them, the Committee reported that both of the voting machines in use in the country, the Automatic and the Shoup, can readily be tampered with and rigged, but the former did incorporate a few devices that might be protective if used.

The report made it clear, however, that with both machines it was readily possible to falsify and completely change the votes and counts. In the case of the Automatic voting machine, for instance, it is readily possible for the mechanic carrying the Zero Key that unlocks the counter mechanism in the model in question, to completely alter

the vote when he "repairs" or "adjusts" the machine. It means that those who control the company that services the machines can readily perpetrate frauds and steal elections. This explains the significance of change of ownership of the voting machine companies, such as occurred before Rockefeller's election as Governor.

Since stolen elections mean disfranchising of one and all, it becomes quite obvious that "civil rights" and poll tax agitation and "reform" are mockery. What matters it if one has the right to vote, if the vote is tampered with and changed, or not counted? This trick of the conspirators represents a material advance over the scheme laid out by their agent, Nickerson.

Gov. Rockefeller, characteristically, has shown nothing but abysmal contempt for that "bourgeois weakness", ethics and morality, in his Administration. He has disdained and/or flatly turned down any suggestion that there be set up by New York State Legislature a code of ethics for public officials that would especially bar conflicts of interest. In view of his repeatedly expressed determination of "making money" in whatever he does, this is completely understandable.

As might be expected under the circumstances, Gov. Rockefeller's Administration has been marked by vicious corruption, outrageous venality, a frank and open spoils system and unabashed nepotism. All of the vilest degenerations and depravities of a government and its officials—have characterized the government of New York State under Nelson Rockefeller as Governor and as boss of the Republican, Democratic and Red "Liberal" parties of the State. Criminal activities such as the racketeering "shake-downs" of liquor licensees have been tracked to the closest and most immediate intimates, associates and appointees of Gov. Rockefeller under circumstances that leave little room for doubt as to their ultimate sponsorship.

Rockefeller's Administration of New York State furnishes a clear-cut picture of the real nature of his "Future of Federalism" that he proposes to impose on the nation and on the world, with himself as boss and dictator. It embodies Rockefeller's "grandiose ideas" that he seeks to expand on a super-Napoleonic scale.

Unfortunately for our Republic, the so-called "dissolution" of the Standard Oil Co. that was ordered by the Court, was defiantly but slyly reduced, in its execution, to a mere mockery by the conspirators. And under the guidance of the Dynasty, and more particularly of its present generation, the menace to our Republic and the world has grown into a conspiracy that falls little short of destroying our

Constitutional government, as it already has destroyed the British, the French, the Dutch and the Belgian Empires.

The Rockefeller Dynasty prides itself on never abandoning a program, plan or plot that promises inordinately rich "pickings", or loot, for their gangsterism and brigandage. It matters not to them how many generations it may require to accomplish their purpose. Like the Chinese, the Rockefellers are ancestor-worshippers. And they pride themselves on their Dynastic "traditions" of plunder.

Nelson Rockefeller is not the only Rockefeller who has had "grandiose ideas" and delusions of grandeur. But he is the only one, thus far, who has expressed the fact openly. And in him, the menace of the Dynasty is highly intensified and is more immediate than it was at the time the Supreme Court made its prediction.

In Nelson Rockefeller, the menace of the Dynasty is greatly intensified by a number of factors. First and foremost is the enormous swag and loot accumulated by the gangsterism and racketeering of four generations during the period of a century and a quarter that is estimated as yielding them an income of more than a million dollars a minute. Second, is their tax exemption by means of numerous devices that they have written into the laws that they have imposed for the taxation of the nation by Federal and local governments. These include in addition to the tax-exemption of their bogus, subversive "philanthropic" foundations, numerous special laws, rules, precedent-establishing Supreme Court decisions, and tax-payer-looting devices as so-called "foreign aid". Third, is their complete control of the finance and credit of the nation and of each and every citizen, and of the world, that they have gained through the establishment of their private stock corporation, the so-called "Federal" Reserve System and of its subsidiaries such as the International Monetary Fund. Fourth, is their immense power derived from these and other devices at their command and their enormous loot, that enables them to make realities of the desires and ideas, no matter how "grandiose". These include subversive brainwashing of the nation through their so-called "educational philanthropies", bribery, corruption, purchase, perversion, disfranchisement through the device of crooked voting machines marketed by their agents and imposed on the nation, and numerous other criminal devices. Fifth, is their corruptly gained and almost absolute control of all governmental agencies,—Federal, State and local—both directly as well as indirectly through the control of an endless array of agencies through their subsi-

dized and endowed organizations including their Public Administration Clearing House ("1313").

One of the most absurdly insane aspects of the Rockefeller psychopathy is the fear of poverty and the quest for personal "security." Inspired by the dread that some criminal genius more cunning and ruthless than themselves might arise and loot and despoil them exactly as they have despoiled the nation and the world, it is the driving force of the Dynasty in their scheme to establish a "One (Rockefeller) World" dictatorship.

This mad fear of poverty has attained its sharpest, most open, and at times fatal, expression in the womenfolk of the Dynasty. Rockefellers, according to their pressagents, generally select their consorts on the basis of their extreme thrift and penuriousness. As wives, they are required to keep minutely detailed accounts of all expenditures, and to practise strait-laced economies, even to the point of restricting the amount of food eaten by their help. It has been common practise among the Rockefeller womenfolk to have peepholes in the doors overlooking the dining quarters of their help through which to observe their appetites. Those who eat more than certain restricted amounts have been dismissed. A lush cousin of Nelson Rockefeller's who has been institutionalized repeatedly for mental and alcoholic therapy, adopted the practise of limiting the food expenditures for each of her help to the sum of twenty-five cents a day.

An aunt of Nelson Rockefeller's (John D. the First's daughter) Bessy Strong, is reported to have resorted to collecting food from the garbage pails of neighbors. Though her financial worth was hundreds of million dollars, she feared poverty and starvation. Taken to France in the hope that her mental state might be improved, she was undoubtedly driven more frantically mad by the absence of food in the garbage pails of the thrifty French households. She is reported to have wrapped herself up in cotton wool, poured kerosene over herself and set herself afire, to have committed suicide, driven by fear of poverty despite her wealth. (9, p. 91)

A cousin of Nelson Rockefeller's, Winifred Rockefeller Emeny, whose financial worth was also hundreds of million dollars, likewise ended her life and murdered two of her children, in fear of poverty. Years before the tragedy, in 1937, her mental condition was diagnosed by the Medical Director of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases. He recommended her institutionalization in as

discreet terms as were requisite for recommending mental hygiene and therapy for a Rockefeller.

Another Rockefeller cousin is periodically institutionalized because of her identical mental ailment, fear of poverty and starvation. She saves every crust of bread and every scrap of meat, after each meal. She will not even entrust them to her nurses. She places them under her pillow. Her fortune is reputed to be close to one billion dollars. But with characteristic Rockefeller mania, she lives in fear of poverty and starvation. Curiously, the same psychopathy that drives Rockefeller women to madness and self-destruction, drives their men to heights of crime.

Mrs. Nelson A. Rockefeller, after about thirty years of married life with him, in spite of the thriftiness which had recommended her to him at the time of the marriage, rebelled against his penny-pinching penury. And as happens among some of the Rockefeller womenfolk who rebel, she did not mind who knew about it.

Mrs. Rockefeller gave a frank interview, on November 19, 1961, to one of the Dynasty-controlled, Hearst publications, the New York Journal-American. She completely confirmed some aspects of the psychopathy that Nelson Rockefeller himself acknowledged through his pressagents.

In polite phrases, she described Gov. Rockefeller as "non compos mentis" (her expression was "he does not know his own mind"); delusional and hallucinated (her expression was "he thinks he knows what it means" when referring to an absurd smear of paint on canvas that he had purchased for \$50,000, as an "abstract painting"); matching in penurious penny-pinching even in personal expenses, and as fearful of poverty as his grandfather, John D. the First, and other familial psychopaths; and more aberrant and degenerate (her expression was "he treats his household help worse"). Forceful confirmation of the last remark came to light in the following year, when Gov. Rockefeller announced his intention of marrying "Happy", the wife of an employee of the Rockefeller interests, Dr. Murphy.

Since Nelson Rockefeller, his pressagents and his wife agree unanimously on his psychopathic mental state, there appears little room for questioning it. Additional evidence is obvious to anyone who observes him and his photographs that have appeared almost daily, in the press. His facial expressions clearly reveal his lack of emotional control that bespeaks civilized self-discipline, and his emotional instability. His pressagents seek to cover up this obvious deficiency, that persists despite the instruction in acting that he has received from television producer,

"Pat" Sylvester Weaver, by alleging that it bespeaks his lack of guile. (43, p. 307) But his record, replete with craftiness and shiftiness, completely belies such interpretation.

It has been Rockefellers' mad quest for the security of themselves and their loot that has been the nation's chief protection against the carrying of their scheme of absolute, monarchic dictatorship as outlined by their sociologist, Hoffman Nickerson. For, in a dictatorship it is only the dictator who has absolute security. And he has that security only so long as he remains dictator.

In the past, the Rockefellers have not dared come out in open control of the nation because of their fear of public knowledge of their criminal record and dread and hatred of them as expressed in the cited Supreme Court decision. They have been fearful that the public was not yet sufficiently brainwashed by their "philanthropic" agents and agencies to have completely forgotten their malign record.

It was Nelson Rockefeller's brashness and desire to strut on the public scene that led to the dispelling of the Dynasty's fears. This was accomplished at the cost of considerable trepidation on the part of John D. the Second (Jr.) that is reported to have contributed to the shortening of his life. He appears to have considered Nelson in the light of a "juvenile delinquent" who caused him much concern. (43)

This concern was shared by Rockefeller pressagents and public relation counsellors. They did not hide their anxiety from the newsmen on their payrolls and the columnists. They put out numerous "rumors", as "trial balloons", in the press and on the air, of Nelson Rockefeller's appointment to positions in their puppet Pres. Roosevelt's Administration. Thus Walter Winchell published in his column a rumor to the effect that Secretary of Commerce Harry L. Hopkins might appoint Nelson Rockefeller as his Assistant Secretary. Subsequently he announced that this report was a "trial balloon" intended to test public reaction to such an appointment; but that the appointment had been called off because of unfavorable public reaction. It was not until after the conspirators had plunged the world and nation into World War II, that Nelson Rockefeller's appointment to his draft-evading post as Co-Ordinator was risked.

When the plotters discovered that the war-dazed nation had been adequately brainwashed into morosity and oblivion of the criminal and subversive record of the Rockefellers and would complacently accept Nelson as a

public official with vast powers, the nation lost its protection from open dictatorship by the Dynasty that was constituted by its "security" fears. They have been cautiously feeling their way, ever since, to open takeover of the government under their dictatorship, by the buildup of Nelson Rockefeller and other members of the Dynasty as "philanthropists" with public interest. In the course of so doing, they have placed some of their wealthy agents and associates in elective and appointive offices, including Averell Harriman and Herbert Lehman, as precursors of Rockefeller as New York State Governors.

The election or succession of Nelson Rockefeller to the post of U. S. President is an unqualified necessity, a *sine qua non*, of the termination of the plot to convert the nation to a monarchic dictatorship, which by preference would be supercapitalist and Communist in character. This is required by the plotters because of the fact that in a dictatorship, it is only the dictator who enjoys absolute security—so long as he remains dictator. Therefore they do not dare carry the conspiracy to its ultimate goal until one of their number is in the White House. These are the avowed aims of self-revealed psychopath Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

This eventuality would bring our country into range of ready conversion into a Communist Soviet and linkage with the conspirators' USSR. The Rockefeller preference for the Sovietization of the U. S. that has been openly expressed by their "philanthropies", their agents, and by Nelson Rockefeller himself (13; 42) is readily explainable on the basis of the fact that Communism constitutes immediate, universal looting of whole nations and the ultimate of security for the thievish dictator. It is also the tradition of many "first families of America" and their professed faiths, and a natural outgrowth of their past interests and activities. (14; 45; 51; 57; 103; 11)

To accomplish the destruction of our Republic from within requires merely:

1. The domination of our governments and their agencies by the plotters. This they have attained in the manners related.

2. Direct personal command of the situation by the "planners". Mistrusting all others as possibly being as ruthless as themselves, the only situation that would satisfactorily assure them of the personal security for which they yearn would be occupancy by one of them of the White House, in the role of President converted to the absolute monarchic dictatorship that Nickerson envisaged (39).

This latter objective would be attained by Nelson Rockefeller grabbing the Presidential nomination of any Party and engineering his election.

The only possibility of checking the execution of his "grandiose idea" is blocking the nomination of this self-confessed psychopath, and eliminating him from the public scene. This alone will not eliminate the Rockefeller menace that is constituted, in addition, by the monopolistic control that they have usurped over our national finances, our Treasury, our money and our banking, as well as over the personal fortunes of each and every one of us through their fraudulent "Federal" Reserve System, the theft of our gold through its agency, their enormous wealth that comprises the loot extracted from us that is aggravated by their tax-exempt status, and their usurpation of power in a multitude of directions, personally and through their agents. These place them in the position of visiting national insolvency, war and numerous other disasters on us for the purpose of forcing us to "yield with perfect docility" to their impositions.

In the scheme advanced by them through financial dictator, brother David, concurred in by Pres. Johnson and concurred in by Congress, they plan to withdraw even the token of gold backing of our currency. This could prove to be "the straw that broke the camel's back" in precipitating our national bankruptcy, and a dictatorship of the Soviet type, as envisaged by Marx, Lenin and Stalin, dominated by the conspirators. However true it is that the gold backing of our dollar is infinitesimal, the removal of the gold and silver backing of our currency would have that disastrous psychologic effect. It can be averted only by blocking the financial conspiracy at its present stage and by restoring to the nation the stolen gold, the dodged taxes, the diverted "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" loot and control of banking and currency by removing control of our finances and "Federal" Reserve from them and returning to Congress and the Treasury. This phase of the conspiracy is the subject of this author's book in process of preparation: **THE "FEDERAL" RESERVE CONSPIRACY & ROCKEFELLER.**



## CHAPTER XXI

### RESULTS OF CONSPIRACY DELINQUENCY, CRIME, DICTATORSHIP

One can hardly expect Rockefeller to change his objectives if we would be so unfortunate as to have him imposed on us as President, any more than one could expect a leopard to change its spots. Throughout his life, both private and public, he has shown undeviating singleness of purpose: "making money" in the role of "boss." His pressagents, biographers and other minions describe him as an "impulsive" character who makes "snap judgments" and is "stubbornly determined", "wants his own way". Consequently there must be expected a continuance of his past activities and policies on an even wider and more intensive scale.

It could be expected that as President, Rockefeller would continue his dedication to "making money". A natural corollary would be the imposition of ever higher "soak the poor" taxes to provide ever more domestic and "foreign (Rockefeller) aid" loot, coupled with ever more tax exemption and evasion for the Dynasty. One could expect ever more dishonesty, corruption and nepotism. Further betrayal of our country and sovereignty would serve to expand the Rockefeller Empire and the Rockefeller-Soviet Axis, with ever wider spread of "internationalism" and Communism and ever more looting and enslavement of us "peasants".

One could expect ever further abridgement of our liberties and substitution therefor of so-called "CIVIL RIGHTS" THAT ARE CIVIL WRONGS, THAT WILL REDUCE US ALL TO THE SAME LEVEL OF SERFDOM. We could expect more frequent and bigger "police actions" and wars, that would provide the conspirators with ever greater opportunities for brigandage. These are only a few of the "blessings" to which we could look forward, if Rockefeller and his confederates were permitted in the words of their "Encyclical", Occasional Letter No. 1, to "work our good will."

One of the most dangerous of the developments fostered by the conspirators for the attainment of their objective of the subversion of the nation and the world and their attainment of a totalitarian and Sovietized world dictatorship, will be fostered and intensified: juvenile delinquency and consequent breakdown of law and order. The following statement that was submitted by the author to the Senate committee investigating juvenile delinquency at the request of its Chairman, Sen. Henning, that was suppressed by the committee, is quoted as an outline of this situation.

**STATEMENT ON JUVENILE COURTS &  
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY SUBMITTED BY  
EMANUEL M. JOSEPHSON M.D. TO THE  
SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN CONNECTION  
WITH ITS HEARING IN NEW YORK CITY ON  
FEBRUARY 13, 1959**

Sen. Henning has rightly pointed out that the results attained by the Juvenile Courts in dealing with juvenile crime and delinquency leave much to be desired; that during the past nine years there has been a steady rise in juvenile crime. Nothing more need be said to stress the futility of courts as a device for coping with the problem. At best, it can be said that the juvenile courts are an inadequate effort to remedy the evil in a small percent of the cases of delinquency and crime that come before them. The only solution of the problem lies in prevention of delinquency and in remedying the conditions which have given rise to it.

To arrive at a remedy for an ailment, as a rule, it is wise to seek out the diagnosis and cause. No one denies that the root of juvenile crime and delinquency, in most instances, is a breakdown of parental influence and discipline. Therefore, one must first seek out the factors that account for this breakdown. Since under present conditions of high taxes and inflation, often both parents must work to earn a living for their family, and therefore have relatively little contact with their children during their waking hours, influences outside of the home that are destructive of parental discipline must be sought out.

Under our system of compulsory education, under which a child must spend the larger part of the day during ten or more years of its life in school, during the most impressionable ages, our school system is the first factor that must be scrutinized. Concomitant with the rise of juvenile crime, a number of fundamental changes have taken place in our schools, their objectives and their meth-

ods. The principal changes have been the elimination of traditional training and disciplines with special emphasis on elimination of control, so-called "interference", on the part of parents, on the ground of pretended desire to avert the development of "complexes"; and the substitution therefore of a deceitful simulation of "freedom of self expression and the fulfilment of their wishes and desires". Actually, there is substituted a cunning and malign indoctrination that is designed to brainwash the children into the acceptance of ideas, conduct and habits that will make them subservient to the dictates of a ruthless group of persons who have undertaken to use education to effect subversion and perversion. Enforced idleness of the child of school age is dictated by them for the purpose of intensifying the evils that are planned.

This malign plan's origin dates back to the beginning of our Republic, to 1776, when a college professor conceived it as a device to attain World Dictatorship via a United Nations. Named Adam Weishaupt, he founded the Order of Illuminati which is the forerunner of the Communist Party of today. For further information on the influence of this professorial conspirator on our American history, I refer you to my treatise on the subject entitled ROOSEVELT'S COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. It suffices to state that since its origin, this conspiracy has been an educational conspiracy. It has completely dominated the development of our educational system and has slowly and cautiously pervaded it, so as not to arouse an alarmed reaction until it had gained absolute control. It is open to question whether the introduction and development of compulsory, prolonged school attendance by all children was not conceived for the primary purpose of furthering the conspiracy.

The progress of this conspiracy was very slow during the first century and a quarter of our national existence. For our virile progenitors were very mindful of the hardships and vicissitudes of their struggle for a measure of liberty and for survival, and of the discipline that it exacted of them and of their offspring. They permitted no tampering with the age-old, tried methods of child discipline and education. They required of the "little red schoolhouse", that did not dare go Red, that it teach the three R's and that it support and sustain parental discipline. Patriotism, ethics, morality and decency were painstakingly inculcated. These matters were the educational tradition from which the conspirators did not dare to deviate initially in the training of children. Only in the institutions of higher learning, in the colleges and uni-

versities, in the teachers' training schools, did the conspirators venture to spread their poison of subversion.

In the early part of this century, about 1904, a ruthless but sneaky and cowardly group of brigands determined to reach out for the control of the wealth of the world. They discerned in the Illuminist tradition of conspiracy a weapon to serve their cause; and in the ruthless cunning of Adam Weishaupt's precepts and plans, they discerned an "inspired" pattern that they could follow. Basic were his teachings of cloaking the conspiracy in the guise of "philanthropy"; the conversion of education to brainwashing and propaganda; the substitution for patriotism, ethics and morality, of "internationalist" treason, ruthlessness, immorality, crime, violence, and contempt for law and order. The product of their plot was an "educational philanthropy", the purposes of which was stated in a paraphrasing of Adam Weishaupt's precepts that reads as follows:

*"In our dreams, we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our moulding hands. THE PRESENT EDUCATIONAL CONVENTIONS FADE FROM OUR MINDS, and we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk . . . The task we set before ourselves is a very simple one as well as a very beautiful one, to train these people as we find them to a perfectly ideal life just where they are. So we will organize our children and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way. . . ."*

This is not a quotation from the orders of Stalin, Hitler or Mussolini. It is, however, a straightforward statement of intent to break the influence of parents over their children, to cast aside educational traditions of the 3 R's and learning, ethics, morality, discipline, patriotism and others; and a declaration of intent to brainwash the children to serve the purposes of the malign "planners". This is the pattern of so-called "education" that was advocated by the Illuminist, Professor Adam Weishaupt, and has become the practise of dictatorships, both Communist and Fascist, as well as New Deal. The juvenile delinquency and crime that inevitably grow out of such "education", are the basis of adult criminality and the terrorism that results; and these in turn are the very best pretext, with government bankruptcy, for dictatorship and crushing and looting of minorities.

But the above-quoted statement is not taken from the writings of Weishaupt, Marx, Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin. It is quoted from the Occasional Letter No. 1 written

jointly by John D. Rockefeller and his almoner Fred T. Gates (paraphrasing Adam Weishaupt), expressing the avowed intent of their "educational philanthropy", the General Education Board. It was issued in 1904. And this purpose has been so intently and persistently followed by the "planners" and "philanthropists" that as early as March 26, 1917, a man of great prescience, Senator Chamberlain (Oregon) said:

"The Carnegie-Rockefeller influence is bad. In two generations they can change the minds of the people to make them conform to the cult of Rockefeller, or the cult of Carnegie, rather than the fundamental principles of American democracy."

The General Education Board, represented to the nation as a so-called "philanthropy", had no difficulty usurping complete control of education at all levels. Initially it was vigorously opposed, as a conspiracy to subvert education, by the National Education Association; but by subsidy and bribery of key "educators" in that organization, it became completely subservient to the conspirators by the beginning of World War I. Shortly thereafter, the NEA officers openly stated that the purpose of the Association was to effect a counter-revolution and a "new social order". This brought it fully in line with the avowed purpose of the GEB and its Rockefeller masters.

The devices whereby the conspirators converted education into training for juvenile delinquency and crime were numerous. Compulsory subjection of all children to brainwashing at their hands in the schools, during at least a decade, was one of their earliest and most readily attained objectives. Also, under pretense of "protecting" children, they forced through legislatures, with the help of labor unions bent on effecting a scarcity of labor, Child Labor Laws. These laws barred youngsters from entering the labor market and earning a living below a set age; and it also insured that they would not come under any more salutary influence. It condemned the youngsters to exposure to brainwashing; and it condemned them to enforced idleness and, often to enforced penury. The conspirators were certainly not unaware of the fact that idleness breeds vice. In fact, they depended upon it to help accomplish their purpose with the aid of the other measures which they adopted.

Destroying parental influence was readily accomplished by them by the simple device of barring parents from having any say in the matter of how and what their children were to be taught. The so-called "Parent Teachers Association" is merely a thinly camouflaged agency of

the conspirators designed to deceive the participants, in which neither parents nor teachers have any real voice.

Teachers have been brainwashed and indoctrinated, and made witting or unwitting agents of the plotters, before they are given a license to teach. This is the prime purpose in the special training in pedagogy, without which no one, no matter how learned, is permitted to teach in our school systems. The teachers are barred from exercising any discipline or control other than that desired by the plotters. Willy-nilly, every teacher, instructor and professor has been forced to become a subversive plotter, as the price for earning his living, and continuing to teach.

The device that was specially adopted by the plotters for breaking parental control and discipline, and laying the groundwork for utter incorrigibility of youngsters, that inevitably leads to delinquency, and/or criminality, is what they label by semantic distortion of the terms, "Progressive Education". On the pretext of averting the development of that Freudian Communist bugaboo, complexes (by which they mean reaction and behavior patterns not approved by the plotters), it is represented that the children are permitted to dictate what they wish to learn, and to follow their every wish and whim. Actually, it is the conspirators who cunningly warp the children's minds, and instill wishes, desires and conduct—with an eye to the fact that "as the twig is bent, the tree will grow".

This is the real significance of such programs as "Youth Wants To Know". The indoctrinated youngsters are used by the conspirators on mass-communication media which they control, such as lecture hall, television and radio, as sounding boards for their plots and schemes. The implication that those programs are intended to convey, is that if the youngsters are so "wise" as to express the views of the conspirators, no self-respecting adult can afford to disagree.

The chief support and sponsorship of this phase of the conspiracy has come from the Rockefellers who have lavishly financed the operation of the John Dewey Marxist and Weishauptian program of juvenile libertinism that paves the way for delinquency, by a grant in 1929, of \$5,923,747.62 from their Foundation to the Lincoln School of Teachers College of Columbia University. They also contributed equally lavish support to the Progressive Education Association.

The mass-communication media, which are virtually all of them controlled by the conspirators, are being used to good advantage by them in fostering juvenile and adult

criminality. Through newspaper columns, "comic" strips and books, movies, theatre, radio and television, the community is being fed a steady diet of murder, treachery and violence. This has an especially forcible impact on youngsters, many of whom are led to regard brutality and murder as "normal" and "heroic" conduct. Unfortunately, much that takes place on the current scene, especially the ascendancy, immunity from the law, and the ill-gotten wealth of criminals and gansters, reinforces the impressions and beliefs that our children acquire from the mass-communication media.

The control of these mass communication media has been exercised by the plotters through the Ford Foundation which set up a Mass Communication Center at Columbia University. The immense influence exercised by that agency has been a key factor in bringing about the situation above described. The Ford Foundations Fund For (The Betrayal) Of The Republic has kept a close check on the effectiveness of their plot, and the reaction of the public to it. It has recently published a "study" on the subject, entitled "Taste & Censors In Television", in which it expresses alarm at public demands for censorship of the type of television programs that have met with the organization's approval. It acknowledges the role that the medium has had in bringing about a 50% increase of juvenile delinquency as a fact, and as a factor in alarming the public, that they must cope with.

The entertainment media have been used by the conspirators with effectiveness in breaking down the level of public intelligence, taste, ethics and morality. Through those media, they have held up to youngsters as examples and models to be emulated by all who seek success,—Ingrid Bergman, a paragon of virtue; Gypsy Rose Lee, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Marilyn Monroe and Jayne Mansfield, paragons of decency; Jimmy Hoffa, paragon of public service; Al Capone and the Rockefeller "philanthropists", paragons of benevolence; Alger Hiss and Owen Lattimore, paragons of patriotism; and Rocky Marciano, paragon of intellect.

Youngsters are being indoctrinated by such examples that are constantly being held up to them to admire and sympathize with, that indecency, stupidity, crime, violence and treason are the easiest road to success. Every available medium is being used by the conspirators to encourage the rising generations to follow in those paths. Can one wonder that they do so and steadily swell the ranks of delinquents and criminals?

The political climate, as Sen. Henning pointed out, is not improving the situation. This I have stressed more

than a decade ago in a chapter in my best seller **THE STRANGE DEATH OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**, in the chapter entitled "The Moral Consequences Of The New Deal—Juvenile Delinquency".

The ugliest and most ironic aspect of this tragic and menacing situation is that these criminal conspirators and designed subverters of our children are compelling honest and loyal citizens to finance their plot. They and their foundations derive their status and power from the exemption from taxation which they have deluded, or defrauded, us into giving them. The honest taxpayer bears the entire cost of the conspiratorial plan for destroying our republic and perverting our children, through a double burden of taxation. We whom the conspirators label "peasants" are required to honestly meet our own tax burden; and dishonestly, are forced to bear the burden of taxes evaded by the conspirators and their fake and malevolent "philanthropies". It does not make our burden any lighter, or pleasanter to bear, to realize that it is the tax-exempt conspirators who are constantly demanding, and imposing on us, "peasants", added and newly contrived tax burdens.

It does not improve the situation to witness treason perpetrated by these so-called "philanthropists" with absolute immunity, as in the financing of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Amerasia, the support of the Richard Sorge spy ring in Japan in their successful efforts to get the Japanese to attack the U. S. at Pearl Harbor instead of attacking Russia as they had planned; or by their agent Alger Hiss at the United Nations organization conference at San Francisco, and numerous others. Nor does their use of criminal agents, such as the Maffistas, Hoffa and others, to regiment us "peasants" in labor unions to be taxed and looted for the right to earn a living that is supposedly guaranteed us by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; in politics; and in the fields of "art" and "culture", as is so clearly revealed by the current investigations of the Government Operations Committee.

The torturing and distortion of law and Constitution by the legal agents of the conspirators whom they have planted on the benches of the Supreme Court and of the lesser courts, for the protection of malefactors as low as traitors, dope peddlers, rapists and Communists, also does not serve to give our children respect for the law or a laudable example to follow.

As a member of your Committee shrewdly pointed out, the solution of the problem of juvenile delinquency and crime lies in prevention rather than in cure. So long as our children see vice, corruption and crime flourish with



impunity and the perpetrators in both public and private life rewarded richly with fame, or notoriety which is accepted as such today, and with fortune, they would be lacking in intelligent self-interest if they fail to follow the example given them, from the viewpoint with which they are instilled by the conspirators in their "educational" brainwashing. Indeed, only a strong sense of ethics and morality, which their parents are virtually barred from instilling in them, and which "Progressive" educators shun, would deter them from "following the crowd", and turning to delinquency and crime. Sen. Henning sagely pointed out that the contempt of many of us for some of our laws and their administration (the parking ticket, he cited as an example) is certain to influence our offspring.

Thus far the conspirators have been quite successful in rigging their committees "investigating" juvenile delinquency to exculpate themselves and report, in the utterly false and trite shibboleth: "Juvenile delinquency arises from failure of parents to exercise discipline." It is hard to believe that the plotters do not have tongues in the cheeks when they make "whipping boys" of the impotent parents, and then turn around and advocate measures that will place a still greater tax burden on the parents so as to force them to keep their noses to their grindstones even more of the time and give them even less opportunity to see or discipline their children.

The first step in the solution of this problem is to destroy its basic causes: the criminal conspiracy that has brought us to the status quo; the tax-exempt status that supplies their fake "philanthropies" and other agencies with the spare wealth and power to carry on; and the impunity with which they and their criminal agents operate. This is your duty.

Above all else, if and when we honestly seek the cause and remedy of juvenile crime and delinquency, rather than an alibi for it, we must bear in mind that we have become a nation in which corruption and crime are rampant, in which smug hypocrisy lets us regard the perpetrators thereof and the gains derived therefrom with honor and respect—until and unless they are caught and convicted, and despoiled of their loot. Our schools teach that material gains and wealth, no matter how acquired, are the highest goal in life and entitled to admiration, respect and emulation.

We must bear in mind, also, that the militarism spelled by universal military training and draft, with its separation and isolation of the sexes, have invariably rotted the fibre of nations and fostered perversion and crime.

And let us also bear in mind that unless we resolve this situation, the conspirators will have succeeded in the plot. And that spells the end of our Republic and its Constitution, and the beginning of the dictatorship that they have plotted. This can already be discerned in our national regimentation into organizations, that are designed by the conspirators to put an end to the American concept of the dignity of the individual and substitute therefore their planned "mass man" who is the natural subject of dictators and Soviets of the type plotted. That is also what lies behind their campaign for "integration", or the "homogenization", of mankind for the purpose of reducing all to the lowest common denominator, preferably of savagery and imbecility. That is the significance of their fostering of gangs and "rumbles" among youngsters.

NEEDLESS IS IT TO RELATE THAT THIS EVIDENCE *WAS NOT PUBLISHED* IN THE "COMPLETE REPORT" OF THE VENAL SENATORIAL AGENTS & ACCOMPLICES OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

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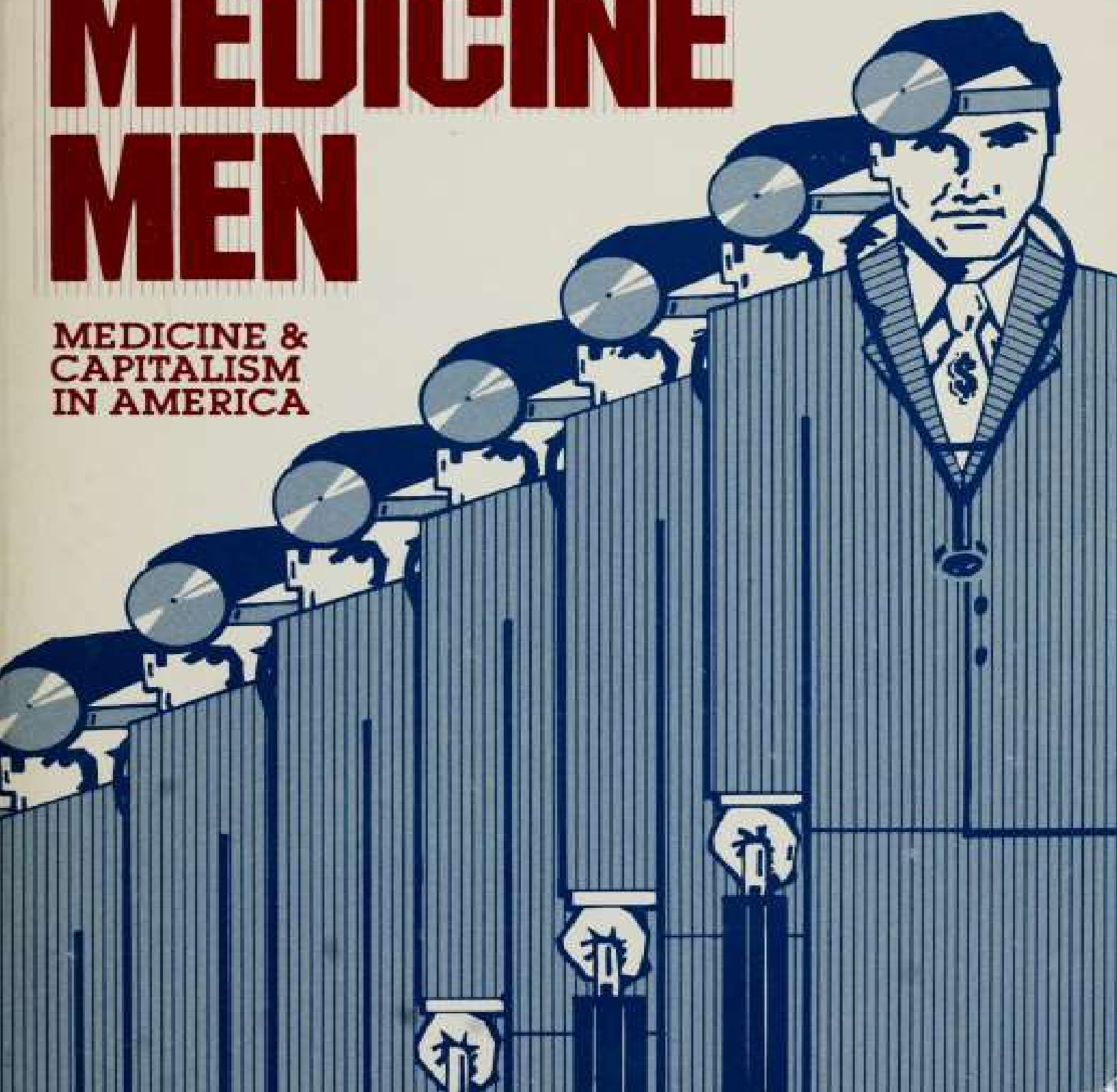
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To Marianne, Delia, and Adrienne

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## Acknowledgments

The idea for this book grew out of my teaching about the political economy of health care. My students and I asked how the present system came to be. The search for answers led me to histories of medicine, published materials in journals of the period, and the archival files of the Rockefeller and Carnegie philanthropies. The archives provided a rich record of the thoughts, policies, and actions of some of the most influential persons in the history of American medicine.

The search culminated in this book. But the book would not have been possible without the generous help, enthusiastic interest, and personal support of many people. I am especially grateful to Howard Waitzkin, WilHam Kornhauser, Barbara Ehrenreich, Gert Brieger, and Michael Pincus, all of whom gave me detailed and thoughtful criticisms on major portions of the manuscript together with great encouragement. I also received helpful criticism and support from Anne Johnson, Jon Garfield, Charlene Harrington, Barbara Waterman, James O'Connor, Dan Feshbach, Ivan Ilich, David Horowitz, June Fisher, Kathryn Johnson, Jack London, Jane Grant, Tom Bodenheimer, Sara McIntire, Joe Selby, Larry Sirott, and Myrna Cozen. Howard Berliner has been an exceptional colleague, sharing ideas and material in a cooperative effort to understand these sparsely studied issues.

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## xii I Acknowledgments

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## Introduction

The crisis in today's health care system is deeply rooted in the interwoven history of modern medicine and corporate capitalism. The major groups and forces that shaped the medical system sowed the seeds of the crisis we now face. The medical profession and other medical interest groups each tried to make medicine serve their own narrow economic and social interests. Foundations and other corporate class institutions insisted that medicine serve the needs of "their" corporate capitalist society. The dialectic of their common efforts and their clashes, and the economic and political forces set in motion by their actions, shaped the system as it grew. Out of this history emerged a medical system that poorly serves society's health needs.

The system's most obvious problems are the cost, inflation, and inaccessibility of medical care in the United States. Total health expenditures in this country topped \$200 billion in 1979, nearly \$1,000 for every woman, man, and child. Far more of society's resources now go into medical expenditures than ever before; twice the portion of the Gross National Product was spent on medical care in 1980 than in 1950.

We pay for these costs through our taxes, health insurance premiums, and directly out of our pockets. Public expenditures—four out of every ten dollars spent on personal health services—come out of our taxes. Private health insurance and direct out-of-pocket payments each account for about three out of every ten dollars. No matter what form it takes, the entire \$200 billion originates in the labor of men and women in the society. President Carter estimated that the average American worker

## 2 / Introduction

works one month each year just to pay the costs of the medical system.'

Most people feel they should be getting a lot for this money, but instead they find that it is difficult even to get the care they need. Primary care physicians—general practitioners, pediatricians, internists, and gynecologists—are scarce. Doctors and hospitals are clustered in the "better" parts of our cities and largely absent from the poorer sections and rural areas of our country. For the millions of Americans covered by Medicaid (the government subsidy program for the public assistance-linked poor), the coverage has been as sparse and degrading as the demeaning clinics it was supposed to replace. The middle class and the poor share at least long waiting periods for doctors, one of the most common constraints on the accessibility of physicians. Instead of creating a humane and accessible medical care system, Medicare and Medicaid have helped fuel inflation in medical costs by dumping new funds into a privately controlled system ready to absorb every penny into expansion, technology, high salaries, and profits.

A second, somewhat less widely discussed, problem is the relatively small impact medical care makes on the population's health status. Despite a plethora of new diagnostic procedures, drugs, and surgical techniques, we are not as healthy as we believed these medical wonders would make us. Some critics, like social philosopher Ivan Illich,<sup>1</sup> accuse medicine of making us sicker—physically, politically, and culturally—than we would be without it. Many analysts have documented the medical profession's social control functions, medical technology's frequently adverse effects on our health, and medicine's neglect of important physical and social environmental influences on our health.<sup>2</sup> Instead of medicine liberating us from the suffering and dependency of illness, we find that its oppressive elements have grown at least as rapidly as its technical achievements.

Why has medical care grown so costly so rapidly? Why is it so plentiful and yet so inaccessible? How did medicine become technically so sophisticated but remain socially unconcerned and even repressive?

A popular but too facile answer is that such problems are characteristic of technology and industrialized societies. According to this argument, technology and industrialization impose

## Introduction I 3

their own limits on forms of social organization and produce similar kinds of problems that call forth similar solutions. Medical sociologist David Mechanic finds problems of cost, organization, and ethical dilemmas in medicine widespread among industrialized countries and concludes that "the demands of medical technology and the growth of the science base of medical activity produce pressures toward common organizational solutions despite strong ideological differences."<sup>1</sup> Ilich asserts that "pathogenic medicine is the result of industrial overproduction."<sup>2</sup> In this view, technology has a life of its own, imposing its imperatives on individuals and social organization. By focusing on widespread patterns of industrial organization and technological development, these analysts conclude that technology and industrialization are universal determining forces.

Such technological determinism ignores the particular history in which society and technology interact. In the Marxian view, technology and economic organization constantly shape each other in a dialectical process. Individuals and groups who own the resources and control the organization of production, far from being at the mercy of "neutral" technology, introduce innovations that serve their own ends and oppose those that would serve other interests than their own. These innovations may neglect broader community needs and may hurt the interests of others. Machines and factories undermined the autonomy and even the economic existence of independent craft workers. Hospitals and their expensive equipment may tie many health workers to monotonous jobs and use funds that might otherwise go for more widely distributed community clinics. Those affected by these technological developments may resist them and force their modification. Workers may organize into unions and gain some control over the relations of production. Communities may organize to block hospital expansion and force development of more community-based clinics. In sum, the political-economic organization of society generates certain types of technological innovation and not others, and these innovations generate new social forces that modify technology and political-economic relations.<sup>3</sup>

This book sees scientific, technological medicine not as the determining force in the development of modern health care but as a tool developed by members of the medical profession and the

corporate class to serve their perceived needs. Individuals and groups who possess needed resources can apply them to develop certain types of technological innovation in medicine. Those who have the requisite resources can also apply the resulting technological innovation to serve their economic and social needs.

In the United States medicine came of age during the same period that corporations grew to dominate the larger economy. As corporate capitalism developed, it altered many institutions in the society, medicine among them. Its influence was created not simply through cultural assimilation or the demands of industrial organization but by persons who acted in its behalf. This interpretation does not suggest that history is made by dark conspiracies. Rather, it argues that the class that disproportionately owns, directs, and profits from the dominant economic system will disproportionately influence other spheres of social relations as well.

Members of the corporate class, including those who own substantial shares of corporate wealth as well as the top managers of major corporate institutions, naturally try to ensure the survival of capitalist society and their own positions in its social structure. In the case of medicine, members of the corporate class, acting mainly through philanthropic foundations, articulated a strategy for developing a medical system to meet the needs of capitalist society. They believed their goals for medicine would benefit the society as a whole, just as they believed that the private accumulation of wealth and private decisions about how to use that wealth and its income were in the best interests of society. In this book, we will examine the strategies they developed during the Progressive era and the reasons for their actions, leaning heavily on the public and private thoughts of some persons centrally involved in these efforts. We will describe and analyze the interests and strategies of the medical profession and of the corporate class as they developed independently, coalesced, and then clashed. We will also see that the government has increasingly taken over the strategies and struggles begun by the corporate class.

The corporate class influenced medicine, but it could not control it absolutely. The market system in medical care provides special interest groups—today including doctors, hospitals, insurance companies, drug companies, and medical supply and

## Introduction I 5

equipment companies—^with the opportunity to develop their own bases of economic power, enabling them to carve out and defend their turfs in the marketplace. The larger business class stands "above" these interest groups, trying to tame and coordinate the leviathan but nonetheless committed to private ownership and control and also enjoying medicine's legitimizing and cultural functions. The relationships and the contradictions that emerged among the corporate class and these medical interest groups profoundly influenced the organization and content of today's medical system.

## DOCTORS

From our vantage point today it is difficult to believe that in the late nineteenth century the medical profession lacked power, wealth, and status. Medicine at that time was pluralistic in its theories of disease, technically ineffective in preventing or curing sickness, and divided into several warring sects. Existing professional organizations had virtually no control over the entry of new doctors into the field. Physicians as a group were merely scattered members of the lower professional stratum, earning from several hundred to several thousand dollars a year and having no special status within the population.

By the 1930s, however, medicine was firmly in the hands of an organized profession that controlled entry into the field through licensure and accreditation of medical schools and teaching hospitals. The profession also controlled the practice and economics of medicine through local medical societies. "Medicine" had come to mean the field of clinical practice by graduates of schools that followed the scientific, clinical, and research orientations laid down by the American Medical Association (AMA) and by Abraham Flexner in a famous report for the Carnegie Foundation. All other healers were being excluded from practice. Physicians were increasingly drawn only from the middle and upper classes. The median net income for nonsalaried physicians in 1929 was \$3,758, above the average for college teachers but below the faculty at Yale University and below the average for mechanical engineers."^ Overall, doctors were rapidly rising in income, power, and status among all occupational groups.

In the 1970s physicians have continued to climb to the top

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rungs of America's class structure. The" median net income of office-based physicians—\$63,000 in 1976—places them in the top few percentiles of society's income structure. In 1939 the average earnings of doctors were two and a half times as great as those of other full-time workers, but by 1976 the gap had increased to five and a half times. Doctors rank with Supreme Court justices at the top of the occupational status hierarchy. And in recent public opinion polls, more Americans said they trusted the medical profession than any other American institution—including higher education, government (of course), and organized religion.^

Rising "productivity" has been an important factor in physicians' efforts to raise their incomes, status, and power. The medical profession has drastically controlled the production of new physicians and has delegated to technicians and paraprofessionals below them the tasks they no longer find interesting or profitable. With rapidly expanding medical technology, more and more tasks were shifted down the line to a burgeoning health work force. At the beginning of this century two out of every three health workers were physicians. Of the more than 4.7 million health workers today, only one in twelve is a physician. Thus, doctors have increasingly become the managers of patient care rather than the direct providers of it.^

As medical managers, physicians have found themselves drawn out of private practice into employment in hospitals, research, teaching, government, and other institutions. Today four in ten doctors are employed in such institutions, compared with one in ten in 1931. These physicians have had fewer material interests in common with private practitioners and have shown little political support for the AMA.^°

Physicians entered a struggle to maintain their position at the top of the medical hierarchy soon after that position was won. The challenge has not, for the most part, come from below, except for recent attempts by nurses to increase their authority in patient care. Doctors have found themselves in a struggle with hospitals, insurance companies, medical schools, foundations, government health agencies, and other groups with an interest in a more rationalized health system—one in which the parts are more coordinated hierarchically and horizontally and in which more emphasis is given to capital-intensive services. The conflict has emerged between organized practitioners as one interest

group, what Robert Alford calls "professional monopolizers," and all the groups seeking to systematize health care according to bureaucratic and business principles of organization, what Alford calls "corporate rationalizers."

## OTHER INTEREST GROUPS

In challenging the power of organized medicine to protect its interests, hospitals, particularly through the American Hospital Association (AHA), have tried to appear the "logical center" of any rationalized health system.<sup>1</sup> In their transformation and growth from asylums for the sick and dying poor to their twentieth-century role as the physician's workshop, hospitals developed a powerful position in modern health care as the major locus of medical technology. Because of physicians' growing reliance on technology, hospitals were absorbing an increasing share of dollars spent on medical care. Public and private health insurance (really, medical care insurance) developed as a stable source of income, enabling hospitals to expand their facilities. Collectively, hospitals have become a major force in the medical system, consuming 40 percent of the nation's annual health care expenditures. Blue Cross and Blue Shield (the "Blues"), created in the 1930s and 1940s by hospital associations and medical societies, respectively, together with commercial insurance companies now control 30 percent of medical care expenditures, mostly emphasizing hospital-based technical care. They have developed economic and political clout commensurate with their dominating fiscal role.

While the insurance industry is a new voice in the chorus of corporate rationalizers, medical schools have been in the vanguard for more than half a century. Although run by physicians—for the reproduction of health professionals and as the research and development arm of the medical industry—medical school interests have often conflicted with the interests of practitioner-dominated medical societies. In the nineteenth century, medical schools were generally run by small groups of doctors for their own financial benefit. During most of the twentieth century, medical schools have been university-controlled and responsive to the interests of foundations and, since World War I, government funding sources. For the brief period from about

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1900 to World War I, science-oriented medical schools and the AMA joined forces to press for the acceptance of scientific medicine. Since that time they have gone their separate ways—the AMA struggling to preserve the dominance and incomes of private practitioners, and medical schools fostering more rationalized medical care, usually with physicians as top management.

Hospitals, insurance companies, and medical schools all have a relatively greater interest than doctors in promoting capital-intensive, rationalized medical care. While expanding medical technology helped doctors increase their status and incomes, it has been the *raison d'être* of hospitals, medical schools, and even insurance companies. Medical technology's demands for heavy capital investment also encourage rationalization of medical resources—centralization and coordination of capital, facilities, expenditures, income, and personnel.

## FOUNDATIONS AND THE STATE

Besides these interest groups, two other forces—the government and foundations—have exerted a powerful influence in favor of rationalizing medical care. Although the government has been the dominant influence since World War II, foundations were the major external influence on American medicine in its formative period from 1900 to 1930. Their source of power has been the purse, generously but carefully applied to specific programs and policies. Neither foundations nor the government has operated as an interest group in the manner

of doctors, hospitals, insurance companies, medical schools, and the drug and hospital supply industries. The enormous sums they expended—from foundations some \$300 million from 1910 through the 1930s and from the federal government many billions of dollars since World War II, for medical research and education alone—have not been for their own financial enrichment.

The argument developed and supported in this book suggests that both foundation policy and government policy have served the interests of certain medical groups but only because the interests of these groups coincided with those of the larger corporate class. As evidence from the historical record will show, the programs of foundations earlier in this century were explicitly

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intended to develop and strengthen institutions that would extend the reach and tighten the grasp of capitalism throughout the society.

In medicine the major objectives of foundations were: to develop a system of medicine that would be supportive of capitalist society; and to rationalize medical care to make it accessible to those whom it was supposed to reach but at the least cost to society's resources. These objectives created their own contradictions. At first, foundations aligned themselves with the aims and strategies of the medical profession, but they soon rejected the narrow interests the profession wished to serve and moved quickly to expand the roles of medical schools and hospitals and to support their dominance over all medical care. By World War II, when the role of the State\* in governing the capitalist economy was fully established, the federal government took over the foundations' leading role in medicine, continuing the basic strategy adopted by the foundations more than two decades earlier and opening the floodgates of the treasury to implement it.

In the first chapter, we will see how philanthropic foundations emerged from several parallel developments of capitalist society in the latter nineteenth century. While many members of the new wealthy class were supporting charities to ameliorate the disruptions and deprivations imposed on large numbers of people by capitalist industrialization, others recognized the need for technically trained professionals and managers and supported the development of universities and professional science. Just after the turn of the century men of great wealth, like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, created philanthropic foundations with professional managers in charge of their charitable fortunes. With the Rockefeller philanthropies in the lead, these foundations developed strategic programs to legitimize the fundamental social structure of capitalist society and to provide for its technical needs.

Chapter 2 traces the social and economic role of scientific medicine in the history of the American medical profession.

\*Throughout this book, capitalized "State" refers to the political institutions and agencies of government which embody society's political authority. Uncapitalized "state" refers to the individual states in the United States.

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Modern scientific medicine was not merely a "natural" outcome of combining science and medicine in the nineteenth century. Apart from the concrete scientific developments that permitted the application of scientific thought and investigation to problems of disease, scientific medicine had equally important social and economic origins. It was an essential part of a strategy articulated by reform leaders of the medical profession to enhance the profession's position in society, and it succeeded because it won the support of dominant segments of the American class structure.

Scientific medicine gained the support of the American medical profession in the late nineteenth century because it met the economic and social needs of physicians. By giving doctors greater technical credibility in society, it saved them from the ignominious position to which the profession had sunk. Moreover, scientific medicine became an ideological tool by which the dominant "regular" segment of the profession restricted the production of new doctors, overcame other medical sects, temporarily united leading medical school faculty and practitioners, and otherwise reduced competition.

Despite its appeal for the medical profession, scientific medicine would have accomplished little for doctors if it had not had the support of dominant groups in American society. In Chapter 3 we will see the reasons for this capitalist support, especially through the thinking of Frederick T. Gates, for more than two decades the chief philanthropic and financial lieutenant to John D. Rockefeller and the architect of the major Rockefeller medical philanthropies.

As an explanation of the causes, prevention, and cure of disease that was strikingly similar to the world view of industrial capitalism, scientific medicine won the support of the classes associated with the rise of corporate capitalism in America. Capitalists and corporate managers believed that scientific medicine would improve the health of society's work force and thereby increase productivity. They also embraced scientific medicine as an ideological weapon in their struggle to formulate a new culture appropriate to and supportive of industrial capitalism. They were drawn to the profession's formulation of medical theory and practice that exonerated capitalism's vast inequities and its reckless practices that shortened the lives of members of the

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working class. Thus, scientific medicine served the interests of both the dominant medical profession and the corporate class in the United States.

Nevertheless, a contradiction emerged between the interests of the medical profession and those of the corporate class. As we will see in Chapter 4, the private practice profession and the corporate class clashed over attempts to reform medical education. The financing of scientific medical schools required tremendous amounts of capital from outside the medical profession. Those who provided the capital had the leverage to impose policy. The lines of the conflict were clearly drawn: Was medical education to be controlled by and to serve the needs of medical practitioners? Or was it to serve the broader needs of capitalist society and be controlled by corporate class institutions?

The Flexner report, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, tried to unify these interests by centering its attack on crassly commercial medical schools. However, the Rockefeller philanthropies, substantially directed by Gates, exposed the contradiction by forcing a full-time clinical faculty system on recipient schools against the interests and arguments of private practitioners. Gates made it clear that medicine must serve capitalist society and be controlled—through the medical schools that reproduce its professional personnel and innovate its technique—by capitalist foundations and capitalist universities. By 1929 one Rockefeller foundation, the General Education Board, had itself appropriated more than \$78 million to medical schools to implement this strategy, and Gates' perspective was firmly established.

Gates was adamant about keeping his strategy free of involvement with the State by not giving money to state university medical schools. However, within the Rockefeller philanthropies as within the largest industrial and financial corporations generally, most officers and directors had come to see the State as a necessary aid in rationalizing industries, markets, and institutions.

The course that Gates and his contemporaries initiated continued to develop during the next half-century, but with the State assuming the dominant financial and political role in rationalizing medical care and developing medical technology. As we will see in Chapter 5, the State's emphasis on technological

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medicine ignored some of the most important determinants of disease and death while the economic and political forces of capitalist society assured that rationalization would not eliminate the developing corporate ownership and control over the medical market. How medicine will be contained and rationalized in this private market system is a contradiction that now plagues the State and the corporate class as the demand for national health insurance grows. How medical resources can be transformed into effective instruments for improving the population's health is a contradiction imposed on the entire society. These contradictions and their resulting crises are the legacy of medicine's development in capitalist society.

## CHAPTER



## "Wholesale Philanthropy ": From Charity to Social Transformation

Industrialization in nineteenth-century America created many problems for those who owned and managed the corporations that came to dominate the economy. Industrial capitalists had to arrange for adequate capital, obtain raw materials, organize production, discipline a reluctant work force, and develop markets and transportation systems. They also had to deal with the political structures and methods intended for older relations of production, centered around agriculture and commerce, that were only slowly adapting to the new industrial, corporate order. Finally, they had to reshape older social institutions or create new ones. Educational, religious, medical, and cultural institutions were some of the glue that held together the ancien regime. In sum, the new corporate class had to transform all these economic, political, and social institutions to serve their urbanized, industrialized, and corporate society.

The new economic order created different problems for classes that owned little or nothing of the new system. American society had never been tranquil, but industrialization spread deep disaffection and anger among classes who were dislocated by it and among those who suffered as a result of capitalist accumulation of wealth. The agrarian and merchant rulers of the formerly dominant towns resented the meteoric rise of urban industrialists and bankers. Native craftsmen, foreign immigrants, and dis-

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possessed farmers reluctantly submitted to the factory system. Unionism, populism, and socialism threatened the power and wealth of corporations and even raised doubts about the continued existence of capitalism.

As we will see in this chapter, corporate capitalists turned to philanthropy, the universities, and then to medicine to solve some of the many problems that grew out of capitalist industrialization. For the most part, social transformations were led by the same "unseen hand" that guided the market forces of capitalism; this self-interest provided a limited perspective for social change. Only gradually did leading capitalists and their allies consciously develop broad strategies and supports for the new order they were building. Philanthropic capitalists supported often harsh but hopefully ameliorative charity to control the desperate poorer classes. Others began building universities to meet the new society's needs for trained experts and managers. A new managerial and professional stratum developed to direct corporations, universities, science, medical institutions, and philanthropy itself. After the turn of the century, some philanthropists transformed foundations into a truly corporate philanthropy,\* modeled after the dominant economic institutions and fueled with their "surplus" wealth. Representatives of the emerging corporate liberalism made these foundations their chief instruments for transforming social institutions, giving corporate philanthropy an historical role beyond the most visionary dreams of early philanthropic capitalists. This union of corporate philanthropy, the managerial-professional stratum, and the universities and science spawned the Rockefeller medicine men and their new system of medicine.

### CREATING PRIVATE FORTUNES AND SOCIAL DISCONTENT

The Civil War was a watershed in American philanthropy, as it was in nearly all aspects of American life. It was a great wrenching experience in American history, spreading death and destruction, stimulating industrial development, and producing

\*In this book, "corporate philanthropy" refers to philanthropy characteristic of corporate capitalism, especially foundations that are philanthropic corporations controlled by members of the corporate class.

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upheavals within and between all classes of Americans. A new kind of philanthropy, tailored to these new conditions, emerged in the decades following the war.

The Civil War not only freed the black slaves from legal bonds of slavery. It also freed the hand of Northern capital to extend throughout the nation the industrial transformation it had begun mainly north of the Ohio River. As the "underground railroad" was the vehicle and symbol of freedom for ante-bellum slaves, the iron

railroad was the vehicle and symbol of industrialization and the ascending capitalist class.

As the railroads were used increasingly to move troops and supplies for the Union armies, they helped extend and integrate the marketplace, making possible a specialized manufacturing and marketing system that could be coordinated across the continent. The railroads pushed into every region of the country. They brought farm produce to new markets and to ports for shipment to distant lands. They carried cotton from Southern fields to New England textile mills. They carried iron ore from Lake Superior to the iron mills and new Bessemer steel furnaces in Pittsburgh, and oil from western Pennsylvania to Cleveland refineries. And they brought the products from the nation's factories to markets in every region. Everywhere, they spread new settlements and development. Despite interruptions during the Civil War, railroad construction added 62,000 miles of new lines in the 1860s and 1870s, tripling the nation's existing track mileage. Railroad construction required iron and later steel rails and bridges. The railroads themselves soon became the biggest customers of America's growing steel industry.

The Civil War and the railroads led some men to their pots of gold. Andrew Carnegie began his rise to fortune as a telegraph clerk for the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1853. By the beginning of the Civil War the ambitious twenty-five-year-old Carnegie was well into railroad management and spent a few months organizing rail transport and telegraph communications for the War Department. But Carnegie quit his exciting and dangerous war front job and returned to the Pennsy and especially to tend his growing investment in iron manufacturing and coal mining. By 1863 his annual income exceeded \$40,000.<sup>16</sup>

John Davison Rockefeller's fortunes were also helped by the Civil War. In 1861, as the war consumed the energies and lives of

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Northerners and Southerners, the twenty-five-year-old Rockefeller was building a successful merchandising firm in Cleveland. As war orders poured in, commodity prices rose sharply, and Rockefeller's profits soared. Two years later, Rockefeller had saved enough capital to invest in an oil refining business, and by the end of the war he was worth enough to take control of the company. By 1880, led by Rockefeller's determination to "make money and still more money," combined with relentless competition in the marketplace and rebates extracted from the railroads, his Standard Oil Company was refining 95 percent of the country's oil.<sup>17</sup>

While the industrial base had obviously been growing in the decades before the Civil War, it was the changes wrought by the war that cemented the new system's structure. The Southern patrician class, whose position was based on agriculture and slaves, was not crushed, but its subordination to the Northern-controlled capitalist economy was assured. The factory system was extended with the railroad, and an industrial working class was formed out of craftsmen and laborers, native folk and immigrants. Small-town America gradually gave way to industrial and commercial boom, and cities grew faster than their fragile tenements could be built. In the process, the older entrepreneurs and landed gentry were displaced by the new entrepreneurs and their corporations. By the 1870s, for example, only 520, or 5 percent, of the 10,395 businesses in Massachusetts were incorporated. But this 5 percent held 96 percent of the total capital and employed 60 percent of all workers. By 1900 three-fourths of all manufactured goods were produced by corporations. Because of the important logistical role of the railroads, the Civil War has been called the "first railroad war." Yet the war did not rely on an industrial economy. As William Appleman Williams aptly put it, the Civil War "produced an industrial system rather than being fought with one."<sup>18</sup> The ultimate victors of the war were the corporations and the men who, for the most part, ruled the new economy.

Not all was smooth for the new barons of the corporate economy, nor did they make life easy for those under them. The owners of each industry, driven to grab what they could of the available market and accumulate as much capital as possible in the shortest time, pushed wages down in order to lower prices

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and to get a jump on their competitors. Immigrants were inducted into the growing industrial work force. Some

16 million foreign-born were attracted to the country in the second half of the nineteenth century, totaling 15 percent of the population by 1890 and nearly a quarter of the population of the industrialized northeastern states. Craftsmen saw their skills, the basis of modest security and pride, fall to degradation and unemployment before machines that outproduced them and factories that oppressed them. Migrants from failing farms and immigrants from foreign lands filled the factories and cities of the New World. Working men lost their livelihoods or submitted to the harshest labors. Women were drawn out of more traditional homebound work into factories, shops, and stores. Twenty percent of the nation's women were wage laborers by 1900. Children were sucked into the factories as the cheapest labor. Working-class family and social life were shaken and devastated.

Exploitation of workers, unmitigated by either legal restraints or humanitarianism, led to increased organizing by labor. The depression of the 1870s brought wages in 1875 down to \$1.50 for a ten-hour day. Riots were common in cities throughout the country. Labor began to organize, and employers used every available power, from lockouts to Pinkertons, to crush the union movement. In 1877 the first nationwide strike, a spreading walkout against the railroads, was put down with a bloodbath that took the lives of scores of workers, their families, and their supporters in city slums around the country. The labor movement grew and strikes continued to spread in the 1880s and 1890s. The Haymarket Square bomb in 1886, the strike at Carnegie's Homestead steel mills in 1892, and the Pullman strike in 1894 were only the most prominent events that made employers and their allies fear for the continued existence of their society. "The times are strangely out of joint," worried a Kentucky politician. "The rich grow richer, the poor become poorer; the nation trembles."\*

Town folk and farmers, especially in the Midwest and South, felt their lives and livelihoods increasingly determined by railroad rates and lines of credit from banks directed from distant cities. Semi-feudal sharecropping kept large numbers of Southern farmers in perpetual debt and poverty. Agrarian opposition to capitalist expansion won broad support. In 1896 the growing

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Populist party formed a shallow coalition with the Democratic party around the Democrat Bryan for President and the Populist Tom Watson for Vice-President against McKinley, the candidate of big business. The Populist party was decimated by their defeat, but populist resistance to capitalist wealth and control of agriculture continued in the Granges and the Farmers Union well into the new century. To the middle-class professionals who dominated the Progressive movement the society seemed to be breaking up below them because of the greed of those above them. They called for reforms to limit the concentration of power and wealth. Many members of the richer class felt called upon to justify the great inequality that angered the working class and worried the middle class. Naturally they did not see themselves as "idle" rich. They viewed their efforts to build industrial empires as productive work, and they considered all the people to be the beneficiaries of those empires. No one said it as well as Rockefeller:

The best philanthropy, the help that does the most good and the least harm, the help that nourishes civilization at its very root, that most widely disseminates health, righteousness, and happiness, is not what is usually called charity. It is, in my judgment, the investment of effort or time or money, carefully considered with relation to the power of employing people at a remunerative wage, to expand and develop the resources at hand, and to give opportunity for progress and healthful labour where it did not exist before. No mere money-giving is comparable to this in its lasting and beneficial results.^

The great benefit of such enterprises is moral, providing employment to otherwise idle hands, and material, "to multiply, to cheapen, and to diffuse as universally as possible the comforts of life."^ Thus, the building up of private industry is the best method of solving the problems that historically grew with industrialization. "Can there be any doubt that cheapening the cost of necessities and conveniences of life is the most powerful agent of civilization and progress?" asked Charles Elliott Perkins, president of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad. "The true gospel," Perkins philosophized agreeably, "is to enable men to acquire the comforts and conveniences of life by their own efforts, and then they will be wise and good.""

The class of men and women who provided this largess for the rest of society had varied notions about what to

do with their

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money and their power. Mark Hanna, a Cleveland industrialist, showed fellow capitalists that the President and executive branch of the government, as well as the Congress, could be secured "for the protection of our business interests." Fearing the growing ranks of Populists and their increasing political strength, he established an interlocking political directorate of corporate leaders to organize their common interests and bring their influence more directly into the federal government. With their first Presidential triumph, electing McKinley in 1896, they inaugurated the modern system of expensive, centrally coordinated national campaigns. Hanna led the formation of a corporate politics that placed the broad class interests of industrialists and financiers ahead of "pork barrel" tactics favoring narrow interests that had dominated state, national, and local political scenes. Hanna and other leaders of this class put together new alliances, like the National Civic Federation, with some labor leaders to create a "harmony of interests" out of the class conflicts that threatened the new economic order. The Progressive movement proved an ideal vehicle for the business class to assert its interests by securing additional, needed capital from the Congress and, through reforms in the federal executive branch, creating and controlling regulatory agencies to bring order and consolidation to a number of industries. The politically wise leaders of this class thus demonstrated that with strategic alliances with social reformers and conservative union officials, the nation's political institutions could be reformed to serve the needs of the corporate order. ^

Not all capitalists, however, could see farther than their own immediate interests in politics. John D. Rockefeller, whose Standard Oil Trust was accused by Henry Demarest Lloyd of buying out the legislatures and the executive branches of Pennsylvania and Ohio, was unenthusiastic about his friend Hanna's broader political strategy. Hanna's first major success sent John Sherman to the U.S. Senate in 1885, ironically providing the author of the very law under which the Standard empire was eventually broken up. Perhaps Rockefeller suspected such betrayals from politicians who had their own visions of what was good for business, for he customarily reserved his political contributions for candidates closer to the Standard's immediate fields of operations. ^

Many wealthy men spent their fortunes on ostentatious luxury

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that left much of the European aristocracy in shadow. The Vanderbilts, Jim Fisk, Jay Gould, and other financiers built palaces along New York's Fifth Avenue, many of them with marble, furnishings, and statuary scooped up from the crumbling baronies of the Old World. Marshall Field and Potter Palmer built their castles on some of Chicago's most prized residential and lakefront land. Mark Hopkins, Charles Crocker, and Leland Stanford transformed San Francisco's Nob Hill with their residences of splendor, using wealth obtained from promoting and governing the westward expansion of the railroads. Carnegie bought himself a castle in his Scottish homeland. And Rockefeller created, not merely a castle, but a royal estate at Pocantico Hills, whose 3,500 acres overlooking the Hudson River was five times the size of Central Park. The spectacle of such living, especially in the midst of tenement-teeming cities, caused considerable agitation. The Massachusetts Board of Education had complained even in 1849, "One gorgeous palace absorbs all the labor and expense that might have made a thousand hovels comfortable." By the end of the century, social scientists cultivated by the wealthy came to their benefactors' defense. A Boston University economics professor retorted to detractors of grandeur, "The notion there is necessarily any causal connection between opulence and poverty is too crude to require serious refutation." ^°

## DRIVING THE RELUCTANT POOR FROM POVERTY

Some representatives of the opulent class, both before and after the Civil War, had a broader sense of purpose. They provided luxurious, even princely lives for themselves and their families, but they carefully set aside a share of their wealth for philanthropy. Philanthropy, of course, did not mean giving money directly to the poor. While charity had always implied providing alms for the relief of the poor, the rich and most social reformers in

the class immediately below the rich have always been wary of the consequences of giving to the poor. Cotton Mather urged colonial Boston merchants to set a disciplined, moral example and give only to the "poor that can't work." Benjamin Franklin hoped to provide sufficient opportunity in society so there would be no need of poverty, and he tried to

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develop a strategy for getting the poor to adopt disciplined ways of living. "I think the best way of doing good to the poor," Franklin said, "is not making them easy in poverty, but leading them or driving them out of it."^^

Franklin's maxim and a pitiless Social Darwinist perspective were the heart of the charity organization movement that blossomed in the United States during the last three decades of the century. Patterned after the London Charity Organization Society, founded in 1869, these city and national organizations gave few handouts. Their main purpose was, in the words of a Philadelphia group, to develop "a method by which idleness and begging, now so encouraged, may be suppressed and worthy self-respecting poverty be discovered and relieved at the smallest cost to the benevolent." Even during the vast depression that began in 1873 and lasted until the end of that decade, all takers of charity were suspected of slothfulness and degeneracy. ^^

The poor were a desperate, volatile lot, given to crime, riots, and insolent discontent. Extreme Social Darwinists believed with Herbert Spencer that those who are fit to live do so and those who are not fit die—"and it is best they should die."^ But the dominant classes of any society need a more positive program than that to deal with oppressed classes' articulated demands for sharing the wealth or even their inarticulate mayhem.

The programs that emerged from charity organization work brought systematic study and the label of "science" to philanthropic work. The annual meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction brought together experts from charity organizations, administrators of penal institutions, hospitals and settlement houses, academics from university sociology and economics departments, and clergymen and physicians to coordinate their work and develop strategies for uplifting the poor. The attitudes of these "scientific" charity workers ran from harsh to refined, punitive to ameliorative."\* Over the years these reformers turned increasingly to the analytic methods of the social sciences and to the political views of the Progressive movement. Edward T. Devine, in his presidential address to the National Conference in 1906, noted that inmates were entering charitable institutions, insane asylums, prisons, and reformatories "faster than all our educational processes, our relief funds, and even our consecrated personal service" have been able to rehabilitate

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them. The role of "modern philanthropy," Devine continued, is to "seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy."^^

Scientific philanthropy must concern itself with "prevention rather than relief," argued Amos Warner, a Stanford economist active in the movement. Warner compared statistics compiled by charity organizations in the United States and Europe and concluded that nearly three-fourths of all poverty is due to personal or social "misfortune" and less than a fourth to "misconduct" on the part of the individual.^ "Prevention" involved intervening in the lives of both groups to assist them through their misfortune or change their bad habits and lead them onto the path of righteousness.

Out of this social intervention perspective and the charity organization movement emerged the social work professions. Case workers, settlement house workers, correctional administrators, probation officers, and their academic advisers shared with the middle and upper classes the prevailing Social Darwinist view that dependent poverty, crime, and social deviance in general had biological roots. But this new professional class believed that medical and social intervention could remedy "natural" imperfections."^

Given the disintegration of older social relations and the increasing fear of working-class revolt—both products of capitalist industrialization—it is not surprising that wealthy men and women supported the goals and

programs of the charity organizations and the social work movement. Charles Hull, who amassed a fortune from Chicago's booming real estate market, gave freely to social rehabilitation programs in the slums and sold cheap land to the poor to give them a stake in the existing society. It was his way of correcting the unequal distribution of land out of which he feared "discontent and revolution will come."<sup>^</sup>

Scorning pity and indiscriminate relief as merely reinforcing the poor in their degraded condition, the charity organization movement, social work professions, and wealthy benefactors in general worked instead to uplift, or rehabilitate the poor. They established institutions that would isolate "the poor that can't work" and prevent them from infecting "honest," hard-working

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poor folk. They also developed programs to give the working poor a loftier vision of life than could otherwise be gotten from the factories and tenements in which they spent their lives. Settlement houses and social workers were established in the slums and ghettos to integrate the foreign-born into American society and to rehabilitate and reintegrate the casualties of an industrial society divided into owners and nonowners. Jane Addams' settlement house, provided by Charles Hull's estate, attempted to fulfill her principal goals to "feed the mind of the worker, to lift it above the monotony of his task, and to connect it with the larger world outside of his immediate surroundings. ..." Addams opposed the excesses of both capital and labor and worked to bring together these warring classes through programs acceptable to both.'<sup>^</sup>

Such programs did not suggest that the capitalist social structure itself should be altered. Rather they were intended to ameliorate the harsh conditions of capitalism by helping individuals escape from its pits and lead both useful and more satisfying lives. While many social workers supported union demands, their work won financial and political support from the wealthy classes because it diverted attention from more militant demands. Social workers held out the hope of ameliorating living conditions with social programs while workers demanded union recognition, higher pay, the eight-hour day, and relief from unemployment. All these programs proved more symbolic and ideological than actually ameliorative. The working poor and the unemployed were being taught to blame their own inadequacies for their conditions and to work and wait patiently for their individual rewards.

Some capitalists, however, both before and after the Civil War, were less concerned with revolt brewing below them or were more thoughtful about the future needs of their social system. They developed another line of philanthropy that centered on creating social institutions whose main functions were not even symbolic amelioration but provided for the training of personnel needed by industrial capitalism if it was to survive and grow. Some of these capitalists, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century, helped to create compulsory public schools to socialize working-class and poor children to the rhythms and cooperative needs of factory work and to give

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them the rudimentary skills—reading, writing, arithmetic, and vocational skills—needed in an industrial society.<sup>^°</sup> Other men and women of wealth understood the country's need for more advanced technical skills. They joined forces with foresighted leaders of the nation's traditional colleges, bringing them out of the orbit of the old agricultural and merchant ruling class and into the service of the ascending industrial and financial order.

## TRAINING SCIENTIFIC HEADS TO DIRECT AMERICA'S "HARD HANDS"

On the last day of April in 1846 Edward Everett, the new president of Harvard University, stood before his faculty, students, and alumni and inaugurated a new era of cooperation between industrialists and America's colleges and universities. Harvard would no longer be geared mainly to the needs of the agricultural gentry and wealthy merchants, producing educated clergy, lawyers, and assorted gentlemen. Everett laid before his inaugural convocation a proposal, that Harvard found a "school of theoretical and practical science" to teach "its application to the arts of life," to furnish a "supply of skillful engineers" and other persons who would explore

and develop the "inexhaustible natural treasures of the country, and to guide its vast industrial energies in their rapid development."^^

Within a year Abbott Lawrence agreed to underwrite Everett's plans. Lawrence's investments in textile manufacturing and railroad financing had made him a man of wealth and influence in Massachusetts. The industrial revolution in America was in its infancy when he began, but now near midcentury its potential was proven. Lawrence knew first hand the value of the factory system and mechanization in increasing production and profits. He saw that railroad construction brought not only profits on his investment; it also created a demand for iron production and opened up regional and national markets, allowing farmers and factory owners to ship their products to distant markets and increasing America's exports. "Hard hands are ready to work upon our hard materials," he observed. But "where shall sagacious heads be taught to direct those hands?"^^

To answer his own question and help Harvard realize its self-appointed role, Lawrence gave the university the then

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princely sum of \$50,000 to found a school that would apply chemistry and other sciences to the needs of agriculture, engineering, mining and metallurgy, and the "invention and manufacture of machinery." Thus was the Lawrence Scientific School born. Lawrence was so pleased with the new school that he bequeathed an additional \$50,000 for it which Harvard received upon his death in 1855.

Harvard's school was exemplary of the new relationship between science, education, and industrialization. In the nineteenth century, scientists, industrialists, and college presidents developed a profitable alliance. The usefulness of science to industry, the willingness of industrialists to support scientific research, and the opportunity for colleges to train scientists and engineers and do much of the research needed by industry provided a great deal of common ground. It also opened the door for scientists who wanted to make science a full-time occupation and distinguish themselves from others who used the knowledge and methods of the natural sciences in their work.

The great inventors of the early industrial revolution were mostly practical-minded mechanics, craftsmen, and tinkerers, men and women whose lives embraced science through their work. "In contrast with modern practice," observes Harry Braverman, "science did not systematically lead the way for industry, but often lagged behind and grew out of the industrial arts."" By the 1830s and 1840s a new group of scientists emerged who wanted to be more than "dilettantes." Like their European counterparts, whose support and status they envied, the upper ranks of American scientists wanted to devote themselves to research, but they lacked the necessary financial resources. Although young men in America's colleges were taught science, there was almost no original research being done in the country. As Joseph Henry, the nation's leading physicist, complained, "every man who can burn phosphorous in oxygen and exhibit a few experiments to a class of young ladies is called a man of science."^"\*

In 1844 Alexander Dallas Bache, the superintendent of the U.S. Coast Survey, told an attentive audience at the country's first national scientific congress that America's unoriginal and meager science merely aped European science. America's science, he said, had inadequate institutional support, substituted

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teaching for scientific research, was overrun with gentleman scientists, and lacked professional scientists. Bache and Henry, together with Harvard mathematician Benjamin Peirce, astronomer Benjamin Gould, chemist Oliver Wolcott Gibbs, zoologist Louis Agassiz, and a few other professional scientists fancied themselves the nation's sole custodians of science and its development. They aggressively sought support for their research and promoted the cause of professional science. In their view, only some men were endowed with scientific talent, and only such an elite should be entrusted with training, facilities for research, and money. As Howard Miller has pointed out, their elitism won them no support from the assertive, democratic populists of Andrew Jackson's era."

These new men of science won increasing support from the entrepreneurial fortunes of the captains of industry. Lawrence was neither the first nor the last capitalist of the nineteenth century to channel his surplus wealth to colleges in order to put science at the service of industry. In 1846, with the financial help of philanthropists, Yale created two new professorships in agricultural and practical chemistry and appointed the eminent Benjamin Silliman, Jr., to one of them to develop and teach the "application of chemistry, and the kindred sciences to the manufacturing arts, to exploration of the resources of the country and to other practical uses." Silliman's prolific accomplishments at Yale included developing the first commercially successful method of refining petroleum. Before the Civil War, Joseph Earl Sheffield, a New Haven man who made his fortune in Southern cotton and in financing Northern railroads and canals, gave the struggling Yale Scientific School a large contribution. The university appreciatively renamed the school in honor of its benefactor, whose contributions to Yale for applied science totaled more than \$1 million by the time of his death in 1882.<sup>^\*</sup>

Perhaps the most symbolic change was the conversion of the Reverend Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College. As he assumed the college presidency in 1828, Lord asserted that Dartmouth was not designed for men who were to "engage in mercantile, mechanical, or agricultural operations." His strict adherence to the classics and to preparing gentlemen, however, did not survive several large contributions from wealthy advocates of applied sciences and engineering. By the late 1860s Lord

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eagerly embraced the "necessity now becoming constantly more evident of a higher education in the 'practical and useful arts of life.' "<sup>^</sup>

Some industrialists and finance capitalists, not content with the slow and incomplete transformations of the older colleges, started their own engineering schools. In 1824 Stephen Van Rensselaer, a wealthy landlord farmer who organized and backed the construction of the Erie Canal and thereby experienced for himself the lack of adequately trained engineers, founded the institute that bears his name to teach the "application of experimental chemistry, philosophy and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts and manufactures."<sup>^\*</sup> Other engineering and technical schools were begun around the country from fonts of industrial wealth—Cooper Union in New York City, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Stevens Institute in Hoboken, the Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland, the Pratt Institute in New York, and the California Institute of Technology, to name a few.

Philanthropic capitalists left their marks in American higher education in other areas besides science. Joseph Wharton, a wealthy manufacturer of metals, gave the University of Pennsylvania some \$600,000 for a school of finance and commerce that would train the managers, accountants, and leaders of industry who would direct the engineers and applied scientists graduating from technical schools. Entirely new universities were founded in the 1870s and 1880s by some of the wealthiest men and women in the country—<sup>^</sup>Johns Hopkins, Tulane, Clark, Vanderbilt, Stanford, Cornell, and others.

These educational philanthropists were primarily capitalists who disdained the aristocratic pretenses of gentleman farmers and the dabblers' and merchants' ignorance of technique. Remembering their own lack of preparation as they began their careers, they favored practical educations that would promote endeavors like theirs and create a fertile ground from which their new society would grow. They also perceived a need for trained personnel for the growing industrial and corporate economy. As the organizers of factories and other enterprises that employed increasing divisions of labor, they preferred to train technically skilled managers and reduce the skill levels of their laborers; in the words of Abbott Lawrence, let the "hard hands" do the labor

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and let "sagacious heads" design and direct the labor process. Impressed with the utility of applied science, they subsidized teaching and research in the natural sciences and engineering, and they supported vocational and applied curricula in colleges against the prevailing classical education. By the end of the century they were delighted with the progress that had been made in creating universities and colleges in their own image. And, of course, they were glad to have combined this self-interest with an appearance of generosity and altruism.



The entrepreneurial scientists and college presidents made the philanthropists' job an easy one. The development of modern universities and the founding of professional science in the United States were largely the products of elite college presidents and men of science inviting captains of industry to recognize the importance of their contributions to the nascent industrial and corporate society. They asked for and got money for their work, their institutions, and themselves.

Scientists offered their talents and their services to the capitalists in return for new laboratories and stipends; they gave up to the colleges a degree of autonomy in return for a legitimized base of operations, some financial security, and a protected role in training new basic and applied scientists as well as conducting research. College presidents acted as brokers, eagerly offering their services and institutions to capitalists and scientists alike, in return for new areas of service that would assure the continued relevance and financial security of their institutions under the ascending economic order. Their new buildings and endowments assured them that they were on the right track. By 1872 philanthropy accounted for nearly half the \$13 million income received by all the nation's institutions of higher education.<sup>29</sup>

The founding of schools, institutes, and universities was quite a different tack from giving to charity organization societies and creating settlement houses. They were both intended to meet the needs of the developing industrial and corporate society, but in different ways. One was ameliorative: It tried to compensate for the failings of the capitalist social structure. The other was more technical and "preventive": Institutions were developed to meet the needs of the system for technical expertise and industrial and social management. Both were important to the survival and expansion of industry as it was organized in capitalist society.

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There were limitations, however, in the resources and strategies of both approaches. The social work approach was ameliorative at a time when most philanthropists were pressing for preventive strategies. The founding of universities and institutes, which had a preventive character, was limited in two ways. First, it often represented an individual action on the part of a particular rich man or woman who founded the institution to reflect a personal perspective of what was needed. While some of them secured the help of visionary university presidents, these institutions often reflected too strongly the personalities and idiosyncratic views of their founders. Only when governance fell to the institution's trustees did it come to reflect a broader perspective within the benefactor's class. Thus, the trustees who implemented Johns Hopkins' bequest for the founding of a university were able to do what they collectively believed worthwhile because their broad charter left them free of detailed instructions from the deceased benefactor while the endowment meant they had "no need of obeying the injunctions of any legislature, the beliefs of any religious body, or the clamors of any press."<sup>30</sup> Most benefactors, especially those who founded their institutions while on this side of their graves, held closer reins on policies and personnel.

The second limitation on the usefulness of the university movement among the wealthy was one of scale. Most of the founders had fortunes big enough to create only one institution, and those who had the wealth to do more nevertheless concentrated their energies and their money in one place. Thus their direct influence would come from only one place, and their indirect influence would be only as a model. These were often powerful forces. Van Rensselaer's institute claimed, by the middle of the nineteenth century, that it had produced a majority of the country's engineers and naturalists. And the class of wealthy university founders was small and often influenced each other: Ezra Cornell's new university at Ithaca was admired by Leland Stanford, and Stanford's creation in California greatly impressed Jonas Clark and his plans for Massachusetts.<sup>31</sup> These exceptions notwithstanding, the general limitations of individualism and narrowness of resources reduced the utility of university building for corporate capitalism.

The accolades these "good works" generated didn't mean that

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philanthropy could not be done better. And certainly the capitalist impulse to believe in perfectability in the organization of any enterprise encouraged many philanthropists to look for errors and seek a better way. The

obvious constraints of ameliorative social intervention programs drew most of the criticism. But while the create-a-school movement was not criticized explicitly, a successor was soon seen on the horizon. At best the universities were productive models of capitalist rationality and technical modernness in an untamed, competitive marketplace of seemingly incompetent educational institutions. Not surprisingly, it was the philanthropies created by the kings of oil and steel that started American schooling down the same road to vertical organization and centralized control that they had created in their own industries.

## CARNEGIE'S "GOSPEL OF WEALTH"

The growing fortunes of the Carnegies and Rockefellers in this country made them prominent symbols of the success as well as the inequities of industrial capitalism. It was this weighty responsibility that led Andrew Carnegie to explain the problems associated with great wealth and to lay out the responsibilities that came with its possession. In an influential two-part essay entitled "Wealth," published in the *North American Review* in 1889,<sup>^^</sup> Carnegie with a flush of confidence set out a plan for assuring continued private accumulation of wealth. "The problem of our age," he boldly began, "is the proper administration of wealth, that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship." Speaking to a receptive audience among the "haves" more than to the truculent "have-nots," Carnegie identified the accumulation of wealth as the essential factor in the "progress of the race." Whether it be "for good or ill, it is upon us, beyond our power to alter, and, therefore, to be accepted and made the best of. It is a waste of time to criticize the inevitable," he reassuringly added.

Though capitalism's "law" of competition "may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department," he observed, paraphrasing the then widely idolized Herbert Spencer. Furthermore, it produced great material wealth so that all people lived better for it. Society must not only accept; it must welcome "great

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inequality of environment," specifically the "concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few." It is not to be regretted that capitalists must "soon be in receipt of more revenues than can be judiciously expended upon themselves." It is simply incumbent upon the wealthy to dispose of their fortunes wisely.

They should not, he warned, leave the bulk of their wealth to their families, for such legacies undermine the moral integrity of the recipients. Nor should the rich man simply bequeath his fortune for public purposes because it is morally reprehensible to accumulate great wealth and not show either the interest or the judgment to spend it wisely. As exciting as Carnegie found his money-making career, it had always seemed to him below the moral and intellectual world to which he aspired. More than two decades before his declarations on wealth, Carnegie had written a memo to himself promising to quit business shortly: "To continue much longer overwhelmed by business cares and with most of my thought wholly upon the way to make more money in the shortest time, must degrade me beyond hope of permanent recovery." Now Carnegie admonished his peers, "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

It is the duty of the wealthy, Carnegie declared in his article, "to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds," to do what, "in his judgment," is best for the community. The wealthy capitalist is thus a "mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer"—in a word, "doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves."

He then recommended to men and women of substantial means seven uses for their surplus wealth, declaring the priorities that he followed in the years to come. Topping the list were universities, to which Carnegie gave more than \$20 million in his lifetime. Next were free public libraries, which, to Carnegie's mind, squared with his goal "to stimulate the best and most aspiring poor of the community to further efforts for their own improvement." Carnegie contributed 2,811 libraries to communities that promised to support them; this most famous of his philanthropies consumed more than \$60 million of his wealth. Carnegie also recommended

giving money for medical institutions, public parks and city beautification, halls for "concerts of

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elevating music" and enlightening lectures, swimming baths, and—last—church buildings.^^

Carnegie's round face glowed and his eyes sparkled as he received the adulation of wealthy admirers and fawning supplicants. Gladstone sanctified Carnegie's proposals with a review of his article in the prestigious British magazine *Nineteenth Century*, criticizing only Carnegie's condemnation of inherited wealth. From his celebrated position, Carnegie dismissed the critical reviews of his article. The Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, a prominent Methodist minister and Christian populist, condemned this new "Gospel of Wealth," as it had come to be called. "Mr. Carnegie's 'progress' is accompanied by the growing 'poverty' of his less fortunate fellow-countrymen," he wrote. William Jewett Tucker, a Ueberal theologian and later president of Dartmouth College, pointed out that the assumption "that wealth is the inevitable possession of the few, and is best administered by them for the many, begs the whole question of economic justice now before society." "I can conceive of no greater mistake," Tucker protested, "than that of trying to make charity do the work of justice."^^

Carnegie's giving never aimed at justice; his goal was "to lead people upward." Like his politics, Carnegie's philanthropy was a mixture of moralistic programs to civilize the masses, impulsive decisions, and sentimentalism. Libraries, institutes, concert halls, and church organs—7,689 organs costing more than \$6 million—were given to uplift the poor and working classes. In 1904 he provided more than \$10 million for the Carnegie Hero Fund to honor men and women who are injured or killed while trying to save their fellows; medals were presented to the hero, or his or her surviving family, and occasionally monetary grants, to encourage the masses to follow examples set by "the heroes of civilization." Carnegie also provided his birthplace of Dunfermline, Scotland, with a \$3.75 million fund for parks, recreation, and general beautification.^^

## REVEREND GATES INTRODUCES ROCKEFELLER TO "WHOLESALE PHILANTHROPY"

Like Carnegie, John Davison Rockefeller's interest in financial benevolence antedates his most famous philanthropies. From the time of his youth. Rockefeller's life consisted of work, family,

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and the Baptist church. More like his pious mother than his genial and impulsive father, Rockefeller lived a disciplined life, forever pinching pennies but mindful of his Christian duties. Even in 1855, when he was earning \$3.50 a week as a clerk accountant in Cleveland, Rockefeller carefully apportioned about 10 percent of his income to charities and church work. His philanthropy grew with his riches; by 1881 he was giving away more than \$60,000 a year.^^ By the end of the century, he and Carnegie were competing in their philanthropy—with Carnegie ahead.

Rockefeller was diligent in giving to charity but ungenerous in spirit. Like other men of his day climbing the ladders of business success and those who had reached the top. Rockefeller saw no excuse for poverty. Having gone into business for himself at the age of twenty, the oil king "knew" that hard work and disciplined living were the means to escape poverty. In 1887 Rockefeller answered a poor young man's plea for fifty dollars with a check, a request for an I.O.U., and a warning: "It will be injurious for him to receive from others what he can in any way secure for himself by his own efforts." And after a visit to a "house of industry" in New York's incomparable slum of Five Points, he complained that although the institution gave free meals to the area's "tramps" only on Thanksgiving Day, he "would give them work and make them earn their food."^^

Whereas Carnegie's secular views led him to Social Darwinism as a biological and social explanation for the maldistribution of wealth, Rockefeller's religion exorcised all self-doubts. Particularly as he grew older and more comfortable with his fortune and his role as philanthropist, Rockefeller came to believe that "God gave me my money." When he uttered these words in 1905, "Rockefeller" was not the most revered name in North America. He thus felt called upon to explain: "I believe the power to make money is a gift from God ... to be developed and used to the best of our ability for the good of mankind. I believe it is my duty to make money and still more

money and to use the money I make for the good of my fellow man according to the dictates of my conscience."^^

Rockefeller's conscience led him to heap great benevolence on a wide range of socially uplifting charities. Andrew Carnegie put churches last on his list of recommended philanthropies, but for Rockefeller the Baptist church and its numerous charities and missions were the highest priority. Hospitals and other public

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welfare charities were also favorites. He hoped his contributions would enable the denomination to lead all people to live with rectitude and to aid the fallen poor to gain the proper path. In 1890 Rockefeller's contributions to charities and colleges topped \$300,000, and the next year half a million dollars.

But in May 1889, one month before Carnegie published the first of his two-part "Gospel of Wealth," Rockefeller committed himself to a particularly ambitious philanthropic project and a relationship with a man who was to write a new chapter in philanthropy. For several years a group of Baptists in the East and another group in the West had been trying to develop a new seminary and university for the denomination. The eastern group wanted the institution to be located in New York while the other group desperately hoped to develop it in Chicago, the rapidly growing metropolis of the nation's westward expansion. Both groups were pressing Rockefeller, the richest Baptist in the world, to contribute the millions needed to endow a first-rate institution. While interested in such a project, Rockefeller was not swayed by the emotionalism of either group's appeal."^^

The strugglng academies, seminaries, and colleges of the denomination met in Washington in May 1888 to form the American Baptist Education Society, to raise money for Baptist education, and to coordinate its development. They named the fast-rising Reverend Frederick T. Gates executive secretary, a position from which he leaped to the pinnacle of both philanthropic and corporate power.

Gates immediately conducted a survey of Baptist educational needs throughout the country. Armed with his data, he wrote a detailed and eloquent report. Gates demonstrated that nearly half the country's Baptists lived west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio River but that the denomination's educational facilities in this region were practically worthless. He concluded that a new Baptist university should be built "on the ruins of the old University of Chicago," a weak and by then bankrupt denominational institution. While the new university should bring together the most capable specialists in both its classical and scientific departments, it must be "an institution wholly under Baptist control as a chartered right, loyal to Christ and His church, employing none but Christians in any department of instruction, a school not only evangelical but evangelistic.""\*

Gates' report was the turning point in the denomination's

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campaign for a university. As he himself put it, "The brothers were 'all torn up' over it." The Chicago proponents coalesced around the report, and the dwindling supporters of a New York location became even more emotional in their desperate appeals to Rockefeller. The Education Society executive board unanimously approved the proposal at the December 1888 meeting. Within six months Gates won Rockefeller's approval and an initial gift of \$600,000 that soon became a torrent of support, totaling \$35 million in the next twenty-one years. Rockefeller was so impressed with Gates that he wrote University of Chicago president Harper in 1889, "I have made up my mind to act in my educational benefactions through the American Baptist Education Society."^^

Rockefeller, worn out by his total immersion in business since the age of twenty, was a physical wreck as he entered his fifties in 1889. He suffered increasingly from nervous fatigue and stomach ailments. He soon lost all his hair, including his eyebrows, because of a nervous disease, generalized alopecia. His doctors had warned him to reduce his activities as much as possible, but his responsibilities were mounting. Although Standard Oil was now in the hands of experienced and trusted lieutenants, there was an increasing flow of requests for large and small portions of his wealth from churches, missionary societies, hospitals, colleges, charity organizations, and individuals—once running as high as 50,000 requests in a single month."^^

In March 1891 Rockefeller sat Gates down and laid out his problem.

I am in trouble, Mr. Gates. The pressure of these appeals for gifts has become too great for endurance. I haven't the time or strength, with all my heavy business responsibilities, to deal with these demands properly. I am so constituted as to be unable to give away money with any satisfaction until I have made the most careful inquiry as to the worthiness of the cause. These investigations are now taking more of my time and energy than the Standard Oil itself. Either I must shift part of the burden, or stop giving entirely. And I cannot do the latter.'\*''

"Indeed you cannot, Mr. Rockefeller," replied Gates, listening with great care and at the same time anticipating the benefactor's point.

"Well, I must have a helper," Rockefeller continued. "I have

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been watching you. I think you are the man. I want you to come to New York and open an office here. You can aid me in my benefactions by taking interviews and inquiries, and reporting the results for action. What do you say?"

Fervently aware of the wealth and power that would rest in his hands to use on behalf of all the things he believed important, Gates accepted without the slightest hesitation. He thus began a relationship with Rockefeller that transformed the world's largest fortune into the most strategically applied philanthropy, estabshing principles, methods, and directions that were soon emulated by other philanthropists and continued through the next two generations of the Rockefeller dynasty. The numerous medical and public health programs would become the central part of Gates' strategy.

In September 1891, Gates took an office in the Temple Court Building in New York City, not far from Rockefeller's Standard Oil offices at 26 Broadway. He continued his work for the Education Society even while he took charge of Rockefeller's philanthropy. The supplicants who hounded Rockefeller "almost like a wild animal" were sent to Gates' office. "I did my best to soothe ruffled feeUngs, to listen fully to every plea, and to weigh fairly the merits of every cause," Gates recalled of his days at Temple Court."^^

With the same systematic thoroughness that marked his report for the Education Society, Gates investigated each request that came his way. "I found not a few of Mr. Rockefeller's habitual charities to be worthless and practically fraudulent. But on the other hand I gradually developed and introduced into all his charities the principle of scientific giving, and he found himself in no long time laying aside retail giving almost wholly, and entering safely and pleasurably into the field of wholesale philanthropy.""^^

Gates' first act on behalf of "wholesale philanthropy" was to increase Rockefeller's contributions to state and regional Baptist agencies and cut off contributions to individual churches, missions, and charity organizations. By forcing every church and mission to get their aid from centralized denominational boards, Gates increased the latter's power over the far-flung flock.'\*''

Not long after he moved to New York, Gates took charge of

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Rockefeller's many investments outside the Standard companies. As with his charities, Rockefeller always intended to check on his investments thoroughly before buying into them. Often he was persuaded by acquaintances to invest in a project or industry they assured him would pay off handsomely. Most of the immense "surplus" wealth that Rockefeller was taking out of oil he was putting, not into charity, but into "a good many different industries." By 1893 he had accumulated, besides the Standard, sixty-seven major investments, valued at \$23 million, in railroads, mining, manufacturing, and banks. "It occurred to me," Rockefeller later recalled, "that Mr. Gates, who had a great store of common sense, though no especial technical information about factories and mills, might aid me in securing some first-hand information as to how these concerns were actually prospering." He asked Gates to investigate some of these investments when he happened

to be in the area on Education Society business."^\*

Gates checked on several of Rockefeller's distant stakes: an immense land speculation scheme in the Pacific Northwest that two fellow parishioners of Rockefeller's Fifth Avenue Baptist church had persuaded the oil baron to invest in; a \$600,000 investment in a West Superior, Wisconsin, steel mill and land speculation fraud, recommended by the same brethren; and a smaller iron furnace in Alabama. Gates demonstrated his varied abilities and singular value to his employer. "His report was a model of what such a report should be," Rockefeller remarked with uncharacteristic praise. "It stated the facts, and in this case they were almost all unfavourable." One investment that Rockefeller thought was earning \$1,000 a day was instead losing that amount.'\*^

One more investigation by Gates, of some reputedly rich gold mines in Colorado that turned out to be a complete fraud, settled the matter for Rockefeller. His income was now upwards of \$10 million a year, he was physically and emotionally coming apart at the seams, and he desperately needed a lieutenant in whom he could place complete confidence. He asked Gates to drop his office in the Temple Court Building and share his private offices at 26 Broadway. "That," wrote Gates, "is how I came to be a businessman."^o

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THE REVEREND FREDERICK T. GATES:

THE MAKING OF A ROCKEFELLER MEDICINE MAN

It is not surprising that Gates should be such an appealing assistant in both philanthropy and finance. Although he graduated from the Baptist-controlled Rochester University and the Baptist seminary in Rochester and then spent eight years in the ministry, Gates was at heart a businessman in spiritual clothing. As he himself said in his autobiography,

Much of my life has been in fact an unconscious preparation for successful business. My interesting experience in selling harrows, my months as a clerk in a country store, and as cashier of a country bank, my interest in my father's financial affairs and the ways and means of paying our debts, my studies of political economy under Doctor Anderson [at Rochester], my close study of the finances of our church building in Minneapolis, a habit of looking at things in their financial tendencies and relations, my study of denominational finances at home and abroad, all these things had given me a business experience and my mind a financial turn.\*'

Gates was nearly thirty-eight years old when he went to work for Rockefeller. His early years were spent in rural poverty. His father had studied medicine but turned to the Baptist ministry for his life's work. The elder Gates' successive congregations were mainly poor farmers in rural New York; his family shared that poverty which bred at least part of Frederick's determination to leave it behind in his own life. When the family moved to Forest City, Kansas, Frederick began but had to quit high school and then taught school to earn money to help his family pay off the accumulating debt on their farm." Through high school and college jobs Gates worked with his characteristic diligence and energy and discovered how much he pleased his employers. His shrewd salesmanship earned him \$1,500 for selling harrows. Gates was developing a sense of where his ambition might eventually take him.

Young Gates' experiences with religion were as important in shaping his future life as were his experiences with poverty. "The best that religion had to offer me as a boy," he wrote near the end of his life, "was death and heaven, the very things I most dreaded—being a normal, healthy boy." With his teaching job

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Gates developed a strong attraction to the intellectual and personal elements of religion, though his conversion was not an emotional one. He found Christ's social and moral teachings very attractive: "I was drawn to his person and character, and from that throughout my life I wanted to side with him and his friends against the world and his enemies. Such, frankly, was the only 'conversion' I ever had."

He found his seminary training so academic as to leave him poorly prepared for ministerial work. He dispensed with the philosophical idealism the seminary had cultivated, and from his own reading, his life experiences, and examination of the economic and social issues affecting his congregation. Gates took up a pragmatic philosophy that was more in keeping with his personality and his ambition. His fund-raising work for his poor parish in Minneapolis and his less solemn, more modern sermons attracted a bigger congregation and with it, more wealth.

One day George Pillsbury, whose flour fortune made him the wealthiest Baptist in the Northwest, asked Gates' advice in making up his will and especially in leaving \$200,000 to a Baptist school. Pillsbury was very pleased with Gates' suggestion that he immediately give \$50,000 to the school on the condition that the denomination in Minnesota raise an equal amount—to assure their committed interest in it—and that he bequeath another \$150,000 to the school in his will. Baptist leaders were also pleased and commissioned Gates to raise their \$50,000 share of the funds. Gates resigned his pastorate and took up the challenge. So effective were his methods of button-holing Baptists in the state that he had soon raised \$60,000." Gates knew he had found his calling!

He developed a number of rules for fund raising which he learned "mostly on the pastorate" and a couple of years later wrote them down at the request of his admirers in the trade. Dress well, act in a dignified manner, pretend the visit will be a short one, be good-natured, and "keep your victim also good-natured. . . . Let him feel that he is giving it, not that it is being taken from him with violence." Rule number 7 he followed unswervingly through his nearly four decades of service to Rockefeller: "Appeal only to the noblest motives. His own mind will suggest to him the lower and selfish ones. But he will not wish you to suppose that he has thought of them. He wishes you to

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believe him to be giving only from the highest motives."^\* In a few years Gates rose from pastor of an average Baptist congregation in Minneapolis, to a statewide position with the denomination in Minnesota, to chief officer of the Baptists' national Education Society, to the side of Mr. Rockefeller himself, administering a panoply of investments and an immense philanthropy.

As soon as he joined Rockefeller's private office to manage his finances. Gates began a meticulous evaluation of all Rockefeller's holdings outside the Standard Trust. He was given a free hand in reorganizing investments and corporations alike and was provided with assistants, credit, and confidential information. "I had every needed tool," Gates remembered, "and the machinery was well oiled and without the least friction. No man of serious business responsibilities ever had a happier business life than I. No man was ever furnished with more of the external elements of success, or given better opportunities." In some companies Gates bought enough stock to take control and put in management acceptable to him and Rockefeller. Other investments were sold off completely. In the end. Gates was made president of thirteen corporations in which Rockefeller now had a controlling interest. He added sizeable chunks to Rockefeller's geometrically increasing fortune, the grandest chunk being the \$55 million profit Gates made on selling the Mesabi iron ore range and associated industries that he had developed.^ ^

Although Gates came to Rockefeller's employment a poor man, he soon remedied this unfortunate condition. While executive secretary of the Baptist Education Society, Gates was paid a then-respectable income of \$2,500 a year. When he moved East and opened an office in the Temple Court Building, Rockefeller added \$1,500 to his income. His added responsibilities led to annual increases in salary "always paid by the corporations which I managed," until after ten years with Rockefeller he was getting a salary of \$30,000, a very good income in the first decade of this century. Out of his earnings Gates and his wife had saved enough to pay for their Montclair, N.J., home and had invested some \$60,000 in the companies he had organized and managed for Rockefeller. That small investment brought him more than \$500,000 when he sold his shares in 1902. "Prudent investments with few losses gradually increased

this sum." In 1916 Gates began converting all his investments into then-rising and profitable bank stocks and encouraged Rockefeller to do the same, recommending especially the Chase National Bank, which was paying dividends of 20 percent on invested capital. By the time of his death in 1929 Gates was a wealthy man though, needless to say, his fortune fell far short of his employer's.^ ^

Though Rockefeller never paid direct compliments to any person, he more than once recorded his appreciation of Gates' "phenomenal business ability." In response to a reporter's question, "Who is the greatest of all the business men you have known?" Rockefeller heaped warm praise on Gates. "He combines business skill and philanthropic aptitude to a higher degree than any other man I have ever known."^ ^ Though Gates was involved with Rockefeller's finances in important ways, his organization of Rockefeller's philanthropies, and especially the medical programs, makes him historically significant.

In 1897, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., graduated from Brown University and was cautiously trying to find a place for himself in a world preempted by his father. His hereditary position in the world of industry and finance left him little room for any achievement that he could call his own. His own name was inseparable from his father's, who was perhaps the most vilified of all the great robber barons. The one area in which he might stake out new ground and at the same time help clear the family name was philanthropy. And thus he entered his father's private offices at 26 Broadway, an imperium presided over by the Reverend Gates.^ ^

With difficulty Gates and "Mr. Rockefeller, Junior" developed a working relationship. Junior was then twenty-three years old, inexperienced, and reserved to the point of shyness. Gates, twenty years his senior, did not hide his self-confidence derived from varied experience and personal achievement; he was ebullient. Nevertheless, Junior learned from Gates and from his own successes and failures and built an independent role for himself in both philanthropy and finance. For his part, Gates learned to tolerate this scion of the man he worked for and truly respected. Gates considered Junior "diligent" but unimaginative. "He was home-made and hand-trained," he recalled disdainfully. Rockefeller, Sr., had found, as his biographer Allan Nevins

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observed, "just the combination of qualities he needed: Gates endowed primarily with imagination, fire, and vision, the son endowed primarily with hard sense, caution, public spirit, and conscientiousness."^ ^

Gates and Junior investigated new lines of philanthropy and the value of Senior's investments, bringing major proposals for action on both to the financier for final decisions. Gates wrote his views in eloquent reports; Junior relied on oral persuasion. "Gates was the brilliant dreamer and creator," Junior recalled years later. "I was the salesman—the go-between with Father at the opportune moment." Senior seldom jumped into any new venture. "I'll let the idea simmer," he often told his son and Gates. Then weeks, months, or even years later, moved by considerations inscrutable to his assistants, he was ready to act.^ °

Gates was also quite a contrast to his employer. As Raymond Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation for more than a decade, revealed:

Mr. Gates was a vivid, outspoken, self-revealing personality who brought an immense gusto to his work; Mr. Rockefeller was quiet, cool, taciturn about his thoughts and purposes, almost stoic in his repression. Mr. Gates had an eloquence which could be passionate when he was aroused; Mr. Rockefeller, when he spoke at all, spoke in a slow measured fashion, lucidly and penetratingly, but without raising his voice and without gestures. Mr. Gates was overwhelming and sometimes overbearing in argument; Mr. Rockefeller was a man of infinite patience who never showed irritation or spoke chidingly about anybody.

From this triumvirate came the influential philanthropies that asserted extraordinary leadership in shaping the social, economic, and political order of the twentieth century. Rockefeller, the individualistic captain of industry from the rough-and-tumble old order that was being transformed at the turn of the century, supplied the money but left the directing to his lieutenants. Gates, the transition figure from unbridled individualism to the discipline of the corporation, provided systematic methods and a rudimentary strategy for asserting corporate



capitalism's needs for supportive social institutions. Junior, emerging gradually as the nation's foremost representative of modernism in corporate relations with labor and the public, brought a refinement and sensitivity to the philanthropic work being developed by Gates.

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The programs and strategies that emerged from this center of financial power had an enormous impact, especially on medical care and health systems in the United States and throughout the world."

## THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD: \$129 MILLION FOR STRATEGIC PHILANTHROPY

Gates shared Carnegie's fears that excessive hereditary wealth diminishes individual initiative and achievement, that it saps the participation of its bearer in the social and economic processes that make society strong. "Your fortune is rolling up, rolling up like an avalanche!" he warned Rockefeller. "You must keep up with it! You must distribute it faster than it grows! If you do not, it will crush you, and your children, and your children's children!"

Having acquired the fortune, it fell to Rockefeller and his associates to maintain it as a trust for the people, just as Carnegie had advocated. "It is the duty of men of means," Rockefeller wrote early in this century, "to maintain the title to their property and to administer their funds until some man, or body of men, shall rise up capable of administering for the general good the capital of the country better than they can." In his view, neither experiences with state and national legislatures nor "schemes of socialism" offered any promise that "wealth would be more wisely administered for the general good" than it was by its private owners. ^^

Since the owners of capital were mortal men, it was incumbent on them to provide some ongoing trust to see that their wealth would be used wisely even after they passed from the scene. There was nothing new in this concept as understood by the Rockefellers as they launched their first grant-giving foundation, the General Education Board, to aid Southern education. Charitable trusts independent of the state and the church have had legal status in Anglo-Saxon law since the "statute of charitable uses" was enacted by Queen Elizabeth in 1601. Most of these, however, had been narrowly prescribed uses—endowing a particular hospital, giving relief to wayward girls in Brooklyn, and providing scholarships for young men entering mechanical engineering at a particular college.\*

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However, there were a few precedents that greatly influenced the creation of the General Education Board, providing the first of its strategic philanthropic programs aimed at transforming major social institutions. At the close of the Civil War, merchant-banker George Peabody provided \$2 million for a Southern education fund. The war had left the South in ruins and its schools destroyed or otherwise defunct; a generation of Southerners was growing up uneducated and essentially illiterate. The Peabody Education Fund hired Barnas Sears, the president of Brown University, to set up a grant program to help schools that were run and generally supported by Southerners. Sears was succeeded by Jabez L. M. Curry, a Confederate politician and planter from Alabama, who had saved his land from confiscation after the Civil War by swearing allegiance to the United States. ^^

The Peabody Fund set an example for John F. Slater, a textile manufacturer from Connecticut, who endowed a \$1 million fund in 1882 to educate Southern blacks. By the end of the nineteenth century increasing numbers of Northern businessmen and Southern reformers were coalescing around the need to develop Southern schools in general and educate Southern blacks in particular. The South was not only economically and educationally undeveloped; it was the section of the country from which militant populism still received its widest political support, threatening the ambitions of Southern liberal reformers and Northern conservative businessmen who wanted to "modernize" and industrialize the region. In 1899 these leaders organized the first of several Conferences for Southern Education. ^^

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was a guest at the third conference in 1901. Robert C. Ogden, a partner of John Wanamaker and general manager of their New York department store, chartered a special train, dubbed the "millionaires' special" by hostile Southern newspapers, to bring Northern businessmen on a tour of Southern

black schools and then to a conference with Southern activists in the cause. Junior and the other guests visited the Hampton and Tuskegee institutes and other schools and ended their tour with a meeting in Winston-Salem. This conference established a permanent organization called the Southern Education Board (SEB) to raise money among Northerners, assume formal leadership of the campaign to develop Southern schools, and conduct propaganda on its behalf. Though the board's

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budget was low—not more than \$40,000 a year—and they never gave grants as the Peabody and Slater funds were doing, the SEB hired agents to carry their campaign to influential Southerners and state legislatures.^\*

Like the Peabody and Slater funds, essentially combined under the leadership of their chief agent J. L. M. Curry, the Southern Education Board unanimously supported only "industrial education" for blacks. Schools organized around this model taught the rudiments of literacy and emphasized industrial and agricultural skills, disciplined work, thrift, and right living. Hampton Institute, whose chief trustee was Ogden and whose principal was fellow SEB member Horatio Frissell, was the prototype of industrial schools for blacks. Booker T. Washington, an early graduate of Hampton, founded a similar school at Tuskegee, Alabama, and became the country's chief black proponent of the gradualist strategy of racial progress. For half a century this model of education guided the work of the movement for compulsory schooling, and now it was the centerpiece of the progressive education movement, sweeping educators and businessmen alike into a national educational reform campaign.\*^

Northern and Southern businessmen were enthusiastic. "Every element for success exists in the South," the Manufacturers' Record declared in support,

in raw material, in climate, in the forces of Nature, and above all, in an abundant supply of labor, which when properly trained and disciplined will be the main reliance of the South in the future for its prosperity. It only remains for the South to do its duty to its black population by way of training and educating in the simple manual trades.""

With the support of Northern money, the industrial schools flourished and the few genuine colleges for blacks struggled under their less than benign neglect. The Southern Education Board and its allies won grudging acceptance of schools for blacks from Southern white supremacist political leaders, and in return Northern members of the SEB campaigned in the North for acceptance of black disfranchisement and Jim Crow laws as the best way to progress for blacks. "The white people are to be the leaders, to take the initiative, to have the directive control of all matters pertaining to civilization and the highest interests of our

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beloved land," Curry, former Confederate officer and now chief of staff of the Southern campaign, brazenly proclaimed. "This white supremacy does not mean hostility to the Negro, but friendship for him."^'

For John D. Rockefeller, Jr., his 1901 tour and conference in the South were "one of the outstanding events in my life." Filled with a sense of mission, Junior discussed the new Southern Education Board and its program with his father, Gates, his friend Morris K. Jessup, and Dr. Wallace Buttrick, the portly and jovial secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Society, who also attended the conference and was now a member of the SEB. A small group was formed to develop an ambitious project in support of the Southern work. In January 1902, they outlined a munificent philanthropic enterprise. In February an expanded group met for dinner at Junior's house and worked through the evening. Junior announced a pledge he had secured from his father for \$1 million to spend over the next ten years, the first and smallest of many gifts to come. They formed a board of trustees to oversee the expenditures and appointed Buttrick executive secretary."^ "The South with its varied resources and products," their memorandum of agreement observed, "has immense industrial potentialities, and its prosperous future will be assured with the right kind of education and training for its children of both races.""^

The General Education Board was announced to the press. "The object of this association," they explained, "is to provide a vehicle through which capitalists of the North who sincerely desire to assist in the great work of

Southern education may act with assurance that their money will be wisely used."<sup>^</sup>"\*

The General Education Board (GEB), with its large resources, quickly became the locus of leadership in the Southern campaign. At its first meeting in 1901 the Southern Education Board had arranged a "community of interest" with the Peabody and Slater funds. By 1903, according to Southern board member Frissell, "the Peabody and Slater boards are now acting very largely through the General Education Board." In fact a more interlocking directorate could not be found, even among the Standard Oil companies. Several trustees of the Slater and Peabody boards were trustees of the GEB. Curry was a member or agent of all four funds. Buttrick was a member of the Southern

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board, executive secretary of the GEB, and from 1903 to 1910 he was an agent of the Slater Fund—and so on."

While the General Education Board developed other programs over the next several decades, medical ones prominently among them, their work in the South remained important and never deviated substantially from their original perspective. Over the years the GEB worked to make all schools "more responsive to our social, economic, and professional needs." The black population's role in society was clear. The board believed "the Negro must be educated and trained . . . that he may be more sober, more industrious, more competent." When the GEB finally came to support full-fledged colleges for blacks, it was not because their general outlook on race relations had changed. College training would be "provided for carefully selected Negroes" who will "lead the race in its efforts to educate and improve itself." The black's leaders "must be trained, so that, looking to them for guidance as he does, he may be as well guided as possible."<sup>^</sup>

The GEB was not concerned only with education of blacks. It worked to build up high schools for whites and for blacks throughout the South. Always with an eye to creating "local responsibility for self-help"—what Gates called the "foundation of character and social life itself"—the board's strategy was to stimulate and organize community support for school taxes. The GEB got each state university to create a professorship for secondary education. Then with the university's approval, the board defined the duties of the position and named the person to be hired and, in return, paid the person's salary and all his expenses. The main function of this professor was not to teach but to organize. He would visit the towns of his state—"as an officer of the university, laden with its wisdom and its moral authority"—and develop and channel local support for high schools and taxes to support them. At the end of two decades of work, the GEB had spent a little over \$3 million promoting public schools in the rural and urban South. They considered the plan effective "beyond our most sanguine anticipations" and took considerable credit for the 2,000 new high schools built in that period at a cost of \$60 million, for which annual appropriations in the Southern states increased from \$1.7 million in 1905 to \$15 million in 1922—"all raised by local taxation."<sup>^</sup>

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The public schools program of the GEB led to a farm demonstration program run for the board by Seaman Knapp and then to the first of a long tradition of public health programs conducted by the Rockefeller foundations. Rooted in the same concern for Southern economic and social development that guided the public schools program, the public health programs, at first in the Southern states and then exported around the world, became important supports for the growing domination by U.S. capital, trade, and military power."<sup>^</sup> Gates, a charter member of the GEB and its chairman from 1907 to 1917, was the eloquent orator and, in Junior's words, "the brilliant dreamer and creator" of most of these programs.

The permanence of the General Education Board was assured with a broad congressional charter, dedicating the new foundation to "the promotion of education within the United States." Senator Nelson Aldrich, Junior's father-in-law and a powerful representative of business in Washington, "took the bill into his own hands and put it through in record time." It was officially chartered in January 1903, a year after it began its first Southern program, yet the most influential work of the GEB was yet to come.<sup>^</sup><sup>^</sup>

Gates took into his own bosom the worries about Rockefeller's still-growing fortune. "I have lived with this

great fortune of yours daily for fifteen years," he wrote his employer in 1905. "To it, its increase and its uses, I have given every thought, until it has become a part of myself, almost as if it were my own."<sup>50</sup>

Recognizing the mortality that all persons must face, Gates laid out the alternatives to Rockefeller. "One is that you and your children, while living, shall make final and complete disposition of this great trust, for the good of mankind. The other is that you shall not do this, but shall hand it down to unborn generations, for them to decide how this trust shall finally be discharged for humanity."

For Gates, embracing Carnegie's "Gospel" and fearing the "powerful tendencies to social demoralization" of inherited wealth, the first alternative was the only moral one. He proposed that Rockefeller decide what major lines of work for "human progress" he wanted to serve and who should administer the funds and then create an endowment "to provide funds in perpetuity, under competent management, with proper provision for succession."

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Gates then suggested several funds for different areas of work—"a great fund for the promotion of a system of higher education in the United States, ... a fund for the promotion of medical research throughout the world, ... a fund for the promotion of the fine arts," and more. "These funds should be so large that to become a trustee of one of them is to make a man at once a public character." The work of these enterprises should employ "the best talent of the entire human race."

Junior followed this letter with his own enthusiastic endorsement of Gates' proposal. Within two weeks Rockefeller, Sr., gave the General Education Board \$10 million and followed that a year and a half later with another \$32 million. By 1921 Rockefeller's gifts to the GEB totaled more than \$129 million. Larger and more numerous endowments began to flow to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, fathered by Gates from his employer's fortune in 1901, and soon discussions began that led from Gates' 1905 letter to the creation of a much larger and broader fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, to which Senior gave more than \$182 million.

It is not so clear that Gates' only concern in recommending that Rockefeller himself dispose of his fortune was the danger of inherited wealth to its possessors. The notoriety that accrued to Rockefeller and other robber barons along with their profits cast a long shadow on the future of wealth, and the Rockefellers felt the chill as much as anyone. Henry Demarest Lloyd, in *Wealth Against Commonwealth* published in 1894, and Ida Tarbell, in a magazine series ending in 1904, had tarred and feathered the Standard Oil Trust. The Socialist movement was winning the support of working people throughout the country for its program to do away with private capital altogether. And perhaps most frightening of all, upstanding middle-class Americans, professionals and businessmen with values very much like the Rockefellers themselves, were joining the call for Progressive reforms. The Progressive movement, while firmly supporting capitalism, was calling for constraints on the accumulation and concentration of private wealth. Roosevelt was elected in 1904 on a platform that at least threatened to break up monopolies.

"I trembled," Gates later recalled, "as I witnessed the unreasoning popular resentment at Mr. Rockefeller's riches, to the mass of the people a national menace." Gates might believe that Rockefeller "used his wealth always and only in the public

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interest," that his fortune had been created by economies rather than by theft, that his wide investments in industry and finance constituted "vast permanent contributions to the wealth and well-being of the American people." But few people in the country not connected with 26 Broadway agreed with him.<sup>51</sup>

In the fall of 1906 the federal government launched a major suit to break up the Standard Oil Trust, and that litigation began its five-year journey through the courts. After Rockefeller gave the GEB \$32 million in 1907 to finance Gates' plan to create "a system of higher education in the United States," many respectable newspapers and magazines suggested that "the purpose of Mr. Rockefeller's large gift is to head off, if possible, the teaching of socialism, which is on the increase ... in a number of universities." Also in 1907 federal Judge Kenesaw

Mountain Landis hit the Indiana Standard company with a \$29 million fine for obtaining rebates on its railroad shipments, one of the "economies" in which Gates and Rockefeller took pride. "No oriental despot . . . has committed such arbitrary acts of confiscation as the present administration is responsible for under the forms of law," Gates railed.<sup>^^</sup>

The Landis fine was quashed on appeal, but the spectre of dissolution and ultimately of confiscation pursued the Rockefellers and many of their class. The Rockefeller philanthropies created new programs and with them new images for the benefactors. The programs appealed to their perceptions of social needs, but in their perceptions, society's needs were indistinguishable from their own. Colleges were expanded and organized into a system of higher education to produce the professionals and managers the corporate society badly needed, but the GEB for two decades consciously followed Gates' directive to strengthen private rather than state universities because private institutions, controlled by men and women like themselves, would be more likely to "direct popular opinion into right channels."<sup>\*^</sup> The medical philanthropies, outwardly appearing only to fill an obvious social need, helped to develop a medical care system peculiarly suited to the needs of corporate capitalism, as we will see in subsequent chapters.

## SOCIAL MANAGERS FOR A CORPORATE SOCIETY

It is clear that John D. Rockefeller, Sr., was neither the initiator nor the strategist in his philanthropies. In the early years

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it was Gates and then Gates and Junior whose ideas and strategies shaped the elder Rockefeller's fortune into purposeful programs. In part the insight they showed concerning the needs of capitalist society may be attributed to their individual personalities, shaped by their own life experiences. But they were also representative of the new class of men (and very few women at that time) who provided the managerial skills needed by corporate industry and finance. Unlike the individualistic entrepreneurs who built the enormous industrial and financial empires around themselves in the latter nineteenth century, these new managers were more sensitive to the smooth workings of their enterprises.

In industry, management's role was to rationalize production, to divide the productive process into "efficient" units, and simultaneously to coordinate each with the other to produce a unified organization, linked in a similarly coordinated fashion with disparate sources of investment capital and raw materials at one end of the production line and with a system of distribution and marketing at the other end. Analogous managerial roles were also developed in government bureaus and departments, then in colleges and the emerging universities. The last major area to which skilled management was directed were the social services—charity and social welfare programs, philanthropic foundations, and medicine.

The foundations were key instruments in early efforts to rationalize social services, public health, and medical care under the control of specially trained managers in those fields, and the foundations themselves became the turf of this same management class. It made little difference whether one owned a substantial share of the country's corporate wealth or whether one simply ran the factories and institutions owned by the wealthy. The actions of each group were essentially the same, and their values were quite similar. They both accepted the prevailing economic, social, and political system as given, and they sought to make the system work smoothly.

Some of these system managers used charity to try to make capitalist society, whose ideal model is a purely competitive marketplace, a less "rigid and heartless" one, as a recent proponent of this view put it. He believes that philanthropy should "provide at least some softening of the corners and relaxation of the rigid rule of self-interest."<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

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Others like Gates and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., conceived of a more strategic role for philanthropy—the transformation of social institutions. They worked to make the nation's colleges and universities into a system that would more efficiently yield technically trained and properly socialized professionals and managers for the

system. They developed new roles for professionals as managers, and they helped rationalize the institutions in which these professionals worked.

Men like the Senior Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie knew little of this work. They had understood its relevance to industry where they had been the first ones in oil and steel, respectively, to create vertically integrated corporations, owning or controlling the entire process from oil wells and iron ore mines, to transportation, refining and manufacturing, distribution, and marketing. But running a corporation is different from running a corporate society, and though they understood the need to take more control over social institutions, they did not understand how.

Carnegie, egotistical and individualistic, thought he understood. Until Andrew Carnegie began giving away libraries in the 1880s, the world had never seen such a vast fortune applied to private philanthropy. This remarkable innovation in magnitude of philanthropic wealth—due, of course, to his insatiable ambition in industry rather than to any strategic genius in philanthropy—gave him a social power so vast that it proved truly befuddling. Armed with a crude social philosophy, he set forth to civilize the lower classes and set a model of responsibility for the upper echelons of society. The society he hoped to preserve was one based explicitly on enormous disparities of wealth. And he attempted to preserve the individualism he and other Social Darwinists revered with a largely individualistic approach to social transformation. His programs represented his own personalized views, shared in varying degrees by contemporary capitalists. But Carnegie's vision was a limited one and his programs often stepped over the edge into absurdity. When Carnegie retired from the steel business in 1901, his philanthropic plans were vague and scattered. In the words of his biographer Joseph F. Wall, "For someone who had written so extensively and preached so eloquently as he on the duties of the man of wealth, it is rather surprising that he faced this task better armed with platitudes than with any concrete program of action."<sup>^</sup>

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After several years of massive spending without a real plan, Carnegie set up his foundations, and his hired managers began accomplishing what he had not. In 1905 Carnegie began to move from his individualistic method of dispersing money to a more rationalized, systematic model. Appalled by the pitiful incomes of college professors—usually not more than \$400 per year—Carnegie had meant to do something about them for some time. But it was Henry S. Pritchett, the president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who moved him to action. While visiting Carnegie at his ancient castle in the Scottish Highlands in the summer of 1904, Pritchett lamented the difficulties he had in attracting young scientists and engineers to teach at MIT. Academic salaries could not compare with those offered by private industry, and few colleges even had pension systems to provide a minimum of financial security for professors. There were more discussions the following winter, and in April 1905 Carnegie announced the creation of his college teachers pension fund with an initial endowment of \$10 million in U.S. Steel bonds. A board of trustees was selected consisting mainly of the presidents of the most elite universities and colleges in the country. Pritchett was appointed president of the new Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.<sup>\*^</sup>

Under Pritchett's guidance the new foundation set out to recast American higher education. The free pensions became the carrot-at-the-end-of-the-stick that colleges would follow down the path of reform. An applicant college or university had to have a minimum of \$200,000 endowment to qualify for the pension program. Neither state colleges nor those controlled by religious denominations were eligible. Finally, to be eligible a school had to require of its students a prescribed minimum of high school preparation prior to admission. This last requirement proved a successful attempt by the foundation to "throw its influence" in favor of a "differentiation between the secondary school and the college" in order to create "a system of schools intelligently related to each other and to the ambitions and needs of a democracy." Although only fifty-two of the original 421 applicants were eligible for the pension plan, other schools soon modeled themselves on the Carnegie system to make themselves eligible. Denominational colleges cut loose from their controlling churches to take advantage of the plan, and the foundation's rules

were changed to include state institutions. Soon virtually every high school and college in the country measured student progress in "Carnegie units." A national system of education was taking shape with the prodding of Carnegie pensions and the Carnegie Foundation as the unofficial accrediting body.^"

Almost immediately after opening the offices of the Carnegie Foundation, Pritchett began consulting with the General Education Board. His only regret, he told GEB executive secretary Wallace Buttrick, was that "I did not come to you before renting my office for it would be of great benefit to us to be located near you." Pritchett admired Gates, often asked for his advice, and tried to get Carnegie to mend his philanthropic ways. In fact the record left behind suggests that Pritchett's ideas on systematizing higher education were derived from Gates.\*\*

The leadership that attracted this following was Gates' vision of how wealth could rationalize higher education. He described a picture of the GEB, through its "moral influence" as well as its money, fostering cooperation among colleges and universities and securing economies "in administration, in teaching force and in the use of men." He hoped that such a philanthropic board, properly endowed, would "select" and "direct" the resources of higher education, much as the Standard Oil Company had transformed the "universal competitive system" that characterized the oil industry in 1870.\*^

Rockefeller was fortunate to find a man like Gates to develop "wholesale philanthropy" for him. As Junior and other officers of the Rockefeller foundations readily admitted, Gates was the source of most strategic ideas, major programs, and important policies in the foundations' first decade and a half, with Junior developing an increasingly important role. In that time there was no serious challenge raised to Gates' dominance. The board of trustees was the final authority, but other staff members knew that if they had Gates' or Junior's support, "we were on safe ground" and would have little problem winning approval from the board.'«

Gradually, however. Gates' influence declined. While the times changed and the much younger Junior became a leader of the growing image of corporate responsibility and concern. Gates' limitations became apparent. Following the 1914 massacre of striking miners and their wives and children in a Ludlow,

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Colorado, mining company controlled by the Rockefellers, Junior was held largely responsible by public opinion throughout the nation. But the posture he developed afterward, formulated by consultant W. L. Mackenzie King, made him the leading representative of the new, more benign face of industrial relations that was winning support from many corporate executives. When Junior, who had been called before a Presidential commission created to investigate such problems, claimed he thought it perfectly proper for "labor to associate itself into organized groups for the advancement of its legitimate interests," Gates criticized him for adopting a "spirit of conciliation toward those who came to him in the spirit of these Unionists." Yet it was Junior's support of company unions that was assuaging public opinion and winning the respect of other corporate leaders. Gates did not adapt himself to the changing times.^'

With Gates' leadership passing from the scene, especially following his resignation from the GEB executive committee in 1917, problems of accountability began to be raised. Trustees who had willingly followed Gates now found the foundations without comparable leadership. Other foundation officers had never demonstrated the broad and clear perspective that Gates had shown, and with Gates gone from daily participation in foundation activities, a vacuum was created. Trustees wanted to fill it by increasing their participation. Foundation officers quarreled with one another. The foundations drifted.^ ^

With Gates these problems did not arise because his carefully developed and forcefully presented proposals won immediate support. Gates never expected the trustees to play an important role in social innovation. When a trustee suggested that GEB members were appointed to throw new light on "the great problem of education in this country," Gates impatiently explained that he and Rockefeller gave an "overwhelming preponderance to business men" in composing the board "to fix the policies of this Board along the lines of successful experience." They knew, he said, that "successful business men would steer the ship along traditional Hnes and would not be

carried out of their course by any temporary breeze or even by hurricanes of sentiment."^^ The trustees were there to assure in perpetuity that Rockefeller's money would be judiciously applied to preserving the system and strengthening it, letting professional educators

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promote innovative ideas while the trustees supported only those directions which seemed desirable and whose consequences were more certain.

Though Gates ran the GEB with firm leadership and a fiery tongue during his tenure as chairman, he and Junior both wanted the other trustees to take an active interest in the foundation. Without involvement, their interest and sense of responsibility for the fortune would decrease—the very thing to be avoided. "In the remote future," Junior advised his father, "you must of necessity trust to the character and integrity of the men who come after you."^^

It was clearly just as important to encourage local communities to take "responsibility for self-help." Gates' reasons for this guiding principle were moral, tactical, and strategic. He believed in the moral precepts of self-reliance and self-discipline. He also wanted to enlist the active participation of property owners in community institutions. Although they were not as reliable as the men appointed to the Rockefeller foundations, the local ruling classes recognized, as did he, that "the right to earn and hold surplus wealth marks the dawn of civilization."^^ Gates, Junior, and Rockefeller all understood that to fund a local institution without requiring contributions and participation from local men and women of wealth would be to lessen these people's sense of responsibility for what goes on in the institution. They had a genuine concern for the preservation of their society, and its preservation required the active involvement of all those who had a stake in it.

Rockefeller's involvement with the University of Chicago is a good example of this principle in action. Rockefeller contributed \$35 million to the university during its first two decades compared with \$7 million from all other donors. He was consulted about appointments to the board of trustees and approved the initial Hst before it was finalized. But thereafter Rockefeller did not desire to control the university, as many people charged. "He prefers to rest the whole weight of the management on the shoulders of the proper officers," Gates wrote the university president on behalf of his boss in 1892. "Donors can be certain that their gifts will be preserved and made continuously and largely useful, after their own voices can no longer be heard, only in so far as they see wisdom and skill in the management, quite independently of

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themselves, now." Rockefeller's trust in the management was well founded. There is no evidence that he ever tried directly to influence the university administration to fire teachers who expressed radical views. It was University of Chicago president Harper who took the initiative to drop Professor Edward Bemis after he made a speech, following the 1894 Pullman strike, critical of the railroads. Rockefeller and Gates had merely appointed the "right" men to manage their philanthropic and financial enterprises, men who were led by values and considerations similar to their own and who could be counted on to do what was expected. In many ways, local authorities in whom Rockefeller placed his trust proved the correctness of this rule.^^

One final and important tactical reason for securing local involvement was to multiply the impact of each grant. The Rockefeller foundations required virtually all recipients to raise an amount equal to, or as much as four times greater than, the grant being given by the foundation. Besides being chosen for their stabilizing influence, foundation trustees were also chosen for "the prestige and authority of their names." Andrew Carnegie, Long Island Railroad president Wilham H. Baldwin, Harvard president Charles W. Eliot, Johns Hopkins president Daniel Coit Oilman, publisher Walter Hines Page, banker Oeorge Foster Peabody, and other prestigious individuals were appointed to the OEB to "secure general public approval and active and powerful public cooperation" for OEB programs. In gaining public support and in requiring matching contributions from others, the foundation was able to multiply the impact of the grant programs. By 1925 the OEB had given \$60 million to the endowments of colleges and universities in the United States for certain reforms they deemed desirable, and they had, by their matching-grant policy, required the institutions to raise an additional \$140 million to support



these OEB-required changes. By 1928 the Oeneral Education Board had contributed some \$50 million to medical schools for very specific reforms,\* generating total resources estimated at ten times that amount for those same reforms.^ ^

Thus the Rockefeller philanthropies, under the guidance of skilled managers, developed self-consciously strategic programs

\*This program is described in detail in Chapter 4.

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to transform higher education and medical care, among other social institutions. The thrust of their programs was to systematize and rationalize these institutions to make them better serve the needs of corporate capitalism.

The rise of industrial capitalism brought with it many new needs that provided opportunities for groups besides the capitalist class. The work process was reshaped to reduce the costs and increase management's control of production. Scientists developed the basic understandings on which technological innovation was based. Engineers adapted scientific knowledge to production, designing new methods and machines that reduced the need for skilled workers, increased productivity, and generally gave management more complete control of the entire production process.

A new stratum of managers and professionals emerged in the society's class structure to design and organize production and the institutions that reproduce and control capitalist society's social relations. Colleges and universities became the training and research agencies, producing knowledge and reproducing engineers, scientists, lawyers, teachers, and other technicians and social managers. Managers were well paid for their efforts, and some, like Gates, were incorporated into the highest circles of the owning class. But despite their separation from predominant ownership, managers of corporations and institutions alike "still think and act as though the firm belonged to them," as William Appleman WiUiams put it.^\* Their commitments to the prevailing economic system are complete.

Out of an earlier mercantilist philanthropy grew a new corporate philanthropy, intended not to ameliorate the lot of industrial capitalism's victims but to shape and guide social institutions. Foundations were, and still are, important ramparts through which private wealth, acting through creative and loyal managers, influences and often controls universities, medical schools, and other "public" institutions. The Rockefeller foundations established directions and strategies that other foundations followed. Gates led the Rockefeller philanthropies with his "imagination, daring, and an intuitive sense of educational strategy."^ ^ Pritchett, following Gates' leadership, made Carnegie's foundation an engine of social transformation. In many

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ways, Gates, Pritchett, and other managers understood the workings and needs of capitaHsm better than the ostensible owners of the system did.

Broad social transformations, however, require the participation of more than the ruling class. While the working class suffered greatly from the capitalist reorganization of production, some groups attached themselves to the ascending corporate class and benefited greatly. New occupations, like engineering and social work, and old ones, like law and medicine, gained elevated professional status in return for becoming the new order's managers of production or social relations. Medicine's almost fantastic transformation from rank ignominy to Olympian heights of status exemplifies the powerful consequences of an interest group adapting itself to the needs of the dominant class.

# Scientific Medicine I: Ideology of

## Professional Uplift

Throughout the nineteenth century the medical profession was almost constantly frustrated in its attempts to gain public confidence and raise professional incomes and status. Despite varied attempts to alter the competitive market economy for medical services, the dominant portion of the profession continued to be plagued by competition within its own ranks and from those beyond the pale of orthodoxy.

In this chapter we will see how the rise of science in the latter part of the century provided the solution that medical reformers had previously sought in vain. Physicians and biological researchers consciously applied the methods and principles of scientific research to problems of disease, though even in the 1860s their work had little support and played a very minor role within the medical profession. At about midcentury, however, leading reformers among elite medical practitioners took up "scientific medicine" as the ideology of professional reform and uplift. Medical science gradually provided practitioners with a somewhat more effective medical practice, enabling them to increase their credibility with the public and reduce economic competition within the profession. "Scientific medicine" was adopted as the unifying theory that enabled the dominant profession to develop strong political organization and to win political and financial

support from wealthy people in society. Perhaps most fundamental, the association of medicine with science won support from the new technical, professional, and managerial groups associated with the growth of corporate capitalism.

## AMERICAN MEDICINE IN THE 1800s

In 1800, nearly all American physicians received their training as apprentices at the side of a practicing physician, assisting with simple techniques and mixing medications. In the eighteenth century, medical lectures had not been widely available in this country, so young men from the upper class went abroad for their medical education, especially to Scotland. The handful of Edinburgh-trained physicians in America developed very successful practices, with the wealthiest citydwellers for their clients and lucrative consulting practices besides. By 1800 only about a hundred American physicians had attended medical courses at Edinburgh, and only three American medical programs—at Pennsylvania, Harvard, and Dartmouth—were offering lectures to supplement the apprenticeship. The graduates of these institutions formed a medical elite, and together with the rank-and-file apprentice-trained physicians they formed the self-styled "regular" profession.^

But most Americans were probably not getting their medical care from "regular" physicians. Whereas most of the populace lived in the countryside or small towns, most apprentice-trained doctors and the few medical school graduates lived in the large towns and cities. In Virginia, by 1800 the eleven largest towns had only 3 percent of the state's population, yet 25 percent of all physicians known to have practiced in Virginia during the eighteenth century lived in those eleven towns.^

Most Americans, when they were sick, consulted herbal practitioners. These empirical healers had no formal training but apprenticed mainly with other herbalists. Some of the herbalists were midwives, and others were men and women who had experimented with herbs and were known for their abilities to heal the sick. Lay healers were distributed throughout the countryside. They seldom relied on healing for their entire support and charged little for their services.^ Regular physicians were increasingly plying their art on a full-time basis and charging

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substantially higher fees, often supported by medical societies' publishing "fee bills" to place a floor under competing doctors' charges.

The maldistribution of regular physicians and their higher fees were only two reasons why the regular profession was widely unpopular in the first half of the nineteenth century. Very much related to their social, economic, and geographic separation from the populace, the orthodox profession's clinical practice was greatly feared by much of the population. Not only did medicine offer little hope for curing disease, but the heroic methods used by regular doctors were unpleasant and often lethal. The lancet was the physician's indispensable tool for nearly every ailment. Benjamin Rush, the most prominent physician in America from the Revolution through Jefferson's time, urged bleeding for yellow fever "not only in cases where the pulse was full and quick, but where it was slow and tense."\* When bleeding was not recommended, and even when it was, calomel (chloride of mercury), jalap, or another purgative was administered. The violent vomiting and purging that resulted were more detested than even the pus-filled blisters induced as another form of therapy. After attacking the body as well as the disease with bleeding, blistering, and purging, the physician administered an arsenic tonic to restore the weakened patient's vigor.

Against this distasteful and frequently disastrous treatment by regular physicians, the empirical herbahsts' mild treatments were pleasanter and at the very least did not interfere with natural rates of recovery. Their mild emetics and stimulants seemed closer to nature than the regulars' profuse blood-letting and harsh purges.^

Still experiencing competition from the empirically grounded herbalists, regular physicians resorted to ever larger doses of their therapies through the first half of the nineteenth century. Believing that any desired change in a patient's gross symptoms was to the good and seeking to distinguish their art from lay practice,

regular doctors bled their patients more profusely and doubled and tripled their doses of calomel and jalap. The profession's heroic therapy became the focus of increasingly bitter and widespread attacks. Thomas Jefferson called them an "inexperienced and presumptuous band of medical tyros let loose upon the world." By the middle of the century cholera victims were given an even chance of being done in by the disease or by

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the doctor. The profession's fearsome and futile methods reduced public confidence in regular doctors to an all-time low.<sup>^</sup>

Leading local and regional members of the profession tried many methods of increasing public confidence in doctors and reducing competition. At various times during the nineteenth century, they sought licensing laws, formed new medical sects, started medical schools and issued diplomas, organized state and national medical societies, demanded medical school reforms, and adopted codes of ethics, all with little or no improvement in technical effectiveness, credibility with the public, or their own status and fortunes.

## LICENSING

Despite the antipathy of much of the populace, regular doctors at the end of the eighteenth century persuaded fellow gentlemen in the state legislatures to pass medical licensing laws to restrict or prohibit practice by herbal healers. Licensure bestowed exclusively on regular physicians the right to sue for fees. The legally sanctioned economic privilege did not provide the regular profession with an economic monopoly, but it did set them apart from and above lay healers and most other Americans.

In addition to the public's lack of confidence in regular physicians' clinical methods, populists in the Jacksonian era articulated their opposition to any form of class privilege. By 1850 medical licensing laws were repealed in nearly every state through the efforts of the Popular Health Movement, a loose populist movement of lay healers, herbal practitioners, artisans, farmers, and working people who fought to remove the legal sanctions that protected the privileged position of physicians."

## MEDICAL SECTS AND MEDICAL SCHOOLS

The humiliated profession was badly divided. Many physicians, critical of heroic medicine, were attracted to the pleasanter new professional sects, such as homeopathy and eclecticism, that were growing in popularity. These sects built their materia medica around herbal drugs or some distinctive technology or procedure, each adding elements that enabled them to claim the necessity of extended study in their field.

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Homeopathy, as formulated by its founder Samuel Hahnemann (a German physician), was based on the widely accepted medical view that the symptoms of a disease constitute the disease itself and, a corollary, that eliminating the symptoms constitutes a cure. Hahnemann found that some drugs produced the same symptoms in a healthy person (that is, caused the "illness") that they eliminated in a sick person (whom they "cured"). For example, he found that cinchona bark, at the time used to relieve the symptoms of malaria, produced malarial symptoms in a healthy person. From these observations he developed what he called the law of similia similibus curantur—or "like cures like." Hahnemann also maintained that diluting the dosage of a drug down to one ten-thousandth or one-millionth of its original strength increased the drug's potency.\*

Competition between the sects and the lack of decisive public support for any one of them, left none of the sects in a position to establish control through licensing. The orthodox profession and the other sects turned to medical education and degrees as a method of recruiting and certifying new physicians in their ranks and uplifting the profession. Medical schools proliferated throughout the country, and some 400 were founded between 1800 and 1900.<sup>^</sup> Local physicians organized schools to supplement their practices with lecture fees paid by medical students and, through their graduates, to fatten their incomes with increased consultations. At a time when physicians considered \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year a good income, the average part-time medical school faculty member earned more than \$5,000 annually from student fees and private practice while more

enterprising and popular colleagues earned at least \$10,000.<sup>^</sup><sup>o</sup> Like hundreds of general colleges started before the Civil War by rival Protestant sects and political groups, many medical schools were started by rival medical sects to improve their competitive position vis-a-vis other sects. The orthodox profession controlled by far the largest number of schools.<sup>^^</sup>

The proliferation of medical schools in the 1800s assured the dominance of diploma-carrying regular doctors over lay healers and physicians of other sects. By 1860 regular physicians outnumbered other sectarian doctors ten to one.<sup>^^</sup> The inexpensive and widely dispersed medical colleges encouraged large numbers of young men and some women to attempt careers in medicine.

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Graduates, many of them from yeoman farming and working-class families, filled the cities, towns, and countryside of America. Elite\* regular physicians resented the competition within the dominant sect, but they saved their most venomous denunciations for competing sects. The sectarian doctor was "the greatest foe to the medical profession," argued the dean of the Tulane University medical department, because he was "an obstacle to the financial success of the respectable medical practitioner."<sup>^^</sup>

As the number of physicians increased, organized doctors became increasingly worried. It was clear to all physicians that producing a lot of doctors would lower rather than raise the status and incomes of the profession as a whole. Lacking the public support necessary for effective medical licensing laws and still smarting from the humiliating defeat of medical licensing earlier in the century, the reformers turned to medical school reform. Raising medical school standards and thereby reducing their enrollment, medical reformers believed, would simultaneously win public confidence in medical practice and reduce the output of doctors. The problem they faced was how to control the independent, proprietary medical schools.

## MEDICAL SOCIETIES

Local and state medical societies, representing the practitioners, fought with medical schools in their areas. In 1847 the societies banded together to form the American Medical Association (AMA). At the founding convention, leading practitioners passed resolutions that sought to raise requirements for preliminary education prior to admission to medical school. So few Americans had the requisite education at the time that enforcement of these standards, according to historian William Rothstein, "would have closed down practically every medical school in the country, and would have depleted the ranks of formally educated physicians in a few years."<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

From its founding onward, the AMA was hostile to the interests of proprietary medical colleges and their faculties. The practitioners wanted to reduce the output of medical schools in

\*The term "elite" refers somewhat loosely to physicians who, by their reputations for clinical or research techniques, by income, and/or by organizational leadership positions, had achieved prominence within the profession.

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order to reduce competition within the profession, while the medical faculties opposed any attempted reforms because of their interests in maximizing their lecture fees and future consulting fees. Unfortunately for the practitioners, the reform leadership mistakenly thought that including medical schools in the new national organization would allow the medical societies to control them. This strategic mistake immobilized the AMA as the vanguard of practitioners' interests until 1874 when medical college voting rights in the association were abolished.

## CODES OF ETHICS

The AMA's attacks on medical education and especially on other medical sects were supported by a "code of ethics" adopted at their first convention. With the code the AMA hoped to deny the ability of patients to judge

their physicians or disagreements between physicians, to encourage attacks on "irregular" doctors and "quacks," and generally to reduce competition among regular physicians. At the same time that the AMA complained about the low standards of medical education, the association commanded patients to trust their doctors. "The obedience of a patient to the prescriptions of his doctor should be prompt and implicit," the code of ethics instructed. The patient "should never permit his own crude opinions as to their fitness to influence his attention to them."^^

These efforts to bolster the profession's falling economic status and power were legitimized on moral and ethical grounds by the medical societies. Since the colonial period, violation of "ethical codes" had been grounds for ostracizing nonconforming physicians. Codes were used not only against other sects and lay healers but against members of the regular profession who consulted with homeopaths and eclectics and even against the developing medical specialties which offered competition to the general practitioners. The AMA code failed to win public support or stamp out competition although the medical societies' attacks on members for code violations intimidated some doctors and increased intraprofessional antagonisms.'

In short, conflicts between practitioners and medical faculties, generalists and specialists, and "regular" physicians and other sects kept the profession badly divided throughout the nineteenth century. The incoherent strategy of the regular profession's

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leadership and the weak structure of their organization, the AMA, left the field with no sect able to secure undisputed control over the competitive marketplace.

Medical school output continued unabated. By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States averaged one physician to every 568 people. ^^ Compared with prevailing ratios in European countries (Germany, with one doctor to 2,000 population, was the favorite example), the United States was "overcrowded" with physicians. Physicians' incomes ran the gamut from poor (\$200 a year) to wealthy (as much as \$30,000 a year for a small number of elite doctors). The chief complaints of the most prominent professional spokesmen by the end of the century were the "surplus" of doctors, "low" incomes, and the low social status of the profession.

Three underlying problems plagued medical reformers who tried to heal these wounds. First, physicians lacked an agreed upon technical basis for settling among themselves disputes between the sects. Without public consensus on technical criteria of effectiveness and validity, all sects competed for business in the medical market. But without sufficient public confidence in the validity of any one sect, no sect could win a monopoly of medical practice and thereby eliminate the competition.

Second, their lack of a technical basis for establishing public support put them all in a weak position to establish political control over entry into medical practice. Earlier efforts to use licensing ended in humiliating defeat for the regular profession because of organized opposition from other sects and a distrustful public.

Third, within at least the dominant sect different economic interests divided those who practiced medicine from those who trained future practitioners. Practitioners wanted to restrict the supply of physicians, and part-time faculty wanted to preserve institutions that were lucrative additions to their own practices.

## INCOMPLETE PROFESSIONALIZATION

Without actually having public confidence in their technical ability, physicians throughout the nineteenth century and earlier had nevertheless proclaimed norms to support their authority over the lay public. Demands for recognition of the regular profession's technical competence (in which they undoubtedly

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believed) were the means of legitimating their claims to professional authority. The recognition of that authority, however, was seen as necessary to the profession's controlling the economic conditions of its work. By proclaiming a set of norms and values associated with their work, regular physicians hoped to end the

competitive market for medical services and to win a regulated market for themselves.

The basis of professional status and power is still debated by sociologists, who traditionally have posed a set of essential features that are supposed to distinguish professions from the general run of occupations. In 1928, A. M. Carr-Saunders, the father of the sociology of professions, defined a profession as an occupation: (1) based on specialized intellectual training or study, (2) providing a skilled service to others, and (3) in return for a fee or salary. ^^ Thirty years later, William Goode stressed prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge and a collectivity or service orientation as the "core characteristics" of professions.^^ The list of formal characteristics of professions has been extended by other sociologists to include a systematic body of theory, acceptance of the authority of the professional by all who come to him or her as clients, protection of the professional's authority by the political community, a code of ethics to regulate professional relations, and a set of values, norms and symbols that build solidarity among the profession's members.^°

However, lists of formal characteristics turn out to be fairly useless in the real world in distinguishing professions from other occupations. Even worse, they tend to gloss over the political and economic dynamics that are essential to the process of professionalization, making professional status and power appear an inevitable and desirable feature of modern societies. In reality, as Eliot Freidson has observed, any occupation wishing professional status creates a systematic body of theory, claims exclusive authority of its practitioners, adopts a code of ethics, tries to build solidarity among its practitioners around formal values, norms, and symbols, and otherwise cloaks itself with the well-known medallions of professions to support its claims. "If there is no systematic body of theory," Freidson argues, "it is created for the purpose of being able to say there is."^^

The commitment to service, argues Harold Wilensky, is "the pivot around which the moral claim to professional status

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revolves."" Like many such professional norms, there remains no clear evidence that a service orientation is in fact strong and widespread among professionals. In reviewing the sociological literature that makes such claims, Freidson has concluded: "the blunt fact is that discussions of professions assume or assert by definition and without supporting empirical evidence that 'service orientation' is especially common among professionals."^^

Indeed, many academic social scientists have been beguiled by their own (usually self-serving) beliefs in "science" and "expertise" into confusing professional norms with the reality of professional practice and motivation. Codes of ethics were accepted by some sociologists as genuine efforts by the profession to guarantee competence and honor. Carr-Saunders believed that "if the foundations of the codes were better understood, they would not be generally regarded with hostility."^^

More recently, some sociologists have approached professional norms more critically. Everett Hughes, for example, argues that the widespread acceptance of norms, like the professional "should have almost complete control over what he does for the client" and "only the professional can say when his colleague makes a mistake," have been used by professionals to hide mistakes. ^^

What much of the sociological literature ignores in examining the process of professionalization is how essential political power is in gaining and maintaining professional status. As the history of the medical profession in the nineteenth century demonstrates, without sufficient political power the profession remained unable to control its economic and working conditions. Initial efforts at licensure were defeated by a popular movement of lay healers and other Jacksonian-era populists. Attempts to use medical education as a strategy of reform were thwarted by the organized profession's lack of control over medical schools. The leading reformers organized a national professional association, but the medical school faculties were beyond the reach of the American Medical Association. Ethical codes, articulating prevailing professional norms, failed to win public support for the profession and could not overcome intraprofessional competition. What the medical reformers sought was the power to enforce the instruments of professionalism that assure high incomes, social status, and continued prosperity for the profession.

Freidson is adamant in this interpretation of professionalization. "Not training as such, but only the issue of autonomy and control over training granted the occupation by an elite or public persuaded of its importance seems to be able to distinguish clearly among occupations," he argues. "And the process determining the outcome is essentially political and social rather than technical in character—a process in which power and persuasive rhetoric are of greater importance than the objective character of knowledge, training, and work." The nature of training, as well as the service ideal, ethical code, and body of abstract theory constitute a profession's "ideology, a deliberate rhetoric in a political process of lobbying, public relations, and other forms of persuasion to attain a desirable end—full control over its work."<sup>^</sup>

The history of medicine, from this perspective, can be understood as a political process in which the specific reforms— however much they may increase the technical effectiveness of physicians—are also instruments of persuasion and symbols of legitimacy. The goals of reform leaders were to gain collective control for the profession over its working conditions and economics in order to establish a hierarchy of authority and power among healing occupations, to assure that physicians reign firmly at the top of the hierarchy, and to assure them as high incomes as possible in any given historical period.

Support for such interests would have to come from outside the profession. While efforts were made to win the credibility of "the public," leaders of the profession did not see their struggle as a grassroots campaign. Seeking a social and economic position above the majority of the population, they could at best hope for the acquiescence of the people. Active support would have to come from the already higher social classes. In the eighteenth century, practitioners had turned to gentlemen farmers and wealthy merchants in the state legislatures to protect their interests. In the nineteenth century a political rebellion from below demonstrated the insufficiency of merely legislated sanctions. Furthermore, political power increasingly rested in a new class in society—those capitalists who controlled great manufacturing and marketing enterprises. These were the men who, for good or bad, were changing the face of the nation. Around their enterprises grew the great cities. From their factories

steel and machines that enabled the same men to unify the country commercially with railroads, products, and even armies. From their corporations came the demand for foreign resources and the products for foreign markets that were rapidly making America a world power. This was the ascending class in America at the end of the nineteenth century. Those groups in society who connected with their enterprises or their interests could rise with them.

It became clear to increasing numbers of physicians that the complete professionalization of medicine could come only when they developed an ideology and a practice that was consistent with the ideas and interests of socially and politically dominant groups in the society. It was desirable that everyone in society recognize their technical effectiveness, but it was essential that the classes and groups associated with the ascending social order believe in their efficacy. The development and increasing dominance of scientific medicine within the profession provided the virtually perfect material and ideological basis for an alliance of the medical profession with other professionals (mainly engineers and lawyers), corporate managers, and all ranks of the capitalist class. The medical profession discovered an ideology that was compatible with the world view of, and politically and economically useful to, the capitalist class and the emerging managerial and professional stratum.

## MEDICINE AS SCIENCE

Medical research was flourishing in Germany and France during the nineteenth century, and even in the United States biologists and physicians made their contributions. In 1818 Valentine Mott, a New York physician, was among the first to attempt major arterial surgery near the heart. Other Americans also attempted new surgical procedures while some physicians contributed new understandings to internal medicine. The New York Academy of Medicine, founded in 1847, and the Pathological Society in Philadelphia promoted discussion of medical research and science.<sup>^</sup>

Few of the findings and developments in medical research were directly useful in improving medical practice. It



is doubtful that many patients survived the new surgical techniques in the

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absence of aseptic practices. While the differentiation of diseases made observation more precise, the usual heroic treatments were just as likely to do the patient in as before.

Beginning in midcentury, medical research in Europe started producing more applicable findings. In 1858 Rudolf Virchow unveiled a general concept of disease based on the cellular structure of the body. From the findings of cell physiology, anatomy, and pathology, Pasteur, Koch, and other medical researchers developed new concepts and applications of bacteriology.<sup>^^</sup> In the last quarter of the century specialized German laboratories began to replace the more generalist botanists, biologists, and physicians. Their findings gave medical science a more reductionist and technically more effective turn.

Changes in American medical practice reflected the gradual acceptance of recent developments in Europe. Starting in the 1870s, American physicians flocked to the famous laboratories of German and Austrian universities for a year or more of study—if they were ambitious and could afford the expense of travel and living abroad without income. Between 1870 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, about 15,000 American physicians studied medicine in Germany alone.<sup>^^</sup>

While most American doctors who studied in Europe returned to develop lucrative private practices, a few put their main energies into developing laboratory medical sciences in the United States. Carl Ludwig's physiology institute in Leipzig produced several luminaries of America's infant medical science. Henry Pickering Bowditch, one of Ludwig's pupils, founded the country's first experimental physiology department at Harvard University in 1871. William Henry Welch, another of Ludwig's pupils, started America's first pathology laboratory at Bellevue Hospital medical school in 1878.<sup>^o</sup>

Fifteen years later American medical science came of age with the opening of the Johns Hopkins medical school, modeled after the German university medical schools with a heavy emphasis on research in the basic medical sciences. At Hopkins, for the first time in the United States, the laboratory science faculty were to be full-time teachers and researchers, supported by salaries adequate to live on and unencumbered by the distractions of private practice. Virtually the entire Hopkins faculty was trained in Germany. Hopkins, and then Harvard, Yale, and Pennsylv-

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nia, became the indigenous producers of scientific medical faculty. As scientific medicine gained increasing acceptance, medical schools throughout the country vied for Hopkins graduates to add gleam to their lackluster local faculties.

Medical practice likewise began to change with the increased acceptance of medical science. Physicians began introducing into their work those scientific medical practices that were uncomplicated and acceptable to their patients and at least seemed effective in reducing suffering and ameliorating the symptoms of disease.<sup>^^</sup> The use of bleeding and calomel began falling off in the 1870s though many physicians continued to use them on a more limited basis as late as the 1920s.

Physicians who had the money to take an extra year's study in Europe were able to build more prestigious practices than the ordinary American-trained doctor. Usually they would take themselves out of direct competition with the majority of physicians by specializing in gynecology, surgery, ophthalmology, or one of the other new branches of medicine. They quickly formed a new elite in the profession, with reputations that brought the middle and wealthy classes to their doors.<sup>^^</sup>

As the base of scientific medicine spread out to include more practitioners, the peaks of elite physicians rose even higher. They quickly found that "scientific medicine" not only seemed more effective than the heroics of old, it was also far more profitable.

Professional leaders had tried numerous ways of uplifting the profession during the nineteenth century, but none of them had succeeded. It was medical science that provided the key to professional reform. Medical research yielded new tools of understanding and held out the hope of more effective techniques of prevention and treatment than orthodox medicine offered. But scientific medicine was utilized by professional leaders beyond merely increasing the technical effectiveness of their practice. It became as well the ideology of professionalization, used to gain support from the dominant groups associated with industrial capitalism, to cement the complete dominance of health care by the medical profession, and to raise the incomes and status of physicians as a group.

The obvious advantages to the profession notwithstanding, scientific medicine contained within it the seeds of ultimate destruction for the profession. The remainder of this chapter and

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the rest of this study will examine how this dialectic played itself out—the benefits the profession derived from the adoption of scientific medicine, the contradictions inherent in this historical process that began to undermine the position of the medical profession, and the new forces and contradictions that are now emerging.

### GAINING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

Scientific medicine solved two broad problems the medical profession faced in the late nineteenth century: lack of public confidence in the effectiveness of their service and competition within the medical profession.

Rather than inspiring awe and confidence, the regular medical profession had won the public's fear and ridicule. To win public support and patronage was the major task set by professional leaders during the nineteenth century. The AMA's code of ethics sought to assure the lay public that doctors were ethical and competent and attempted to command the public to place their confidence in regular physicians. But no claims or commands were effective in the absence of convincing personal experience or persuasive propaganda that could substitute for personal experience.

While homeopathy, eclecticism, and osteopathy did not have as much public patronage as the regular profession, they had a strong base of support. They had a following, including many wealthy and influential people, who believed in their absolute effectiveness. Their practitioners were widely believed to be, relatively at least, as effective as and certainly less dangerous than most regular doctors. And they did not demand a monopoly of practice, a wise and practical political course given the disreputable condition of the profession and the almost universal reliance on home remedies for most minor acute and chronic ailments.

For the regular profession to win in their competition with the other medical sects, they needed first of all to gain absolutely and relatively in public confidence. Scientific medicine provided the basis for a concerted and successful campaign to win this public support. The effort never depended on the common folk of America. The campaign for acceptance of scientific medicine was aimed at the wealthy and powerful in society and the new

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"middle" classes. Both of these groups owed their privileged positions to the intensive industrialization that began with the Civil War. They were particularly attracted to a kind of medicine that shared their industrial culture, their values, their world outlook, and their ideologies. "Scientific management" analyzed the labor process in production into its constituent elements and reorganized them under management's control and for management's profits." In a similar vein, "scientific medicine" analyzed the body into its parts, subjected the parts to the control of scientific doctors, and thereby kept the bodies healthier and more efficient.

The germ theory of disease was especially attractive to both the regular profession and these new industrial and corporate elites. The germ theory emphasized discrete, specific, and external causal agents of disease. It gave encouragement to the idea of specific therapies to cure specific pathological conditions.^^ The payoff for the medical practitioners would be increased technical effectiveness and improved standing in the eyes of the public. That was not the foremost concern of either influential capitalists or medical researchers. These men

(there were hardly any women in their ranks) saw in scientific medicine the possibility of preventing diseases through technological intervention that identified the offending organism and its means of contagion, and attacked the organism at the source or used it to create an immune response within the body. Disease was thus seen as an engineering problem, surmountable with sufficient talent and resources. To the medical researchers the germ theory and discoveries in bacteriology confirmed the value of their craft and assured increased support for their work. For capitalists, bacteriological investigations and the application of the findings opened the possibility of reducing the toll that disease took of society's resources.

The forerunners of scientific medicine, along with practitioners in other medical sects, had already greatly improved the classification of diseases. European physicians had long dominated the field of medical discovery although now and then an American made a contribution. In 1836 William Gerhardt, a physician at Philadelphia Hospital, clinically differentiated typhoid from typhus. But there was little practical benefit from such classifications when no therapy was forthcoming to cure the

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condition. Bleeding, purging, blistering, and tonics were the standard bag of tricks available to regular physicians. Homeopaths and eclectics, along with lay healers, used a wide assortment of herbs, and many claimed high rates of cures. By the 1880s the regular profession still had only a few drugs that were widely recognized to be curative: Quinine could save the victim of malaria, mercury could cure syphilis, and digitalis was often successful in treating heart disorders.^^

The field of disease prevention was somewhat more successful. In the eighteenth century wealthy Europeans and Americans adopted the practice of variolation, a somewhat dangerous inoculation against smallpox used in the East for centuries. In 1798 Edward Jenner introduced inoculation with cowpox that was effective and somewhat safer than variolation.^^

By the time of the third major cholera epidemic in the United States in 1866, the notion that cholera was a specific and contagious disease had finally won near-unanimous support from the medical profession, joining the already strong popular belief in its contagion. Medical support for cleaning up the accumulated filth in American cities won the backing of the business class and helped prevent the spread of cholera and the high death rates that had characterized the previous epidemics. The success of this preventive effort was credited to sanitary engineering and brought increased support for sanitation programs.^^

Despite the scant results, leading practitioners and the new class of medical researchers sustained their faith in the eventual success of medical science. The major breakthroughs came from Europe in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1883 and 1884 Edwin Klebs and Friedrich Loeffler isolated the germ involved in diphtheria, a major killer in the nineteenth century. Emil von Behring and his coworkers produced a diphtheria antitoxin in the early 1890s, which although of little significance in reducing the death toll from diphtheria, supported the belief that deadly epidemics that were borne with resignation could in fact be prevented by understanding their causes.^®

These and other discoveries in the 1880s and 1890s were lauded around the world. Medical science benefited with new respect and political and financial support. Success indeed paved the road to fortune. The German government provided laboratories for Robert Koch and Paul Ehrlich. In France popular

contributions supplied a research institute for Louis Pasteur. In England and Japan private philanthropy paid for new medical research institutes.

In the United States private and government support for medical research lagged behind these other countries. Veterinary medicine received help from the Department of Agriculture to stem epidemics that were wiping out livestock investments. Government officials and philanthropists saw little value in researching human disease, as Richard Shryock notes, "partly because of the nature of medical science prior to 1885 and partly because human welfare brought no direct financial return. Hogs did."- Discoveries of the 1880s and 1890s, however, held out the promise that as science uncovered the germs that caused the great pestilences, further investigation would provide not only cures but methods for guarding against infection and for preventing the spread of

epidemics. These expectations guided the lives of medical researchers, but they were also spreading rapidly among the middle classes and those who owned and managed America's new industrial empires.

Medical science rescued the medical profession, in particular the practitioners, from the widespread lack of confidence in their effectiveness. These few but significant discoveries, mostly in bacteriology, increased the belief in the technical effectiveness of the profession as a whole. The actual impact of progress against infectious disease was not nearly so great as its proponents claimed. The arsenal of effective weapons against diseases did not increase spectacularly, but its limited advances did provide the basis for persuading the public that scientific medicine reflected on all members of the profession—practitioners as well as researchers—who had been trained in the theory and methods of scientific medical research.

The slight increase in the effectiveness of the new medicine was embellished in propaganda by the profession and the media. From the 1890s on, popular magazines and newspapers joined the leading medical journals in praising the accomplishments and prophesying the future success of medical science. Articles ridiculing "Popular Medical Fallacies" and extolling the "Triumphs of Modern Medicine" and the "War Against Disease" appeared in many popular magazines as well as professional journals. They portrayed medicine as an "exact science" and the

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physician as an inquiring and skeptical scientist who avoids "hasty jumping at conclusions or too-ready dependence upon formulae." ^°

The increased credibility of medicine was important in convincing the public that doctors with scientific medical training had an expertise worth paying for. If doctors could do little more for a patient than an herbal healer or a patent medicine, there was not much point in people wasting their money on expensive doctors' fees. Scientific medicine wrapped the modern doctor in an aura of therapeutic effectiveness, and the limited improvements gave support to that aura. Furthermore, the technical expertise associated with scientific medicine helped to mystify the role and work of the physician more effectively than did older notions of the etiology of disease, unpleasant remedies, and transparent codes of "ethics." Scientific medicine thereby supported the claims of the profession for a monopoly of control over all healing methods. These benefits provided the basis for other gains and were effective in undermining sectarian medicine, midwifery, and other forms of competition.

In seeking to destroy its competitors' hold on the medical marketplace, the regular profession proffered scientific medicine as more effective than "medicine as art" and "sectarian medicine" and "quacks." Not only was it more effective, it was, as each sect before it had claimed, the only truly valid medicine. Scientific medicine was held up as the nonsectarian medical theory and practice—the only one based not on dogma but on verifiable truths." ^ As the only valid medicine, it should be granted a monopoly of practice; "none but men and women who have an interest in scientific medicine" should be allowed to join any county medical society.\* ^ But making the claim was not equivalent to having it accepted.

Folk medicine was still widely used in the United States, particularly in the countryside but also in the cities. Every family had its traditional remedies that were part of the family lore, believed in and passed down from generation to generation. Generally, the young woman's own family's remedies prevailed in her new family." ^ ^ Some of the remedies undoubtedly acted as placebos, but many were certainly effective in providing relief and even cures. Such traditions were effective obstacles to the acceptance of scientific medicine.

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Most practitioners were also very pragmatic, developing a repertoire of skills and utilizing some new techniques that seemed effective and readily accepted by their patients. These country and city doctors were not much impressed by medical science. They saw it as a tool enabling them to heal more effectively when its claims worked and when its techniques did not require a whole new method of practice.

Robert Pusey, a Kentucky country doctor who practiced in the 1870s and 1880s, used the clinical thermometer, assorted specula, and a syringe. Occasionally, he used the stethoscope although he preferred to place his ear to

the patient's chest. With this simple method he could hear and distinguish most conditions as well as his scientifically trained son could with a stethoscope. He used judgments based on practice, read up on cases in the more concrete and concise medical texts, and distrusted journal articles. The older Dr. Pusey vaguely accepted bacteriology, especially as an explanation for infections causing pus but not generally for infectious diseases. He sometimes used calomel, made and sold his own drugs, did not use patent medicines, and often prescribed strichnine and arsenic as tonics. He practiced surgery in which he used chloroform as an anesthetic and asepsis when the knowledge and techniques became available to him."^"\*

The propaganda for scientific medicine was sure to be effective, but it would take time. John Shaw Billings, a leading medical reformer in the late nineteenth century, observed that doctors whose practices were not interfered with by quacks were indifferent to reforms while those in need of larger practices were more indignant about such competitors. Many quacks had effected cures where science had failed, Billings admitted. But rather than giving him pause in his rejection of any but scientific medical methods, Billings saw it as a tactical problem of persuading the American public that it is in their interests to suppress quackery. The remarkable achievements of medical science were being brought to the public, but, Billings cautioned, "it is necessary to go slowly and allow such evidence to accumulate.""^

The reformers believed scientific medicine would increase the technical effectiveness of the medical profession, and they promoted it as the only effective therapeutic method. Through propaganda they hoped to undermine public resistance to its use,

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increase the public demand for it, and thereby force practitioners to join the new "nonsectarian" medicine.

## REDUCING COMPETITION

As scientific medicine won public and professional credibility, it also solved the second and fundamentally more serious problem facing the profession in the nineteenth century: competition.

Plagued by competition among numerous medical sects, between practitioners and medical school faculty, and within the "crowded" ranks of regular practitioners themselves, the profession was saved from its own internal competitive struggles by the triumph of scientific medicine. First, the technical requirements of teaching scientific medicine provided several advantages for the profession's elite. Second, scientific medicine forged new unity in the interests of elite practitioners and medical school faculty. Third, as it gained increasingly widespread legitimacy, scientific medicine undermined the major medical sects. It thereby imposed unity among those sects in their subordination to the dominant forces in the profession. And, finally, medical science made possible specialization which was largely a response to competition within medicine. The overall impact of scientific medicine within the profession was to legitimize control by elite practitioners and medical school faculty.

## TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS OF SCIENTIFIC MEDICAL EDUCATION

## THE NEW ACADEMICIANS

Making the doctor the purveyor of a broad range of skills within a context of mystified knowledge required extensive and esoteric training. Nineteenth-century medical reformers envisioned the physician as a bedside scientist. Medical practitioners must think and talk like scientists. They must be trained in anatomy, physiology, bacteriology, pathology, pharmacology, and the physical sciences. They must think of health and disease, not holistically as general relationships between bodily systems or

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between the person and the environment, but in terms of the micro-concepts of physiology and anatomy, bacteriology and cell pathology. These sciences and their reductionist concepts were gradually recognized in the late nineteenth century as the foundations of medical education.

The medical schools of the last century were staffed by practitioners, often very talented men who were heavy on the "art" but less expert on the "science." Increasingly, laboratory science courses were taken away from the local practitioner and given to physicians with special training in the laboratory sciences. The new academic physicians who preferred these laboratory sciences over medical practice prospered with the increased demand for more faculty with training in these fields. Those who could afford to spend a year or two studying in Germany or Austria after medical school had secure, if not lucrative, academic careers awaiting them on their return.

In 1893 Johns Hopkins became the first medical school in the United States to employ these laboratory men full time and to pay them salaries that enabled them to devote all their time and energy to research and teaching. The new full-time organization of the laboratory science faculty was hailed as a great advance for American medical education. It was quickly adopted by other elite schools and gradually became the norm emulated by the average institution. Although the laboratory science faculty gave up private practice incomes of \$10,000 a year and more in return for salaries of \$3,000 or \$4,000, there were more than enough people to fill the demand."

Some of the giants of medical reform, like William H. Welch, loathed medical practice, feared the insecurity of competition among private practitioners, and longed for the opportunity to pursue medical research without the diversions of maintaining a private clientele. Before going off to Europe in 1876 to advance his medical science skills, Welch confided to his sister his fears of trying to set up "by hook or by crook a patronage of some kind." Echoing the pipe dreams of most medical graduates, Welch observed, "it is much finer to hold a chair in a medical college, and to have a salary . . . and to be sought by patients instead of seeking them." His studies abroad would give him a jump on his competitors: "If by absorbing a little German lore I can get a hittle

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start of a few thousand rivals and thereby reduce my competitors to a few hundred more or less, it is a good point to tally."\*

The emphasis on scientific medicine thus created unprecedented job opportunities for physicians qua medical scientists. As positions expanded, a core of professionals developed who were more dedicated than ever to seeing medicine as science completely displace medicine as art. These medical scientists' interests and identification were bound up solely with medical schools and not with private practice. As the vanguard of the profession's successful strategy and the recipients of millions of dollars in capital investments in medical research and education, the new medical academicians became the symbol of the new profession. In the 1890s, for the first time in the United States, the medical profession came to exalt the scientist over the practitioner."\*\* Despite their more modest, middle-class incomes, the scientists were the new elite in the profession.

The faculty at the most prestigious schools won their professional reputations on the basis of their research contributions to their fields. The best reputations attracted the best students and the wealthiest patients. In 1903 Wilham Halsted, a famous surgeon on the Johns Hopkins faculty, got \$10,000 for an appendectomy, and his colleague, Howard Kelly, charged \$20,000 for a major operation."\*^ Unlike the old-time medical faculties, whose material interests were enhanced by student fees and referrals from their many former students, the new academicians' material interests were tied to the promotion of medical science. It was in their interests to raise the standards of medical schools and to make scientific medicine the only acceptable theory and practice.

The predominant type of medical school, owned by the faculty and existing on student fees, prospered as long as enrollments could be kept high and costs low. However, practitioners would prosper only if the production of physicians was decreased, reducing competition within the profession. This conflict of economic interests had divided elite practitioners from medical school faculty throughout the nineteenth century. The ascendancy of scientific medicine transformed the old conflict into the basis for an alliance between the scientific medical faculties and elite practitioners.

The interests of the new medical scientists in medical education were thus tied to the dominance of scientific medicine and not to large numbers of students or even large numbers of medical schools. They joined the elite practitioners as the leaders of reform in the profession. Together they gained control of the AMA at the turn of the century and completely reorganized it to make the AMA the profession's instrument of political action as we know it today and to use it and the leading medical schools to alter completely the technical, economic, and social forces within the medical profession.

The technical requirements of developing and teaching scientific medicine sharpened the distinction between laboratory science faculty and practitioners, provided new and expanding job opportunities for medical scientists, and hoisted them to elite and influential positions within the profession. At the same time these developments provided the basis for the alliance between these new elite faculty and the elite practitioners, giving them sufficient power to take control of the profession and transform it.

"fewer and better"

As a professional consensus developed around scientific medicine, the scientific medical faculty and elite practitioners agreed upon "objective" criteria for judging medical schools. The needs of scientific medical education were pretty clear cut. If students are to be trained as medical scientists, they need to be taught the biological and physical sciences, and they need to be taught how to apply the principles they learn in those sciences to the diseases of real people. Experience as well as common sense argued for laboratory courses in the sciences and hospital experience for the clinical application of those sciences: Learning how is at least as important as learning about.

The technical requirements of teaching scientific medicine suggest fairly clear criteria for judging medical schools. If the premise of training scientists is accepted, then any worthy medical program must have adequate laboratory facilities, clinical teaching facilities, and well-trained laboratory and clinical faculty.

While the criteria of what is "adequate" might be (and were)

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argued, the standards were set by those who secured positions of power. The AMA became the vehicle for political action within the profession and the larger society. The reformers used the technical requirements of training medical scientists to set standards and then evaluate medical schools according to those standards. With a few exceptions—Johns Hopkins the shining example among them—virtually all nineteenth-century medical colleges were weak when judged by these standards.

Unquestionably, scientific medical education was and is an expensive affair. The capital outlays for laboratories and hospital facilities were beyond the resources of most nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century medical schools. Student lecture fees could not cover the larger salaries for faculty who devoted substantial time to research and teaching, let alone the increasingly widespread full-time salaries for laboratory science faculty. No medical school could exist on student fees and at the same time provide these increasingly necessary medical science programs for their students.

In some states, students who graduated from medical colleges that did not have these programs, facilities, and personnel were barred from taking licensing examinations. Increasingly, state exams were geared to the information and perspectives provided in scientifically oriented schools, and graduates of inadequately equipped schools failed their licensing exams with increasing frequency.<sup>10</sup> Since the schools were supported by students' fees and students had little incentive to attend a school that did not prepare them to pass state board exams, inadequate schools lost out in the competitive market for enrollees and their money. AMA president Charles Reed observed in 1901, "Under the pressure of legal requirements the weight falls with almost fatal force upon the small, private and poorly equipped institutions."<sup>11</sup> The technical requirements of scientific medical education thus brought about the conditions of collapse of proprietary medical schools. As Abraham Flexner later noted, "Nothing has perhaps done more to complete the discredit of commercialism than the fact that it has ceased to pay. It is but a short step from an annual deficit to the conclusion that the whole thing is wrong

anyway.'"

In Chapter 4 we will see how these conditions provided an opportunity for the AMA and capitalist foundations to transform medical education in the United States. For the moment it is

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enough to note that without sufficient capital and endowments, no medical school could survive in the era of scientific medicine. Schools collapsed and consolidated all over the country beginning in 1905, coinciding with the first year of serious activity by the AMA's new Council on Medical Education. Between 1905 and 1910, thirty schools merged and twenty-one closed down altogether." The number of medical schools declined from a high of 166 in 1904 to 133 in 1910, 104 in 1915, and hit a low of seventy-six in 1929. In the reorganization of medical schools the number of students was reduced at many institutions in order to intensify the teaching and research resources within each school. Thus the technical requirements of scientific medical education were used to close schools and decrease the production of new physicians, easing the competition within the profession and raising doctors' incomes.

Furthermore, scientific medical education "required" greater preliminary education. Students must come to medical school, it was argued, having had a full year each of college chemistry, physics, and biology.

The demands for stringent requirements of preliminary education were not new to the era of scientific medicine. In eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century England, where "physicians" were a tiny elite above surgeons and apothecaries, it was essential for physicians to be regarded as gentlemen. Because they practiced only among the wealthy, it was important to their pocketbooks to be able to mingle with the upper class. As professions developed, a liberal education became the mark of upper-class origins. "It might not make you a gentleman," W. J. Reader has observed, "but without it a gentleman you could hardly hope to be."^^ In the United States as well, a college education was the mark of a gentleman. For those who were not born into a privileged class, a college education—if it could be gotten—"rubbed the raw edge off many a country boy," giving them sufficiently proper appearances to make their way to a higher social class.^

It is not surprising then that substantial educational requirements had been declared an imperative in the mid-nineteenth century because it would assure that doctors would be gentlemen. Daniel Drake, probably the most illustrious American physician of the midcentury, criticized his colleagues' ignorance of Latin

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and Greek without which, "whatever may be his genius and professional skill," a physician would still necessarily "appear defective and uncultivated."^^ This persistent concern was echoed by Johns Hopkins' famous Dr. Welch who wrote in 1906, "The social position of the medical man and his influence on the community depend to a considerable extent upon his preliminary education and general culture."^

Elite physicians frequently complained of the "coarse and common fiber" of much of the profession.^ Even a minority of the profession lacking upper-class polish cheapened the status of all doctors. The proliferation of inexpensive proprietary schools enabled a young man to live at home while attending medical school and thereby made medicine a ladder that some farm boys, artisans, and shop clerks could climb to middle-class status and income. It was not only the inadequacies in the training provided in commercial colleges that angered the elite reformers; it was also whom they brought into the profession. Frank Billings, in his presidential address to the AM A in 1903, disdained "these sundown institutions" that provided evening classes and enabled "the clerk, the streetcar conductor, the janitor and others employed during the day to earn a degree."^^

Prior to the acceptance of scientific medicine, attempts to lengthen the medical school term of instruction and raise preliminary education requirements were met with charges of elitism. "There is an aristocratic feature in this movement" by medical societies, Martyn Paine, a faculty member in the New York University medical department, asserted in 1846. "It is oppression towards the poor, for the sake of crippHng the medical colleges."^^



Even after the turn of the century some education leaders warned against excluding the poor from medicine. In 1908, W. L. Bryan, president of Indiana University, criticized the Association of American Medical Colleges' proposed requirement of two years attendance at a liberal arts college prior to admission. Raising the entrance requirement would "shui out of the medical schools thousands of men who are not ignorant nor incompetent" but who would be excluded because "poverty and other hard conditions" have kept them from the colleges.^ ^ The profession's objective was exactly that—to exclude the poorer classes from their ranks.

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Scientific medicine provided an "objective" basis for requiring a lengthy preliminary education. If students had to come prepared with college courses in physics, chemistry, and biology, then there could be no argument against lengthening the requirements. The standard-setting schools raised their requirements from completion of high school to two years of liberal arts college and finally to a bachelor's degree. From the moment it opened its doors in 1893, Johns Hopkins medical school led the way by requiring a bachelor's degree for admission and four years of instruction for its prestigious M.D. degree. When Harvard instituted the baccalaureate requirement in 1901, its entering medical class dropped from an all-time high of 198 students the previous year to sixty-seven.^ ^ The preliminary education requirements were several steps ahead of the great majority of American youth and enabled the profession to draw its recruits from the "better" classes.

Was this an unintended outcome of the technical "requirements" of medical education, or was it the desired outcome for which scientific medicine provided the mere rationale? Given the goals of professional leaders throughout the nineteenth century—to reduce the numbers of physicians and to raise the social-class standing of the profession—it seems that scientific medicine provided the credible rationale that all previous generations of medical elites had sought in vain. The preHminary requirement would weed out the economically and socially "unfit." Some reformers justified this selectivity by the cost of scientific medical education. "It does not pay to give a \$5,000 education to a \$5 boy," intoned John Shaw Billings in 1886 while helping to organize Johns Hopkins medical training." But most elite physicians simply desired to eliminate "professional degeneracy," as Dr. Inez Philbrick put it at the turn of the century. Philbrick, a successful practitioner in Lincoln, Nebraska, rallied his colleagues to "Let fewer and better be our motto.""^ ^

In sum, the technical requirements of scientific medical education gave new career opportunities to physicians as medical scientists, creating a whole new position of full-time researcher and teacher and a new group of elite medical school faculty who combined a material interest in medical schools with a commitment to promoting scientific medicine. At the same time these technical requirements of the new medical education provided

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the standards and the rationale for reducing the output of medical schools and raising the social class base of the entire profession.

## "NONSECTARIAN" MEDICINE UNDERMINES THE SECTS

As scientific medicine gained increasingly wide acceptance, it undermined the other medical sects. Scientific medicine thereby forged unity within the profession by enabling the AMA to subordinate the sects to its own standards of medical education and practice. Overwhelmed by the increased claims of technical effectiveness for scientific medicine, the major sects began incorporating scientific medicine into their own doctrines and practice.

Homeopathy, the most formidable competitor of the regular professions in the nineteenth century, gradually dropped its unique features. Most homeopathic physicians in America broke with pure homeopathic theory in the mid-nineteenth century, taking what they believed valid from regular medicine and discarding especially heroic therapies. They purged the purists from their ranks by founding homeopathic medical colleges, previously believed unnecessary, and requiring training in general medical skills, including surgery.^ ^ Most midcentury American homeopaths were regular physicians unhappy with the ineffectiveness of regular medicine and with its growing unpopularity. In 1849, 1,000 Ohio physicians and lay people, disaffected by the

orthodox profession's inability to relieve suffering during the cholera epidemic, organized a homeopathic society in Cincinnati.^^

The direct competition that homeopathy posed to regular physicians led to campaigns to exclude them from medical societies and hospital privileges. The Massachusetts Medical Society began excluding homeopaths in 1860. By the 1870s there was a general attack, led by the AMA, on homeopathy and other "exclusive systems of medicine." Physicians violated the AMA code of ethics if they consulted with sectarian physicians or female or black doctors. In the 1870s the restrictions against female physicians were rescinded under pressure from the growing women's rights movement, and the exclusion of blacks was relaxed though local medical societies and hospitals openly

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continued their racist practices. But the attacks on "irregular" doctors continued throughout the century.^"

By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly all homeopaths were using both regular and homeopathic drugs. Leading homeopaths announced that the great majority of homeopathic doctors did not believe in infinitesimal doses, rejected the universality of the law of "like cures like," and generally used drugs like regular physicians. Homeopaths also became interested in clinical specialties. In 1899 the American Institute of Homeopathy redefined a homeopathic physician as "one who adds to his knowledge of medicine a special knowledge of homeopathic therapeutics."^® Homeopathy, as well as other sects, were being overcome by the competition from scientific medicine.

Nonetheless, the continued popularity of homeopathy and eclectic medicine and the incomplete acceptance of scientific medicine made it difficult for regular professional leaders to win exclusive licensing privileges in the states. With the convergence in practice and education of homeopaths, eclectics, and regular physicians, it was possible to assure the dominance of scientific training and politically necessary to ignore, for the moment, the sectarian separations. Only through the combined efforts of the regular and "irregular" profession could laws be secured to restrict medical practice to scientifically trained physicians. The profession's leaders around the country agreed with William Osier, the most eminent American physician of his day, who advised the Maryland state medical society in 1891, "if we wish legislation for the protection of the public, we have got to ask for it together, not singly."^^ And together they asked.

Beginning in the 1870s, state legislatures established medical licensing examination boards. In 1873 Texas passed the first modern medical practice act, a morale-boosting victory to the profession that offset the bitter memories of the Jacksonian era's repeal of licensure. The Illinois Board of Health, the state's licensing agency, was a model for the nation. Beginning in 1880, it began to host American and Canadian medical schools according to qualitative criteria set by the Association of American Medical Colleges, an organization of elite, scientifically oriented institutions. ^°

Nonregular doctors participated in some way in medical licensing in at least thirty-three of the forty-five states that had

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enacted licensing laws by 1900. Physicians from at least two sects served on the same licensing boards in twenty states.^' By cooperating in licensure, the nonregular profession won inclusion among the respectable. With scientific medicine gaining ground every year, it appeared to the leaders of homeopathy that they had nothing to lose and everything to gain from their association with the regular profession. The president of the AMA even acknowledged in 1901 that "with broadened and increasingly uniform curricula" it made little sense to argue that competing sects did not share the profession's competence.'-

The reform leaders in the regular profession won the biggest rewards. By cooperating with the nonregular sects, they won licensing laws that recognized scientifically oriented reforms as the only valid basis of medical education. In a short time they secured complete control of licensing and the resources for medical education reform. Whether these elite professionals foresaw their ultimate gain from cooperating with the homeopaths

and eclectics or they were guided by expedience undiluted by strategy, the cooperative licensing efforts hastened the elimination of sectarianism amid the growing chorus of support for scientific medicine.

By 1903 the AMA adopted the strategy explicitly. At its annual convention the delegates voted to eliminate the decades-old exclusion of physicians who were trained as homeopaths or eclectics but chose not to "designate" themselves as such."<sup>^</sup> Two years earlier AMA president Charles Reed had drawn attention to the good effects of allowing all licensed physicians into state medical societies. By ending its exclusionary policy, he said, the New York society had reduced the registration of sectarian physicians by "nearly ninety percent."""\*

Scientific medicine was perhaps more effective than homeopathy and eclecticism in treating some diseases for which it had developed cures, but it was not, particularly at the turn of the century, the panacea it was believed to be. The reformers' overly optimistic assessment is shared by many contemporary medical historians. WiUiam Rothstein, for example, maintains that "sects could survive in medicine only so long as medically valid therapies constituted a smnU part of the therapies used by physicians. Once medically valid therapies became the dominant

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part of medical practice, medical sectarianism declined markedly.""<sup>^</sup>

In reality the number of medically effective therapies had not increased significantly in the first few years of this century, the period when sectarianism declined in medicine."<sup>^</sup> Rather the campaign to win acceptance for scientific medicine struck a responsive cultural chord among the new technical and managerial groups associated with industrial capitalism and with the media they controlled. The campaign established a popular belief in the broad effectiveness of scientific medicine and, together with political action by elite medical reformers, undermined the medical sects that competed with the regular profession.

## SPECIALIZATION: LESS COMPETITION FOR THE ELITE

Advances in medical science during the late nineteenth century rapidly developed the technical basis for some physicians to offer highly specialized expertise not available from the ordinary practitioner. Medical advances were presumably usable by any physician, but in reality only those who studied a particular area developed the expertise to apply techniques and inventions. The ophthalmoscope, invented by Helmholtz in 1851, required considerable study and practice to know what to look for on the other side of the cornea. Anesthetics, antisepsis, and asepsis made surgery a relatively safer procedure, but the masters of surgical techniques were those who devoted their entire practice to it.

The very existence of medical specialization rested upon a reductionist analysis of the body and disease. Its concrete development was made possible by advances in medical science. Nevertheless, specialization among practitioners was encouraged by economic competition within the profession and grew to take advantage of the new market for more technical, seemingly, more scientific medical services.

With dissatisfaction rampant among more ambitious members of the profession, some 15,000 American physicians studied medicine in Germany alone. They returned to reap the benefits of their advanced training and confidence to specialize in some branch of clinical medicine.""<sup>^</sup> Successful specialists soon earned

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more than twice as much as the better-off general practitioners."\* Elite, scientifically oriented physicians saw specialization as a solution for themselves in the competitive medical market.

The demand for specialists grew with the urban upper middle class. Patients whose own social position was based on the growth of technology and industrialization sought out physicians whose practice suggested the same world view. Gynecological theory viewed most female disease as being rooted in or associated with uterine problems. As Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English have amply demonstrated, Victorian femininity itself was associated with invahdism and physical and emotional frailty. Women of the "better" classes were defined as

sick in order to support their role as social ornamentation, demonstrating the financial and social success of their husbands and distinguishing them from lower-class women who were expected to work and were considered sickening."<sup>^</sup>

Gynecological surgeons preyed upon the supposedly delicate nature of upper middle-class women and the terrible consequences of having a "tipped" uterus or sexual appetite. Hysterectomies, ovariectomies, and cliteridectomies were prescribed for these and other female maladies. Some gynecologists, like Horatio Bigelow writing in the AMA Journal in 1885, favored a "conservative" approach over too rash use of the knife or mechanical devices. He believed that better results could be obtained "by attention to every detail of life, even the most insignificant, for the aggregation of the little things go to the making of the big ones, and also, by attention to psychical conditions and reactions."<sup>\*o</sup> Such attention, of course, required daily visits from the doctor.

Gynecologists tailored their medical theories to the prevailing notions of the place of women in society and thereby developed a new and lucrative medical market. Upper-class women became the objects of knife-wielding gynecological surgeons or the invalided captives of overly "attentive" gynecological practitioners. From the early 1890s abdominal and pelvic surgery seemed the profession's own Gold Rush, and surgeons were, in the words of the AMA Journal, "as restless and ambitious a throng as ever fought for fame upon the battlefield."<sup>\*\*</sup>

General practitioners obviously suffered to the extent that their patients went to specialists with complaints the GPs

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formerly treated. From the 1850s onward, the GP-dominated medical societies attacked what they viewed as unfair competition. In 1874 the AMA's judicial council ruled that specialists could advertise only that their practices were "limited to diseases peculiar to women" or "diseases of the eye and ear." Such restrictions on specialists denied the claims of scientific leaders that specialism was based on greater expertise not available to the general practitioner. Moreover, few physicians at that time could completely limit their practices to specialties since specialization was not yet widely enough accepted.<sup>\*^</sup>

Conditions soon changed, at least in large and medium-size cities. Specialists promoted the medical sciences through their own societies. Following a rebuff by the AMA, which named a committee of medically conservative professionals instead of distinguished medical scientists to host the 1887 International Medical Congress, specialists and other medical scientists formed the Association of American Physicians. In 1888 all national specialty societies formed an alliance outside the AMA in the American Congress of Physicians and Surgeons. In the last years of the nineteenth century, as scientific medicine increased and the economic base of specialism grew more secure, membership in scientific societies increased—particularly in Eastern cities where medical centers were beginning to dominate medicine—while membership in the AMA languished.<sup>\*^</sup>

Medical specialty societies were intended not only to promote development of the specialty but also to gain acceptance of the specialists by general practitioners. Even though they were competitors, specialists relied heavily on referrals from other physicians for much of their practice. Generalists had to be induced to refer their difficult cases to other physicians. To encourage referrals, many, if not most specialists, gave a portion of their fee to the doctor who made the referral.<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Fee-splitting became a widespread practice to control competition and gain acceptance of specialists by GPs.

Fee-splitting, however, was a private tool of individuals used to soften competitive relations among themselves. For fee-splitting to be used collectively by the organized profession would require an open admission of its existence and legitimacy within the profession. That would have been worse than the competition that fee-splitting was attempting to regulate because it was a

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purely commercial arrangement that undercut professional claims of expertise and privilege. It thereby reduced public confidence in physicians and further weakened the social and political position of the profession. Fee-

splitting could not resolve conflicting interests between specialists and GPs at the national level.

Ultimately, the development of specialties and subspecialties has indeed reduced overall competition within the medical profession. The ratio of primary care physicians has fallen from more than 170 per 100,000 population in 1900 to less than sixty per 100,000 today.<sup>^^</sup> But the division of physician labor into specialties created intraprofessional problems, pitting general practitioner against specialist. The decline in primary care physicians has eased the problem somewhat, but it was still a serious split in the ranks at the turn of the century and an obstacle to the efforts of the scientifically oriented elite practitioners and medical faculty who led the reform movement.

New levels of accreditation of specialists emerged in the twentieth century. The American College of Surgeons was charged with being elitist and un-American for its efforts to restrict surgery to specially licensed physicians and to accredited hospitals. In 1912 Franklin Martin's public relations tour for the College of Surgeons was interrupted with heckling by hostile GPs. The college fellows were accused either of degrading the profession by forming "a glorified surgical union, along labor lines" or of establishing a new oligarchy, "an exclusive Four Hundred in the profession."<sup>^^</sup>

The reform leadership gathering in the wings of the AMA included many leading specialists, but they saw the importance of putting the interests of the profession as a whole at the forefront of their campaign. After failing in 1898, they succeeded in 1901 and 1902 in their efforts to reorganize the AMA into a more effective national organization. Their strategy included the delicate issue of unifying the competing specialists and general practitioners and bringing the specialists into the profession's main political arm—the AMA.

## GAINS AND LOSSES

Scientific medicine was clearly an effective doctrine for the reform and uplift of the medical profession. It increased the

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technical effectiveness of doctors, providing a basis for increasing public confidence in the profession. The need for research and the teaching of medical sciences created a whole new category of academic medicine. It united the interests of these academic physicians, who sought total victory for scientific medical schools over less adequate ones, with the interests of elite practitioners, who wanted to reduce production of and competition among doctors in order to raise their incomes and status. The requirements of scientific medical education strained the resources of "commercial" medical education to the breaking point, closing down many medical schools and reducing the production of physicians. It also provided the rationale for requiring extensive preliminary education of medical school applicants, forcing the poorer classes out of medicine and thereby raising the social class base of the profession. Furthermore, scientific medicine undermined sectarian medicine, uniting most of the divided profession under the banner of "nonsectarian" scientific medicine. Finally, it provided a basis for further decreasing competition within the profession through the development of specialization. Thus, scientific medicine helped complete the professionalization of medicine.

These gains to the medical profession were accompanied by some losses. Some of the losses were borne by less powerful members of the profession. The gains of specialists, the new elite among practitioners, were the losses of the general practitioners. Scientific medicine provided the profession's scientific elite with the means of securing its position and taking complete control.

While society benefited from more effective techniques against infectious diseases, people lost the benefits of traditional techniques and became dependent on technological medicine. The propaganda of the reform-minded elite sold scientific medicine as the last word on matters of health and disease. Through their campaign, the medical profession excluded herbal methods of prevention and therapy that are only now regaining popularity. They also narrowed the scope of medical inquiry to reductionist concepts, all but ignoring the social and economic contexts of health and disease.

The doctor was portrayed as omniscient and his skill as all-powerful. Patients, accepting the profession's claims

and wanting something for their money, began to expect their doctors

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to provide remedies for their suffering. Not wanting to discourage this profitable attitude, most physicians believed that, in the words of a late nineteenth-century physician, "he fails of his duty and his privilege who neglects to do something for the patient."<sup>\*</sup> However, even this lucrative attribution of physician omniscience was a double-edged sword. Armed with assurances of the near-infallibility of medical science, patients demanded compensation when they were maimed by the therapies or mistakes of scientific doctors. The number of malpractice suits from 1900 to 1915 exceeded the number of suits during the entire nineteenth century.<sup>\*\*</sup>

Naturally, the most oppressed groups in society suffered the most from the complete professionalization of medicine made possible by scientific medicine. The poorer classes in general and ethnic and racial minorities in particular have suffered doubly— by being excluded from entering the profession and by losing medical care that was indigenous to their communities and accessible to them. By the early 1900s people who could afford specialists increasingly relied on them, often by-passing the general practitioner altogether. The poor filled the waiting rooms and examining tables of teaching hospitals to become the teaching and research material for interns, residents, and specialists. The nation's wage earners, excluded from charity clinics by means tests and often unable to afford private specialists' fees, became the bread-and-butter clients of the nonelite general practitioners.<sup>\*</sup> Following the largely successful doctors' campaigns to rid the country of midwives, working-class and rural women and men lost the services that helped maintain the integrity of their famines during the disruption of childbirth and found themselves having to pay the higher fees of physicians and the cost of a hospital bed.<sup>o</sup> Women suffered from unnecessary surgery and suffocating attention from gynecologists. They, like the working class and racial minorities in general, were also excluded from becoming doctors.

The fewer physicians competing for consumers' dollars, the higher physicians' incomes rose and the fewer doctors who practiced in working-class and poor sections of the cities and in the countryside. The middle class became the main source of income for the majority of the profession. As Morris Fishbein, editor of the *AMA Journal*, complacently observed in 1927, "The

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physician of the future will deal largely with this group. From them most of the physicians, who are themselves of the middle class, will derive their incomes."<sup>^</sup>

The dynamics that lifted white middle-class and upper-class male physicians to the top of a hierarchy were not based on conspiracies or conscious deceptions. Physicians acted in their collective self-interest. While the different interest groups within the profession often clashed, their conflicts were gradually overwhelmed by the growing belief that all who embraced scientific medicine would benefit. Old-time homeopaths and eclectics, of course, fell by the wayside, and proprietors of crassly commercial medical schools lost their lucrative businesses. But most physicians could relate to the purposes of the reform campaign— more respect for their skills, higher social status, more money— and to the necessary means of achieving them. Undoubtedly conspiracies and conscious deceptions occurred along the way (we will see some examples in Chapter 4), but even the reform leaders believed their mission would benefit society as well as the medical profession. Nevertheless, it strains the imagination to conclude that the complete professionalization of medicine served the interests of more than a small minority of the population.

The technical limitations of nineteenth-century medicine were replaced by technical narrowness in the twentieth century; the professional pluralism, by professional monopoly controlled by elite specialists and medical academicians; the culturally diverse and widely distributed group of healers, by a more fully stratified and, for many, inaccessible professional class. These were some, of society's losses that accompanied the profession's gains. The consolidation of a scientific medical profession, however, also provided important gains for the corporate class in America.

## CHAPTER

### Scientific Medicine II: The Preservation of Capital

Scientific medicine, while providing well for the medical profession, also posed a major and unresolvable contradiction for doctors. Medical science, as it developed in capitalist countries, was built up around technology. The higher the level of technology, it was believed, the more effective or, at least, salable were the services of practitioners and researchers. But the higher the level of technology, the more capital was required for medical practice as well as for research. Investments in hospital and laboratory facilities and tremendous expenses for highly specialized faculty and researchers were beyond the resources of physicians themselves.<sup>^</sup> Doctors had to turn outside the profession for capital, and in 1900 there was only one class who had such money. Wealthy capitalists were in a position to dictate terms to the profession—policies that served their own interests as much as or even more than those of the profession itself. In this chapter we will see how medical science opened the door to capitalist intervention and the ways scientific medicine served not only the needs of the medical profession but the interests of capitalism as well.

### MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL

The nineteenth-century family doctor owned a few instruments—specula, a thermometer, and a stethoscope for examinations, saws for amputations, a chest of medicines to be sold to

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their patients—a small investment indeed. But twentieth-century medicine required greater technology than any single physician could afford. Hospitals, once the institutions to which the poor were taken to die, became the workshop for the doctor. Not only did the hospital provide the doctor with fully equipped operating rooms, x-ray machines, and other diagnostic and therapeutic instruments. It also provided auxiliary personnel who would isolate patients from their families, place them under the control of technical experts, and insure that the doctor's orders were carried out. Just as the buggy carrying the doctor to the patient's house symbolized the nineteenth-century doctor-patient relationship, the patient in the doctor's moderately equipped office and then the doctor and patient in the hospital symbolized the modernized counterparts.

Large-scale development of hospitals in the 1890s followed the development of surgery as a specialized skill. The renowned surgical skills of Halsted at Johns Hopkins and of others at the Mayo Clinic provided popular support for the profession's pleas that hospitals with modern surgical facilities be built. Rosemary Stevens notes, "Most of the hospitals now in existence were founded between 1880 and 1920, and the middle class for the first time entered hospitals on a large scale." In 1873 there were only 178 hospitals in the United States. By 1909 there were 4,359 hospitals with a total bed capacity of 421,000.<sup>^</sup>

Physicians grew increasingly dependent on hospitals. By 1929, seven out of ten physicians had some kind of hospital affiliation. In New York and Chicago, the average physician, whether generalist or specialist, spent as much as 30 percent of his or her time in hospitals and clinics.<sup>^</sup> Even by the turn of the century the medical profession was growing dependent on expensive, institutionalized technology.

The capital needed for hospitals, medical education, and research was beyond the means of the profession itself. A fully equipped, medium-sized hospital was an expensive building project. Then, too, room and service charges could not reasonably be expected to pay for the annual costs of running the hospital, especially when hospitals were free-of-charge workshops for the doctor. Patients could be expected to pay a certain amount for their hospital care, but beyond a very vaguely determined limit, any additional hospital charges would reduce

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utilization and cut into the revenues of both hospital and physician. Thus, each year hospitals accumulated

deficits that had to be paid off.

Deficit financing reflected the social role of hospitals as charitable institutions. Historically, from their development as medieval refuges for the diseased poor to their more recent role of providing for the sick of all classes, hospitals have consistently reflected the class structure of the society. Fitting their position in the class structure, the rich have been expected to pay the complete costs of their own private space and attentive care. The middle classes, with less commodious facilities and fewer staff to attend to their wants, have been expected to pay their own costs but not necessarily to support all aspects of the hospital. The poor, until recently, have been expected to pay in accord with their means, and that has been very little. Their care has been categorized as charity, and, consistent with widespread notions of the importance of work and of the slothfulness of the poor, the facilities and care provided for them have been austere at their best and humiliating at their worst. Furthermore, with the association of increasing numbers of hospitals with medical schools, the poor have become the profession's research and teaching material. To complete the differentiation of class relations reflected within the hospital as well as to balance the hospital's books, the rich have been called upon to give money to the hospital to pay the costs of care given to the poor. The charitable nature of hospitals gives wealthy people an almost perfect opportunity to demonstrate their noblesse oblige within an institution that publicly reflects and thus reinforces the class structure of society.

The organization and financing of hospitals clearly provides physicians with the facilities to practice their profession and make money, and it benefits the upper-middle and upper classes by providing them with facilities consistent with their social status and opportunities to demonstrate their superior class positions through charity to the hospital. The dependence of the medical profession on the wealthy could create antagonism, but with their compatible interests in the hospital, their relationship has been symbiotic. Local wealthy men and women opened their hearts and loosened their purse strings to hospital fund raisers.

Medical research and medical education were different issues. Hospitals appealed to a local constituency whereas the new

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scientific medical schools drew their students and faculty from at least the state and more often a whole region or even the nation. Medical research was a long-term investment in developing new knowledge and technology that would serve the country as a whole rather than provide a subordinating service to the poor. Medical faculty and researchers were no longer the local physicians of distinction; their reputations were made nationally within their own ranks, or not at all. Local rich men and women could be cajoled into providing a laboratory at their nearby medical school through appeals to local pride, but these objects of charity lacked the drama of hospitals serving the poor and providing facilities for physicians known throughout the local community. Medical education and medical research involved much larger sums of money than hospital construction, and the endowments to support faculty and researchers required still larger investments out of the wealth of the local upper class.

The combination of the larger sums required, the less directly charitable and less visible functions of medical research and education, the long-term investments they represented, and the more national character of their appeal made medical education and medical research the philanthropic objects of a national wealthy class more than of those whose wealth was local in its character or size. By the 1890s a new national capitalist class overshadowed the local business and aristocratic elites.<sup>1</sup> Their wealth was derived from investments in national corporations, and their visions of what was good and necessary for society were broader than their local and lesser counterparts. Many of them gave without strategy in their benefactions, except the courting of good will, but some had strategies and interests of their own.

Just as well-connected local physicians appealed to the local pride and charitable obligations of the local upper-middle class to build a modern hospital for their community, so did academic physicians and medical scientists turn to men and women of broader wealth with appeals to the needs of society. A few illustrious centers of medical education and research were relatively well off. Charles Eliot clearly saw that the way to attract large gifts and endowments was to reform Harvard's medical school. Johns Hopkins willed a hospital and medical



school as well as a general university from his Baltimore and Ohio railroad fortune; yet more was needed and gotten from wealthy individuals to open the medical school. These cases were the exceptions.

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"Not half a dozen institutions have received any considerable sums, and very few anything at all," the AMA Journal complained in 1900. The endowments necessary to "advancing medical education and medical science" must come from outside the profession.^ As some reform leaders foresaw and feared, there was danger in dependence on philanthropy for that capital.

WELCH: A ROCKEFELLER MEDICINE MAN

William H. Welch's personal plight and eventual success are indicative of the rising star of medical research. Returning in 1878 from his pathology studies in Germany, Welch found little support in New York for devoting himself to laboratory research. Although he received mild encouragement from Francis Dela-field at the prestigious College of Physicians and Surgeons, he could not find any space in which to set up a laboratory. Finally, he turned to the lesser-rated Bellevue Hospital medical college and negotiated the use of three rooms, some kitchen tables, and twenty-five dollars in equipment. With frogs gathered from the marshes of his sister's upstate New York home, Welch began the first laboratory course in pathology given in an American medical school. He got by with fees from his six students, a partnership with another doctor preparing medical students for competitive examinations, and assisting Dr. Austin Flint, a rich and socially prominent professor of medical practice at Bellevue.^

Welch's European studies and original work brought him immediate recognition. Within a year the alumni of the College of Physicians and Surgeons contributed enough money to offer Welch a modest pathology laboratory at their alma mater, but Welch felt a commitment to Bellevue and also wanted to hold out for the security and completeness of the chair in pathology at the new Johns Hopkins medical school. Drawn by the "more academic" environment at Hopkins, relief from "the drudgery of teaching," an endowed \$4,000 a year salary and paid assistants, Welch shocked the New York medical profession and friends by giving up a future income of "at least \$20,000" for provincial Baltimore."

Welch took the position at Hopkins in 1884. Before going to Baltimore, he spent most of a year studying bacteriology in Leipzig and in Berlin with Koch. He studied bacteriology largely

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because he feared he would be left behind in the growing competition for medical discoveries.^ Welch's singular devotion to his career brought him success. Despite the adulation and social popularity he received, he isolated himself from personal intimacy with any other person, male or female.^

Welch's reputation as a researcher and organizer of research grew even before the Johns Hopkins medical school opened its doors in 1893 with Welch as its first dean. By the turn of the century, Welch's professional reputation began spilling over into lay circles. In 1901 he came to the attention of Frederick T. Gates, the grand master of the Rockefeller philanthropies. Welch was asked to help organize the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. He soon became chief adviser to the Rockefeller foundations on medical projects, assisting in important ways in funding medical education in the United States and China, in developing public health programs in the United States and around the world, in organizing and heading this country's first school of public health, and more. In 1930 his eightieth birthday was honored around the world with a live radio broadcast throughout the United States and Europe presided over by President Hoover and simultaneous celebrations in major cities in Europe and Japan.

William H. Welch was indeed a man whose life and career spanned the fortunes of medical science, from its struggling infancy to its prodigious material success. His life combined the perfect mix of ambition, talent, single-minded dedication, and opportunity to make him the ideal of academic medicine in the United States. His gregariousness and wit kept him from being the recluse that his rejection of intimate relationships might have otherwise encouraged. His considerable talent combined with his initially almost frantic ambition to give him a

competitive edge in medicine.

Nevertheless, these qualities would have yielded few rewards had the opportunities not come at the right moments. If Welch had not been born a white male into a prosperous class, he would never have had the material support he needed. If Welch had been born fifty years earlier, there would have been no support for scientific medicine. If he had been born fifty years later, he might well have been just another competent medical researcher. If Johns Hopkins medical school had not been filling its faculty

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slots when he was an ascending star in New York medical science, he might have been forced to divert energy into a lucrative private practice and lost his singular immersion in medical academia. If the Rockefeller philanthropies had not sought to develop scientific medical research, to reform medical education, and to develop public health programs, he might not have had a sufficient vehicle for his talents and might not have achieved his reputation as a world statesman and celebrity. While Welch was the right person in the right place at the right time, his spectacular career depended upon more than luck. His sex, race, and social class were crucial conditions for his success. But the development of corporate capitalism was perhaps the most important condition because it provided the ideological and cultural support for scientific medicine and the material support for his research.

It is likely that Welch would have fared well even without the Rockefellers since his reputation would have enabled him to skim off the best positions in medical science. Medical research and education as a whole, however, were helped immensely by the wealth of the Rockefeller fortune. Under the skillful direction of foundation officers, the Rockefeller wealth became the largest single source of capital for the development of medical science in the United States, the conversion of medical education to a scientific research basis, and the development of public health programs in the United States and abroad.

For the first quarter of the twentieth century the Rockefeller officers developed a definite strategy for their capital investment in medicine. That strategy sometimes supported and often opposed different interests in medicine, but such alliances and conflicts were never accidents on the part of the foundation. They were anticipated and necessary consequences of the role of modern medicine in the society, as desired and articulated from the very pinnacles of the American class structure.

Why was so much Rockefeller money—\$65 million by 1928—lavished on a single institution devoted to scientific medical research? What motivated the men at the Rockefeller philanthropy to spend so much of their energy and money on medicine? How important were their humanitarian feelings for their fellow human beings? Did they envision material benefits from their work? As capitalists and corporate managers, did they believe it would further their personal interests or their class interests? The

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self-consciousness of their pioneering effort made accessible the concerns and thinking behind the facades constructed in foundation-funded histories and authorized biographies.

## ROCKEFELLER MONEY AND MEDICAL SCIENCE: A SOCIAL INVESTMENT

On June 2, 1901, New York's newspapers hailed the founding of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The most celebrated example of private philanthropy supporting medical research, the institute began a new epoch in the United States. More than its predecessors abroad, the Rockefeller Institute would attack a broad range of diseases, seeking understandings of their biological and chemical causes, developing methods of prevention and cure, and training hundreds of researchers for medical science.

The institute began modestly with a commitment of \$20,000 a year for research grants and soon after an outright gift of \$1 million from John Davison Rockefeller. By 1928 Rockefeller gifts to the institute totaled \$65 million, an enormous sum for the period. Although the elder Rockefeller and his son are most widely known for the benefactions, it was Frederick T. Gates who formulated the strategies and initiated the investments in

medical research, medical education, and public health.

In 1915 Gates set down his memories of the origins of the institute. His anecdotal recollection stands as the widely quoted history of the origins of Rockefeller medical philanthropy.<sup>10</sup> As folklore, it conveys the process and motivations the creator of the Rockefeller Institute wished us to believe about the germination of his interest.

In his retrospective story, Gates describes how the idea for the institute came to him. As minister of the Central Baptist church in Minneapolis from 1880 to 1888, Gates had countless experiences with regular and homeopathic doctors. His visits to "hundreds of sick rooms" and his close relations with several physicians confirmed "a profound scepticism about medicine of both schools as it was currently practiced." As for homeopathic medicine, he concluded that Samuel Hahnemann, the founder, was "Httle less than a lunatic." He had little more confidence in the regular, or orthodox, school.

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Then in 1897, six years after joining Rockefeller's staff, he befriended a former member of his Minneapolis congregation who was a medical student in New York. He asked the young man to suggest a readable medical text used in the best medical schools. On his young friend's recommendation, Gates bought himself a copy of William Osier's *Principles and Practice of Medicine*, first published in 1892, and a pocket medical dictionary.

Gates took Osier's book with him to join his family vacationing in the Catskills and read through its approximately 1,000 pages of revelations about the state of medicine. Osier laid bare the limitations of current medical knowledge and practice. Gates learned that many diseases were caused by germs, only a very few of which had been identified and isolated but many of which "we might reasonably hope to discover."

When I laid down this book, I had begun to realize how woefully neglected in all civilized countries and perhaps most of all in this country, had been the scientific study of medicine. I saw very clearly also why this was true. In the first place, the instruments for investigation, the microscope, the science of chemistry, had not until recently been developed. Pasteur's germ theory of disease was ver> recent. Moreover, while other departments of science, astronomy, chemistr>% physics, etc., had been endowed very generously in colleges and universities throughout the whole civilized world, medicine, owing to the peculiar commercial organization of medical colleges, had rarely if ever, been anwhere endowed, and research and instruction alike had been left to shift for itself dependent altogether on such chance as the active practitioner might steal from his practice. It became clear to me that medicine could hardly hope to become a science until medicine should be endowed and qualified men could give themselves to uninterrupted study and investigation, on ample salary, entirely independent of practice. To this end, it seemed to me an Institute of medical research ought to be established in the United States.

In July, Gates returned to his office in the Standard Oil building with "my Osier" in hand and dictated a memorandum to Rockefeller. He laid out his conclusions about the tragic state of medicine in the United States and its immense potential. He pointed out the usefulness of the Koch Institute in Berlin and the Pasteur Institute in Paris. In support of his recommendation for

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an American institute, Gates explained to Rockefeller that Pasteur's discoveries about anthrax and diseases of fermentation "had saved for the French nation a sum in excess of the entire cost of the Franco-German War." He also insisted that an institute founded by Rockefeller would encourage other wealthy men and women to found and endow other research centers, with the total effort yielding "abundant rewards."

While the memo to Rockefeller did not result in immediate action, it did provide the coherent rationale six months later for opposing the affihation of Rush medical college with the University of Chicago, at the time Rockefeller's dearest and largest philanthropy. Rush was a respected school of the regular profession, a follower of the scientific vanguard but not among them. Gates got Rockefeller's support for a letter urging the university's administrators to abandon Rush and offering them instead a new medical center, "magnificently

endowed, devoted primarily to investigation, making practice itself an incident of investigation." For some reason, probably related to the influence in Chicago of Rush's wealthy and socially and politically prominent practitioner-faculty members, the marriage was consummated anyway. Chicago lost its chance for the proposed institute. Thus was Gates' idea for the institute born and preserved from the clutches of medical sectarianism.

Gates' proposal was carefully considered through 1899 and 1900. Gates and Rockefeller, Jr., who joined the philanthropy staff in 1897, hired Starr J. Murphy, a lawyer friend and Montclair, N.J., neighbor of Gates, to study European institutes and confer with leading medical researchers in this country. L. Emmett Holt, pediatrician to several of Senior's grandchildren and a fellow parishioner at Junior's Fifth Avenue Baptist church in New York, impressed upon Junior the broad and basic biological research that led to the recent discovery of diphtheria antitoxin. What was needed to solve other great problems in medicine, he told the younger Rockefeller, "were men and resources which could be devoted solely to the work of research."^^

Finally, in December 1900 John Rockefeller McCormick, the elder Rockefeller's three-year-old grandson, fell ill with scarlet fever. On the second day of the New Year he died. Any hesitancy the old man, a follower of homeopathy, felt about endowing

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scientific medical research was undermined when he was told by respected New York doctors that they knew little about the cause of scarlet fever and had no cure for it.^^

Gates and the Rockefellers were also concerned about competition for their proposed institute. Andrew Carnegie's rival research institute, endowed with \$10 million as the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1902, was then in the planning stages. Rockefeller, Jr., was sufficiently concerned about the competition to wring an agreement from the steel king that his institution would not enter the field of medical research. At the same time Henry Phipps was founding an institute for the study of tuberculosis in Philadelphia. Competition struck close to home when Rockefeller's daughter Edith and son-in-law Harold F. McCormick unveiled their plans for a tribute to their son, the John Rockefeller McCormick Memorial Institute for Infectious Diseases in Chicago.^^

By March 1901 Rockefeller committed himself to funding Gates' proposed institute. The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research began its work with \$20,000 a year for grants to medical researchers and soon thereafter a \$1 million gift from Rockefeller, a board of directors composed of physicians—including Holt and Welch—with training in pathology and a commitment to bacteriological research, and Dr. Simon Flexner as the executive director.

For more than two years Gates grew increasingly impatient as the "medical gentlemen" restricted themselves to supporting small research projects around the country.^^ Finally, in the fall of 1904, the board opened its first laboratories and began its own program of medical research. In November 1907 Rockefeller gave the institute an additional endowment but held back half the \$6 million requested by the directors. Finally, in October 1910, after the institute was reorganized—reducing the board of directors to a lesser role as the Board of Scientific Directors and creating a new board of trustees with Gates as chairman—Rockefeller added to the institute's endowment, providing it with the yearly income from \$6.4 million of investments. By 1920 the Rockefellers had given the institute \$23 million and by 1928 some \$65 million.^'

The institute was organized independently of any university primarily for reasons of efficiency and to avoid conflict with

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Senior's commitment to homeopathy. First, Gates and Rockefeller, Jr., wanted the institute free of any teaching pressures. The objective of the institute was to produce results in medicine in order to reduce the amount of disease in society, and it would be a diversion of resources to ask the researchers to teach.'^

Second, the handful of scientific medical schools, while nominally above medical sectarianism, were the turf of the regular profession's elite. The elder Rockefeller, a lifelong follower of homeopathy, objected to any move

that strengthened the regular profession in its conflict with homeopaths. It was undoubtedly on this basis that Rockefeller in 1898 supported Gates' objection to the alliance between the University of Chicago and Rush Medical College, a creature of the regular profession and an opponent of homeopathy. Columbia and Harvard were briefly considered as recipients of the institute, but they were elite regular medical schools. Although neither Gates nor Junior took the old man's concerns seriously, they had to avoid provoking his objections that they were merely supporting one side, the wrong side in the conflict. With the example of the independent Pasteur Institute before them, the efficiency of a purely research institute as their primary concern, and their desire to assuage Senior's hostility to regular schools. Gates and Rockefeller, Jr., agreed to exclude any university affiliation for their project. ^^

## HOMEOPATHY: THE CONFLICT SIMMERS

The conflict over homeopathy continued for some years. It is an illuminating example of the workings of the Rockefeller philanthropies, and it suggests an ideological difference between the robber barons like Senior who built up huge industrial empires and the next generation of corporate capitalists who ran the operations.

Rockefeller continued to express his concerns that within the institute and later in his philanthropies' support for medical education, his money was being used to support the regular profession at the expense of the homeopaths. "I am a homeopath-ist," he scolded his staff in 1916. "I desire that homeopaths should have fair, courteous, and liberal treatment extended to them from all medical institutions to which we contribute."^\* In

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1919, when he was considering a \$45 million gift to his General Education Board to support medical education, Rockefeller again warned his son and staff: "Homeopathic teaching should not be excluded ... it should be provided for, the same as Allopathic."•^\*

His son and his staff firmly and repeatedly explained that "scientific medicine has rendered obsolete the former distinctions between the so-called Homeopathic and the so-called regular or Allopathic schools."^^ The new medicine is free of dogma, free of values. It represents not "preconceived notions" about the world but only "ascertained facts."^^ Medical science is devoid of "medical dogma of any kind."^^

Furthermore, as the homeopaths and regular schools "are constantly drawing nearer together," a trusted adviser wrote the old man, "the discriminations which formerly were practised against homeopaths are being constantly lessened." Simon Flexner provided assurances that at the Rockefeller Institute "they make no distinction and welcome to their staff qualified men irrespective of the school in which they have been trained."^^

That John D. Rockefeller personally patronized a homeopath-ist might seem surprising. However, Rockefeller and homeopathy were both products of the nineteenth century. From the mid-nineteenth century on, homeopathy in the United States appealed primarily to the upper classes. It was safer than the heroics of regular medicine, and it was a sign of affluence and taste since it was very fashionable among the European nobility and upper class, who were aped in many ways by wealthy Americans.^^ Rockefeller, who was twenty-two at the outbreak of the Civil War, grew up believing that homeopathy was medically and socially desirable.

Furthermore, while Rockefeller used chemists and engineers in developing his Standard Oil empire, his chief assets were an unbridled ambition and an intuitive and cunning sense of opportunity and organization. He accumulated the largest fortune among all the robber barons by paying his workers as little as possible and by ruthless methods in the marketplace, extracting huge rebates from the railroads for his shipments and cutting the

\*"Allopathic" was another term for the regular, or orthodox, sect of the medical profession.

price of refined oil products to drive his competitors out of business. He did not fully share his son's and his later managers' appreciation of the importance of science in developing the base of industrial capitalism.

In his retirement and devotion to giving away his fortune, Rockefeller generally gave free reign to Gates and his son. He knew that his caution in disposing of his fortune was shared by his trusted lieutenants. Within his philanthropies he had the money but did not take the authority to establish policy. It seemed sufficient to him that his name was no longer the object of spittle, but rather gratitude. Except for occasional questions, taciturn consideration of his advisers' requests for millions of dollars, and objections to the treatment of homeopaths, Rockefeller, Sr., left the running of his philanthropies and his financial empire alike to Gates and his son.

Although Gates and Junior worked together in developing programs and prying gifts from the occasionally reluctant father. Junior himself acknowledged that "Gates was the brilliant dreamer and creator," and "I was the salesman, the go-between with father at the opportune moment."^^ Fortunately for history. Gates was a prolific writer of his ideas, leaving his thoughts in letters to Rockefeller, Sr., speeches to the various philanthropic boards, and memos to himself and his staff. Given his central role in the Rockefeller philanthropies and the importance of these philanthropies in the development of scientific medicine, it is illuminating to consider Gates' views of the role and consequences of medical science.

## SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE AND CAPITALIST GATES

Gates, the premier Rockefeller medicine man, was attracted to medical science. It was not the appeals from medical science that drew his interest or his money. He was, like most educated people of the late nineteenth century, vaguely aware of the march of progress in medicine. He knew of Pasteur and the germ theory of disease. He had read Osier and understood the potential of medical science. But he never heard of Dr. Simon Flexner or Dr. William H. Welch, and he had no contact with other medical scientists until he initiated the medical institute. Nevertheless, he did "intelligently and clearly see that there was a tremendous

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need of medical research." Whatever requests for money for medical science crossed Gates' desk, none was taken seriously until 1907, when McGill University asked for aid to replace two medical school buildings that had been destroyed by fire.^ ^

Gates was always an autonomous figure in medical philanthropy. He was moved by his own conceptions of the value of medicine and his own strategies for developing its role in American society. He was certainly influenced by medical men whom he respected, above all Simon Flexner and William Welch, but it was because their ideas and contributions conformed to his plans for the transformation of medicine. What visions did he have of the role and functions of scientific medicine?

We may grant that Gates had genuinely humanitarian motivations. His ministrations to the sick and dying in his Minneapolis parish undoubtedly evoked sympathy for their suffering. In his later years he credited medical science with standing above all other elements of history. None but medicine has "done so much to promote all the forces of civilization, to increase human happiness or to ameliorate human suffering."^ ^

Typical of Gates, his enumeration of the accomplishments of medical science places the relief of human misery after the promotion of the "forces of civilization." This is not a petty criticism, for Gates' preeminent consideration was the development and extension of Anglo-American civilization. What he understood that civilization to represent will become clear in the following pages, but in its essence "civilization" meant the values of work and disciplined living, a social life organized around productive labor and frugal consumption. "Civilization" also meant the right and indeed the responsibility of men of wealth to govern society and of industrial societies to direct economically less developed societies. In brief, "civilization" was equated in Gates' mind with industrial capitalism and imperialism.

What value did scientific medicine have for capitalism? Gates envisioned numerous material and social-political consequences flowing from medical science in a never-ending stream of support for capitalist society.

## HEALTHIER WORKERS

The material benefit of medicine is a healthier population and thus a healthier work force. What Pasteur's work

on anthrax had

done for the French cattle industry, medical science could do for the whole society. The findings of medical science were most important when applied to preventing disease. "By keeping well," Gates observed, a person "enjoys all the employments, pleasures, and financial gains of continuous health." Gates insisted from the beginning of his career to its end that "the fundamental aim of medical science ought to be not primarily the cure but primarily the prevention of disease."<sup>^\*</sup>

Gates believed that events supported his contention. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, "sanitary science and preventive medicine" had reduced sickness by half, he asserted, citing support from U.S. Census Bureau reports of mortality rates, insurance company statistics, and reports of state and local health boards.<sup>^ ^</sup> Although sickness was still a major obstacle to the full utilization of labor, the assault by the forces of science was paying off. Gates cited a report that 20 percent of the employees of large companies were home sick each day, but, he added, triumphantly, "I think that even so high a figure is far below that of the armies of [General] Washington."<sup>^°</sup>

Gates was far from a solitary figure preaching the potential of medicine for capitalists. Big business. Gates observed in 1925, sponsored preventive medical care programs on a large scale "because health is found in a variety of ways to be profitable."<sup>^</sup> Healthy workers are profitable because they are an employer's "human capital" to be utilized for production of salable goods and services. Just as the capital invested in machines needs to be protected by adequate maintenance programs, so too does human capital require maintenance and repair, a perspective long recognized in many contexts.

Southern slave owners and their physicians viewed their black slaves as a capital investment to be saved from disability or death whenever possible, lending credibility to the myth of paternalistic slavery. In a study of the role of medicine in the ante-bellum South, Walter Fisher concluded that the primary reason why slaves were provided with medical care was the tremendous economic investment they represented to slave owners.<sup>^ ^</sup> Every planter understood that "to save his capital was to save his negroes," observed Dr. Richard Arnold, an upper-class physician in Savannah. The self-interest of the slave-owning class in the preservation of its investment made Southern slavery "the only

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institution in which Interests and Humanity go hand in hand together," Dr. Arnold wryly added."

It was not only racism and slavery that facilitated "paternalistic" self-interest. The U.S. Sanitary Commission, organized in 1861 to provide medical relief to Union soldiers on Southern battlefields, was by its own account no humanitarian enterprise. Run by wealthy Easterners, the commission declared "its ultimate end is neither humanity nor charity. It is to economize for the National service the life and strength of the National soldier." Saving a soldier's life, the commission calculated, reduced the monetary cost of the war and preserved the soldier as a "producer" when he "returned to the industrial pursuits of civil life." Each soldier's life was worth "no less than one thousand dollars" to society.<sup>^" ^</sup>

With the rapid development of an industrial base in the United States during and after the Civil War, employers in many industries viewed their workers as disposable resources. Particularly with increasing mechanization in industrial production, a decreased demand for skilled workers, and an unlimited supply of desperate immigrants, the work force became a sea of men and women to be plucked up by employers as needed and later tossed out. Workers who were maimed, killed, or simply worn out by their jobs were replaced by other bodies from among the unemployed.

As the unemployed work force shrank with the outbreak of war or upswings in the economy, as labor organized to change its working conditions and pay, and as employers found that lost production because of illness and rapid turnover of their workers cost them profits, enlightened businessmen developed new attitudes toward their workers. It was not concern for the workers' needs that led to better conditions and health and welfare programs. Rather these reforms sprang from the industrial unionism and political organization of workers and

from the opposing necessity of employers to discipline the work force to the requirements of capitalist production. The firm that improved its working conditions reduced work days lost to strikes. The firm that took pains to keep its workers found increased productivity from its capital investment. The firm that offered company housing, shares of stock, and company medical care increased the dependence of the workers on the company and lessened the

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threat of unionization. And, in the early years of this century up to World War I, industries that voluntarily acted could reduce the risk of restrictive legislation demanded by the forces of Progressivism. As early as 1892, following the bloody Homestead strike, Andrew Carnegie articulated a more conciliatory policy toward his workers to prevent the loss of experienced workers, though there is little evidence that he or his company followed the policy. "It is impossible," he said, "to get new men to run successfully the complicated machinery of a modern steel plant." Labor stability became an important element in the productivity and profit strategies of modern industries. "It is good business to conserve life and health," observed John Topping of Republic Steel, for thereby "one of the most important items of economy in production is secured."

Industrialists who weathered the marketplace and emerged among the monopolistic leaders of their industry had the capital and foresight to ward off unionization and stabilize their work forces with health and welfare programs. Steel companies, railroads, oil companies, and others created complete medical care systems for their workers, hiring or contracting with physicians and providing dispensaries or hospitals.

The efforts of slave owners and the U.S. Sanitary Commission to preserve lives by curing disease were aimed at conserving human capital, the one "belonging" to an individual and the other profiting a whole class. The medical programs of individual corporations were aimed more at undermining unionization and stabilizing their own work forces, with improved health an added benefit rather than the main purpose. Thus, slave owners and industrial corporations exhibited enlightened self-interest while the upper-class sanitary commissioners demonstrated a more far-sighted plan for investing in the whole society's work force. The latter is an articulated interest of an entire class—the interest of the capitalist class in a stable and healthy work force.

Frederick T. Gates consistently articulated this larger perspective and shaped his philanthropic programs around it. He understood the importance of a healthy work force to the growth of capital and industrial output. The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, organized by Gates in 1909, sought to eradicate hookworm disease from the southern U.S. population. Charles Warden Stiles, a government zoologist, convinced Gates and

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Junior that the hookworm was "one of the most important diseases of the South" and a cause of "some of the proverbial laziness of the poorer classes of the white population." Whatever genuine pride the Rockefellers and Gates felt in relieving the suffering of thousands of Southerners, their primary incentive was clearly the increased productivity of workers freed of the endemic parasite. Gates observed that the stocks of cotton mills located in the heavily infected tidewater counties of North Carolina were worth less than mills in other counties of the state where fewer people were infected. "This is due," he explained to Rockefeller, Sr., "to the inefficiency of labor in these cotton mills, and the inefficiency in the labor is due to the infection by the hookworm which weakens the operatives." Gates calculated, "It takes, by actual count, about 25 percent more laborers to secure the same results in the counties where the infection is heavier." It also took 25 percent more houses for the workers, more machinery, and thus more capital and higher operating costs. "This is why the stocks of such mills are lower and the profits lighter."

The Rockefellers did not have any significant investment in Southern textile mills. Rather their extensive and widespread investments gave them a concern for the productivity of the entire economy. The Sanitary Commission was a logical extension of their educational programs in the South (discussed in Chapter 1), all directed ultimately to integrating the Southern economy into the national dominion of Northern capitalists.

Through the International Health Commission—the first program of the Rockefeller Foundation established in



1913—the hookworm and other public health programs were extended worldwide. None of these programs was intended to prop up specific Rockefeller investments abroad. They were directed more generally at improving the health of each country's work force to facilitate sufficient economic development to provide the United States with needed raw materials and an adequate market for this country's manufactured goods. Stacy May, an economist and a director of a Rockefeller-controlled international investment corporation, recently reaffirmed the value of such programs. "Where mass diseases are brought under control, productivity tends to increase—through increasing the percentage of adult workers as a proportion of the total population, [and]

through augmenting their strength and ambition to work," he observed.<sup>^\*</sup>

Each of these programs can be traced to Gates' and the Rockefellers' broader concern for the permanent economic and social viability of capitalist society. Gates viewed the public health in a larger capitalist class perspective than probably any other important figure in the various medical reform movements of the period. Although his articulated views on the relation between health and capitalism were more complete than other capitalists of his era, he was not alone in maintaining the importance of such programs.

The American Association for Labor Legislation, a Progressive era alliance of corporate-liberal business leaders, some labor leaders, and upper middle-class reformers, won business support for its proposal for compulsory national health insurance mainly on the basis of the self-interest of employers. "Illness as well as injury occasion a large economic waste to the company as well as to the employees on account of lost time, idle machinery, and ineffective work," reported Howell Cheney of the Cheney Brothers' Silk Mills. "It is to the direct interest of the company as well as to the individual to bring about a reestablishment of health, and consequently efficiency, by supplying the best conditions possible for recovery."<sup>^^</sup>

The National Association of Manufacturers committee on industrial betterment supported compulsory sickness insurance against voluntary systems largely because of the importance they attached to a healthy work force. "We know that there are employers who would not comply with the voluntary plan," the NAM committee warned. Even a corporation president who sees the long-run advantages of "enhghtened" industrial relations may bow blindly to maximizing this year's profits. This was an important enough issue, they argued, that the State must "subordinate the independence of the individual to the general good."<sup>\*\*\*^</sup>

It was not primarily a concern for conserving human life that led America's corporate liberals in the Progressive era to support compulsory health insurance. From Bismarck to the Conservative party in England to the American Association for Labor Legislation and the National Civic Federation, the far-sighted leaders of corporate capitalism believed that government-sponsored sick-

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ness insurance, workers' compensation, and other social security measures would reduce the appeal of radical labor and socialist movements/<sup>^</sup> Hoping to depoliticize workers' unhappiness with their lot, corporate leaders joined reformers in calling for such moderate reforms. Despite this expedient application of medical care programs, leaders of many corporations as well as the conservative National Association of Manufacturers believed that medical care, when extended to the whole population, would substantially improve the health of workers and their families, which included future workers.

Sharing the concern of the business class, the vanguard of scientific medicine considered the economic benefits of medicine among its most important effects. The smaller view pervaded the thinking of physicians working in a particular company's health programs. C. W. Hopkins, chief surgeon for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, told the 1915 annual meeting of the American Academy of Medicine that the railroads found it economically desirable to organize medical care programs because it cost them \$500 to train an employee and because experienced and healthy workers were important in reducing accidents that injure passengers and destroy property. "It is now a well-recognized fact among the managements of the railroads," reported Dr. Hopkins, "that it is just as important to care for their sick and injured [workers] as it is to maintain a certain standard of efficiency or perfection of their rolling stock and road bed."<sup>^^</sup>

Broader views of medicine's material importance to society guided strategies of men who led the medical reform movement at elite universities and the national level. Charles W. Eliot, the Harvard president who launched major medical reforms beginning in 1869, considered medical research both pure and applied. At the dedication ceremonies for the Rockefeller Institute's laboratories in 1906, Eliot characterized research medicine's primary object as striving for "truth in the abstract" and its secondary objects as preventing "industrial losses due to sickness and untimely death among men and domestic animals," and lessening the negative impact of sickness on human happiness."^^

William H. Welch, at the same ceremony, asserted with pride that scientific medicine made possible the "great industrial

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activities of modern times, efforts to colonize and to reclaim for civilization vast tropical regions, [and] the immense undertaking to construct the Panama Canal/"" For the most part, academic doctors were content to support the uses of medical science laid down by the philanthropic strategists whose funding programs guided the development and utilization of research. The medical profession thus accepted the capitalist definition of health as the capacity to work.

## IDEOLOGICAL MEDICINE

### AN INDUSTRIALIST WORLD VIEW

For philanthropist and capitalist Gates, the material consequences of medical science were only one of its advantages. Indeed, Gates gave more attention to the other advantages that intrigued him. Probably more than any of his contemporaries, Gates perceived and understood the ideological functions of medicine. Some of his thoughts were implicit understandings of the relation between scientific medicine and industrial capitalist ideology. His most systematic thinking concerned the social value of medical science as ideology and as a cultural force.

Members of any society or social class whose existence is intimately tied to industrialism will find scientific medicine's explanations of health and disease more appealing than mystical belief systems. The precise analysis of the human body into its component parts is analogous to the industrial organization of production. From the perspective of an industrialist, scientific medicine seems to offer the limitless potential for effectiveness that science and technology provide in manufacturing and social organization. Just as industry depends upon science for technically powerful industrial tools, science-based medicine and its mechanistic concepts of the body and disease should yield powerful tools with which to identify, eliminate, and prevent agents of disease and to correct malfunctions of the body.

Gates and other industrial capitalists found a close correspondence between this new medicine's concepts of the body and disease and their own world view. The body, Gates believed, is a microcosm of society, and disease is an invasion of external

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elements. Medical research must discover the agents of disease and find the means of preventing their destruction of the body or provide a cure. Health, in Gates' view, is the absence of disease. "Nearly all disease," Gates explained to Rockefeller,"^^

is caused by living germs, animal and vegetable, which finding lodgement in the human body, under favorable conditions multiply with enormous rapidity until they interfere with the functions of the organs which they attack and either they or their products poison the fountains of life.

Nature's healing methods are strikingly similar to the organization of industrial society.

When, for illustration, the skin is cut with a knife, nature at once begins to hurry to the point of disaster

squadrons of white corpuscles of the blood and other healing forces. Just as the fire engines start from all quarters on the dead run to a fire when the alarm is sounded, healing forces rush from every part of the body to the point of trouble, some to destroy any poisonous germs that may get into the wound, others to unite the wounded parts as before.

The body in which nature works is constructed like a Lilliputian community, complete with modern social organization and industrial plants.

The body has a network of insulated nerves, like telephone wires, which transmit instantaneous alarms at every point of danger. The body is furnished with a most elaborate police system, with hundreds of police stations to which the criminal elements are carried by the police and jailed. . . . The body has a most complete and elaborate sewer system.

The body's industrial life exists in

an infinite number of microscopic cells. Each one of these cells is a small chemical laboratory, into which its own appropriate raw material is constantly being introduced, the processes of chemical separation and combination are constantly taking place automatically, and its own appropriate finished product is constantly being thrown off, that finished product being necessary for the life and health of the body. Not only is this so, but the great organs of the body like the liver, stomach, pancreas, kidneys, gall bladder, are great local manufacturing centers, formed of groups of cells in infinite number, manufacturing the same sorts of products, just as industries of the same kind are often grouped in specific districts.

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"We are fearfully and wonderfully made," Gates ironically concludes, as though praising some new machine created in God's own image. Because "nature is the great physician," her healing powers have obscured the failing of all pre- and nonscientific forms of medicine. Recovery from disease before the advent of scientific medicine, Gates believed, was due entirely to the power of nature as healer. Homeopathic and orthodox medical sects, Christian Science, psychic healers, osteopaths, Indian herb doctors, and patent medicine men all survived by claiming nature's cures as their own.

Only science was able to comprehend nature. "Science has discovered the laboratories where she has stored her reserves and has robbed her of them for use on human beings." Medical researchers in Gates' day were pressing the campaign against disease on two fronts: "they are trying to break into and expose to the light many more of the secret processes in nature's laboratories," and "they are working to create new chemical combinations that will cure."

Gates thus appreciated the human body as one of nature's puzzles, to be investigated and understood by science. His view, shared by scientific doctors, engineers, professionals of all sorts, and most corporate executives and owners, envisioned health as the absence of disease and medicine as an engineering task. Science was helping industry reshape the organization of production by developing machinery to control and cheapen human labor and more cheaply extract from nature a salable product. Science would also extract from nature the secrets of life itself while medicine would apply them to understand disease and develop methods of preventing or curing these pestilences of life and commerce. Improving the health of the population was thus an engineering job that involved understanding and manipulating nature.

Gates' views were not very different from those generally held by medical scientists of his day. While few directly applied the analogy of industrial society, nearly all conceived the body in mechanistic terms that made such an analogy seem natural. The similarity between the constructs of scientific medicine and the world view of industrial capitalism made it seem natural for the new order to support scientific doctors against all "quacks." The medical profession benefited from the compatibility of its theo-

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ries with the perspectives of the newly dominant class, but the capitalist social order won extraordinary ideological and cultural advantages.

## INDUSTRIAL CULTURE AND CAPITALIST LEGITIMATION

Scientific medicine's singular concern with the microbiological interaction of the human body and specific disease states had political consequences which Gates and a few others envisioned. In brief, Gates embraced scientific medicine as a force that would: (1) help unify and integrate the emerging industrial society with technical values and culture, and (2) legitimize capitalism by diverting attention from structural and other environmental causes of disease.

Gates and other officers in the Rockefeller foundations believed that medicine had an important cultural role to play. Gates believed that the goal of medicine, the "healing ministration," is "the most intimate, the most precious, the superlative interest of every man that lives." After food, water, sleep, and sex, freedom from disease is the great longing of all peoples. The desire for health is a unifying force "whose values go to the palace of the rich and the hovel of the poor." Medicine is "a work which penetrates everywhere." Thus, "the values of medical research are the most universal values on earth, and they are the most intimate and important values to every human being that lives."""^

With medicine's unique acceptance by all people, the Rockefeller Foundation discovered what the missionaries also knew: Medicine can be used to convert and colonize the heathen. In 1909 the Rockefeller philanthropies added public health programs to their earlier efforts to develop public schools and promote agricultural demonstration projects in the South in part because medical care is so seductive to even the most reluctant people.

In China, Gates switched from supporting religious missionaries to building a Western medical system. This episode is fascinating both because of the greater value that Gates, a man of the cloth, placed on scientific medicine in promoting Western influence and because of the unabashed imperialist motivations he himself attributed to Rockefeller philanthropies abroad. In 1905 Gates urged Rockefeller, a frequent contributor to Baptist

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missionaries, to donate \$100,000 to an organization of Congregational missions/" "Now for the first time in the history of the world," Gates explained to Rockefeller,

all the nations and all the islands of the sea are actually open and offer a free field for the light and philanthropy of the English speaking people. . . . Christian agencies as a whole have very thoroughly invaded all coasts, all strategic points, all ports of entry and are thoroughly entrenched where they are.

For Gates, transforming heathens into God-fearing Christians was "no sort of measure" of the value of missionaries:

Quite apart from the question of persons converted, the mere commercial results of missionary effort to our own land is worth, I had almost said a thousandfold every year of what is spent on missions. . . . Missionary enterprise, viewed solely from a commercial standpoint, is immensely profitable. From the point of view of means of subsistence for Americans, our import trade, traceable mainly to the channels of intercourse opened up by missionaries, is enormous. Imports from heathen lands furnish us cheaply with many of the luxuries of

life and not a few of the comforts, and with many things, indeed, which we now regard as necessities.

Industrial capitalism, however, required not only raw materials and cheap products. It also needed new markets for its abundant manufactured goods. As Gates added to Rockefeller's receptive ear:

our imports are balanced by our exports to these same countries of American manufactures. Our export trade is growing by leaps and bounds. Such growth would have been utterly impossible but for the commercial conquest of foreign lands under the lead of missionary endeavor. What a boon to home industry and manufacture!

The missionary effort in China was effective for a time in undermining Chinese self-determination. Missionaries were the velvet glove of imperialism, frequently backed up by the mailed fist. Nevertheless, the missionary effort, promoted through schools and medical programs, was still a very transparent attempt to support European and American interests. As J. A. Hobson, an English economist, noted at the time, "Imperialism in the Far East is stripped nearly bare of all motives and methods save those of distinctively commercial origin.

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In China, as throughout the world, the Rockefeller philanthropists soon concluded that medicine and public health by themselves were far more effective than either missionaries or armies in pursuing the same ends. The Rockefeller Foundation removed the Peking Union Medical College from missionary society control, established it under foundation direction, and developed it into a completely secular, world renowned medical center, spending a total of \$45 million for the China medical program.

In the Philippines, the foundation's International Health Commission outfitted a hospital ship to bring medical care and the "benefits of civilization" to the rebellious Moro tribes. The foundation officers were ecstatic that such medical work made it "possible for the doctor and nurse to go in safety to many places which it has been extremely dangerous for the soldier to approach." Their medical work paved "the way for establishing industrial and regular schools" and served as "an entering wedge for permanent civilizing influences."^^ Thus, in subduing primitive peoples and bringing them into desired colonial relations, medical care has, in the words of foundation president George Vincent, "some advantages over machine guns."^o

Given the openly imperialist ambitions of the United States early in this century, the Rockefeller philanthropy officers could publicly acknowledge their use of medicine to integrate dissenting people into industrial and capitalist society. Their domestic medical programs had exactly the same ends, though Gates and others were far more circumspect in discussing them.

Medicine was increasingly replacing religion as the intimate arm of the social order. In education the teaching of values was obvious, and attempts to reform the schools provoked angry responses from a class-conscious society.^' In 1914 the National Education Association's attacks on the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations were joined by many newspapers that condemned the foundations for trying to turn "our schools into mills for the manufacture of men and women made according to Rockefeller and Carnegie specifications." Medicine was more insidious.

For Gates to see medicine as a desirable replacement for religion was indeed an interesting turn of events. Gates, it will be recalled, was successively a Baptist minister, executive secretary of the American Baptist Education Society, and Rockefeller's

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chief lieutenant in charge of the industrialist's philanthropy and a large part of his financial empire. Like other members of the managerial stratum, Gates identified his own interests and destiny with those of his employer.

Shortly after his move from the ministry to directing the largest philanthropic and financial empire in the world,

Gates' views on religion began to change. He began to read the Bible more critically and was soon convinced that "Christ had neither founded nor intended to found the Baptist church, nor any church; that neither he nor his disciples during his lifetime had baptized; that the communion was not conceived by Christ as a church ordinance, and that the whole Baptist fabric was built upon texts which had no authority, and on ecclesiastical conceptions wholly foreign to the mind of Christ."^^ Gates found himself converted from Baptism to capitalism and scientism!

Medicine was a fundamental part of his new "religion." While theology was being "reconstructed in the light of science," scientific medicine was promulgating "new moral laws and new social laws, new definitions of what is right and wrong in our relations with each other." For Gates, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was a "theological seminary, presided over by the Rev. Simon Flexner, D.D."^^

Gates did not fully explain the meaning of his metaphor, but it seems clear that he viewed medicine as industrial society's counterpart to religion, carrying moral precepts, "new duties," and the values of science to all people through its universal appeal and irresistible intimacy. This function was understood by leading members of the medical profession as well. Dr. John B. Roberts, in his presidential address to the American Academy of Medicine in 1904, laid out "The Doctor's Duty to the State." The physician "should teach the laity that mental hygiene, or disciplin<sup>e</sup>, is as essential to proper living and happiness as physical hygiene," Roberts said. "Hygiene of the body gives a spirit of religious toleration and calm" whilst "hygiene of the mind gives a healthy digestion and a good income-making body and fits man for this world as well as the next."^^ Scientific medicine was thus an ideal instrument to help unify and integrate the new industrial society and indeed a world order in the values and culture of science, technology, and capitalism.

Western scientific medicine was an uncommonly good vehicle

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for United States efforts to dominate Latin America, Asia, and Africa. But it was equally useful in bringing rural and technologically and industrially naive North Americans to accept the domination of their lives by science and technology. Science had provided a basis for rationalizing industry, for organizing production consistent with the imperatives of profit and the growth of capital, and simultaneously for undermining the arguments of workers that the new technology eliminated their control over the productive process. The application of science to industry in fact depoliticized the whole productive process and created the appearance that progress is technology's own imperative. Beneath that rule by technology lay the more fundamental imperative—capitalism's need for economic growth. The march of scientific and technological progress appears as an independent variable on which essential economic growth depends. Science and technology are developed mainly in ways useful to capitalist society, and as Jiirgen Habermas has shown, "the development of the social system seems to be determined by the logic of scientific-technical progress."^^

The same mystification that the technological "imperative" pulls over the productive process is extended to all social spheres. Mechanical engineers, led by Frederick Taylor, developed more "efficient" ways of utilizing human labor in the factory, mainly by separating mental from manual labor, reorganizing the labor process under management's control, and substituting unskilled for skilled labor wherever possible. Although it did not particularly increase profits, Taylor's "scientific management" proved a very effective form of social control.^" It provided a moral rationale for demanding obedience to capitalist values of hard work and disciplined living. "Too great liberty," Taylor wrote to Harvard president Charles EHot, "results in a large number of people going wrong who would be right if they had been forced into good habits."^^ Housewives and mothers were similarly exhorted to be more efficient, for the home was "part of the great factory for production of citizens."^^ Industrial and social leaders of the Progressive era, whether themselves Progressives or not, hoped to rationalize all social relations. The cult of efficiency firmly established in American culture and intellectual life the notion that technology must be served. Added to the

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already widespread view that science and technology are value-free, the technological imperative became a

powerful moral force.

Corporation heads, presidents of elite universities, and philanthropists all joined in support of the new religion of science. "Respect for the man who knows and loyalty to demonstrated truth," preached Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, "are characteristics of a civilization that is founded on rock."<sup>^</sup>«

Research institutes were the temples of the new religion. The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research will be important in three ways, Butler told the dignitaries assembled for the opening of the institute's laboratories. It will add to mankind's knowledge of medicine, it will help train needed scientists, and it "will help spread abroad in the public mind a respect for science and for scientific method." Each of these contributions is a public service, he added, "but the last named is perhaps the greatest."<sup>^</sup>

Scientific medicine, as part of the fervent campaign for science, helped spread industrial culture, albeit a capitalist industrial culture, throughout the land and indeed the world. But scientific medicine also developed into an ideological perspective that legitimizes the great inequalities of capitalist societies and the misery that results from the private appropriation of human and environmental resources.

At one time, many physicians were in the vanguard of progressive social reform movements. By the mid-1800s social medicine was a highly developed field. Villermé, Buchez and Guérin in France, Neumann, Virchow, and Leubuscher in Germany, and dozens of lesser-known doctors studied the economic, social and occupational causes of disease and worked for reforms to eliminate them. Rudolf Virchow, one of the fathers of modern cell physiology, argued that medicine "must intervene in political and social life. It must point out the hindrances that impede the normal functioning of vital processes, and effect their removal."<sup>""</sup> Many physicians and sanitarians identified and statistically documented inhuman and dangerous working conditions, unemployment, miserable living conditions, malnutrition, and general poverty as the major causes of the high disease rates and early deaths among Europe's working classes.

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The failure of the revolutionary movement of 1848, in which many of these physicians participated, did not halt their efforts to change the conditions they opposed.

From the time of Pasteur and Koch, however, a more conservative outlook dominated medical research. The clinical, or medical, model focused attention on the individual, while bacteriological research identified discrete, external, and specific agents of disease. This perspective encouraged the idea of specific therapies to cure specific pathological conditions, and it diverted attention from the social and economic causes of disease. When Koch presented his discovery of the tubercle bacillus to the Berlin Physiological Society in 1882, many medical scientists did not share Koch's view that this bacillus causes tuberculosis. Virchow and others argued that since pathogenic micro-organisms lived in healthy bodies, they are not the cause of disease. In their view, invading micro-organisms could cause disease only after the host organism had been weakened by some physiological or environmental misery." Pasteur and Koch, nevertheless, won deserved plaudits for their technical accomplishments; they and their followers also won extensive financial support from their governments and wealthy individuals alike. In Europe and the United States elite physicians perceived the opportunities opening before them, and leading capitalists showed their appreciation for medical science's ideological role.

Ideologues for capitalist society promulgated the insufficiency of our mastery of nature, the inadequacy of our technological development as the fundamental cause of misery. "The trouble is," Gates wrote Rockefeller, "that the blanket of happiness seems to be too short. If you pull it up at the head you expose the feet; if you tuck it in on the one side you uncover the other side." While there is probably no way to increase the "sum total of human happiness," it is certain that the Rockefeller Institute "is actually and enormously decreasing the sum total of human misery."<sup>^^^</sup>

It is clear whence comes the unhappiness. It comes not from unequal distribution of wealth, sickening working and living conditions, miserable and alienating work, tension caused by frequent and prolonged unemployment, economic insecurity, and competition among those whose sights are set on higher stations in life. "Disease is

the supreme ill of human life," Gates

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proclaimed, "and it is the main source of almost all other human ills, poverty, crime, ignorance, vice, inefficiency, hereditary taint, and many other evils."<sup>^ ^</sup> It is not poverty or one's place in the capitalist class structure that breeds misery; it is disease that is the cause of the misery commonly attributed to poverty. Misery is a technical not a social problem.

While "the great mass of charities of the world" go around helping an individual poor family or indirectly "relieving or mitigating such evils and miseries of society as are due mainly to disease," the Rockefeller Institute reaches "the root of the evil" and cleanses "the very fountains of human misery."<sup>^ \*\*</sup> This human unhappiness can be eradicated through science and technology. The same forces that helped create America's vast and growing industrial base could be turned to eliminating her misery as well. Gates thus joined with others in "medicalizing" all social problems, defining them out of political struggle and even religious morals, and giving them over to technical expertise and professional management.

Rockefeller money did not support medical research that investigated the relationship of social factors to health and disease. In its first decade, the Rockefeller Institute focused its resources on chemistry, biology, pathology, bacteriology, physiology, pharmacology, and experimental surgery.<sup>^</sup> It ignored the impact of the social, economic, and physical environment on disease and health. In later years, institute researchers touched on the role of nutrition as a contributing factor in malaria and some other parasitic and infectious diseases, but even then they did not extend their conclusions to the actual social conditions in which people lived.<sup>^ ^</sup> Of the more than 650 men and women who contributed their skills to the Rockefeller Institute, few—with the notable exception of Rene Dubos—seemed even to understand the role of society and environment as forces affecting the very diseases they studied.

This orientation to biological reductionism pervaded the Rockefeller medical philanthropies. When Gates, Junior, and other men in the Rockefeller Foundation decided to establish the first public health school in the United States, they selected Dr. Welch and Johns Hopkins University as their vehicles, knowing the new school would have a heavy emphasis on the basic sciences and not stray too far into social issues.<sup>^ ^</sup> Charles Wardell Stiles,

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the government zoologist who brought the hookworm to the attention of the Rockefeller philanthropy and was named scientific director of the campaign to eradicate the parasitic disease, exhibited a capacity for keeping his nose to the parasites and not being distracted by social concerns. In an article on "The Chain Gang as a Possible Disseminator of Intestinal Parasites and Infections," Stiles offered not one word of criticism of chain gangs per se. He limited himself to criticizing the lack of privies and bemoaned the missed "opportunities for rigid discipline" that could "make these penal institutions admirable schools in which the State might easily give its charges some good lessons in cleanliness, hygiene, and sanitation."<sup>"" ^</sup>

## GATES' DIGRESSION

Gates genuinely believed in technical solutions for problems of social happiness. But there was another side to Gates. There was a side that recognized the exploitation of labor by capital, that felt compassion for the oppressed men and women of the industrial working class. As a member of the board of directors or chairman of the board of more than a dozen corporations, but not a part of day-to-day management. Gates was never personally involved in labor disputes. From his lofty heights at the top of the Rockefeller financial and philanthropic empires. Gates had a broad view of the needs of his class and a measured strategy for meeting them.

In 1916, two years after the clamorous criticism over the Ludlow massacre and a time when "labor is demanding more wages everywhere," Gates asked himself the strategic question, "shall one oppose this demand or favor it?" In a memorandum for himself, Gates developed his position on "Capital and Labor."<sup>"" ^</sup> First, unionism is



selfish, violent, ignorant, perverse, and mistaken, he believed. Through unions, labor demands "the largest possible wage" and does "the least possible work" whereas the public-spirited citizen, whether wealthy capitalist or poor laborer, does the "largest possible service" and consumes the "least possible amount of the public wealth" by accepting private economy and saving.

Second, the object of labor should be to increase its real wages, not merely get a jump on the next guy. "If a few crafts become thoroughly unionized and secure their demands, it must

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be," Gates observed, "at the expense of all other crafts that are not so unionized." Unions seemed to care little that raising the wages of any one group will result in an increase in the cost of living for all other groups since employers will pass on to workers-as-consumers the increase in wages they grant. The wage earner will have won his battle. Gates concluded, "not merely when he has got his wages, but when he has so got them that they will buy more." Higher wages without a higher cost of living is the object, "and the only way under heaven in which that can be done is by taking the wages out of the returns of the capitalist." Gates believed labor's demand for a greater share of the wealth was just. The laboring classes are "degraded" by the kind of work they have to do, the amount of work required of them, and "the deprivations that they have to suffer." The differences between rich and poor, capitalist and laborer, "are due not to heredity but to environment." The rich and aristocratic have no purer blood than the "misshapen, ill-dressed, half-brutalized men and women" who have worked the mines from childhood.

Shall we hate and despise and look down upon these people whom our social system has made what they are, or shall we pity them and shall we blame ourselves for having made them what they are, for keeping them where they are, and for clothing ourselves with the fruits of their unpaid labor?

Frederick Engels was not more eloquent!

Gates concluded that it was necessary and desirable for capital to voluntarily reduce its return on investments from the prevailing 5 percent to 2 percent and give the balance to the workers.

Cut down their hours of labor. Improve their living conditions. Give them opportunities for music, for pictures, for whatever can cultivate them in mind, whatever can beautify and adorn them in body. Let us ourselves share to some extent the manual labor of the world, and instead of a few rising to the top on the backs of the many, let us undertake to build up society in all its parts as a whole to a higher level.

Gates was moved not by compassion but by fear. He and other members of America's ruling class were shaken by the violent labor struggles, widespread working-class consciousness and support for the Socialist party, and unrest among middle-class Progressives. Most of this class antagonism was aimed at the

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great concentrations of wealth in the industrial monopolies and the flaunting of wealth by the Vanderbilts and the Astors. Always an advocate of inconspicuous consumption, Gates now privately and momentarily looked to corporate-liberal social reforms to head off the anticipated cataclysm.

With the entrance of the United States into the European war, full employment and patriotism overwhelmed the Progressive reform movement and justified repression of the Socialists and militant working-class organizations. The immediacy of the internal threat passed, and Gates abandoned even his private thoughts of redistributing the wealth. Promoting physical and social science research continued unaltered as the primary foundation program for ameliorating misery although the junior Rockefeller developed new programs in the arts to uplift the people's culture.

A PERMANENT INVESTMENT

In addition to the expected material and political benefits of medical science, Gates believed that endowing the

Rockefeller Institute was an ideal investment because of the permanence of its findings. Each generation takes from the past and hands on to the future "only the things that are proven to be permanently useful." The "useless baggage" is dropped and left behind. The one thing that "humanity has got to live with" is "old Nature and her laws in this world," Gates told his friends at the Rockefeller Institute. "These laws do not change and humanity will never outlive them. Whatever we discover about Nature and her forces, and incorporate into our science, that will be carried forward, though all else be forgotten."""^

Despite his naive view of science. Gates viewed endowments for scientific research as permanent social capital, an investment that would continue to return dividends into the distant future. Given his broad and long-range perspective of the needs of capitalist society. Gates was very attracted to this feature of scientific research.

Aside from its permanence, an investment by Rockefeller in an institute for medical research would call forth more money into medical research. This one act of philanthropy would "call public attention to the importance of research" and encourage

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"many thoughtful men of wealth" to endow research in scientific medical schools throughout the country."^

In the end, private fortunes and public taxes alike flowed in ever-increasing amounts into medical research. In 1911 Gates was pleased that other rich men and women had indeed followed the example of Rockefeller.""^ By the mid-1920s Gates felt assured that his strategy of encouraging public and private grants had paid off. "Never before were the common people so ready to grasp the extended hand of a liberal philanthropy," he told fellow trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, "and to cooperate by legal enactment, liberal taxation, and private munificence."""^

All this financial support for medical science and the social recognition heaped upon the scientific medical profession by members of the upper class had given physicians a higher and more secure status. Medical research institutes, Gates observed, "have conferred dignity and glory upon medicine," with the consequence that the medical profession was awakening "to a proud and healthy consciousness of the dignity of its vocation." Quite uncynically. Gates believed that "the elevation of the medical profession" would further the interests of the profession itself and help stabilize a sometimes shaky class structure."^ Capitalist society was gaining another firm supporter as the medical profession, cleansed of any social conscience, increasingly recognized its duty to preserve the existing social order.

The philanthropic capitalists who supported medical science believed it would do more than demonstrate their good works. First, reductionist scientific medicine bore a striking, and not incidental, similarity to the capitalist world view. Second, scientific medicine would help integrate all members of society, whatever their occupations or social standing, into an industrial-technical culture, unifying the fragmented and often fragile industrial-capitalist social order. Third, scientific medicine would help replace the widespread class theories of misery with the perspective that inequalities and unhappiness are technical problems susceptible to engineering solutions, thus depoliticizing medicine and legitimizing capitalism. Finally, scientific medicine would help elevate the medical profession, encouraging a stronger identification of its members with the highest class in society and the capitalist order itself.

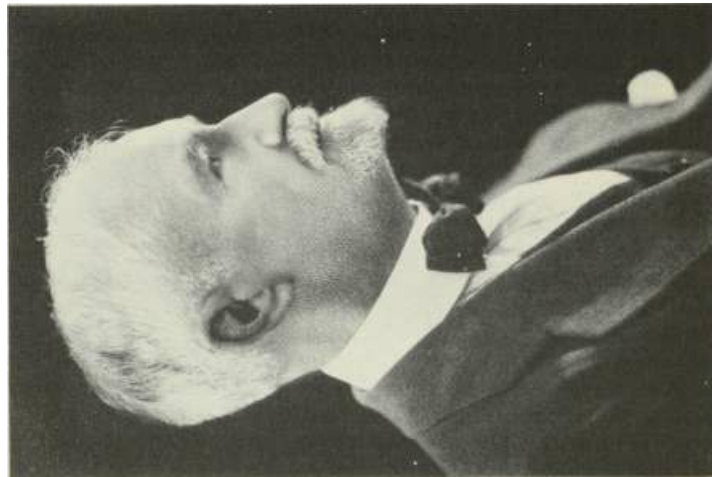
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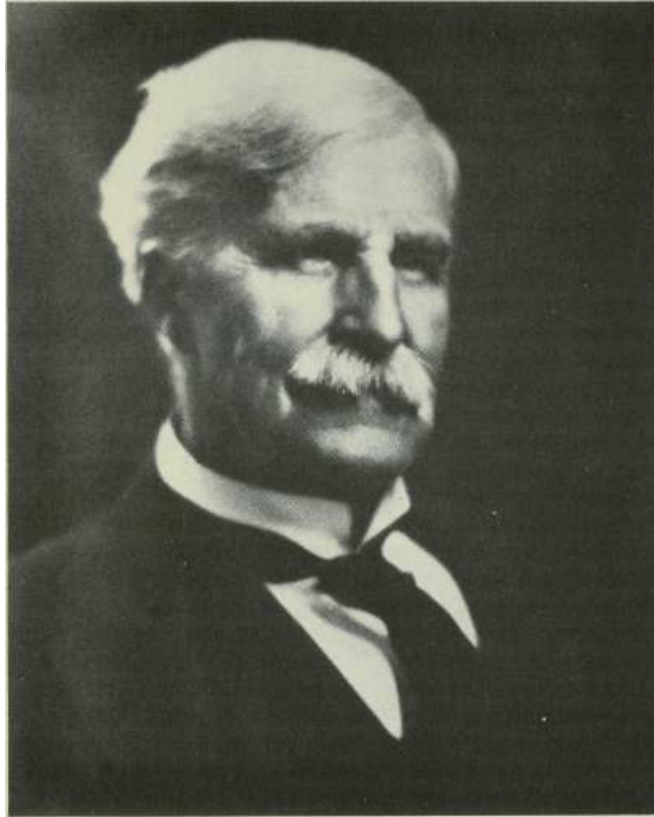
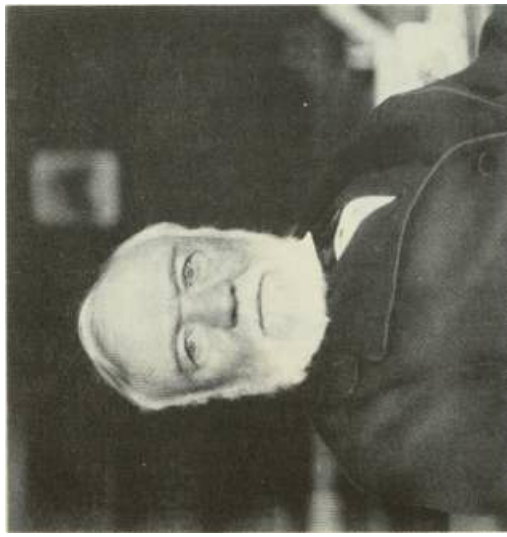
Gates believed that all these characteristics and consequences of scientific medicine were good for society, just as he considered socially beneficent the accumulation of wealth by Rockefeller and his private decisions as to how it should be spent. Gates' views on the benefits of scientific medicine and medical research were clearly shared in practice by other capitalists, government officials, and members of the profession. Seldom laid out for us with even Gates' minimal explicitness and coherence, their perspectives were nevertheless clear in their programs and articulated concerns. Gates' views on scientific medicine were influential beyond the support given the Rockefeller Institute and encouragement given to other programs of medical research. Gates had the interest, the ideas, and the money at his disposal to formulate and launch numerous programs to develop and

extend public health work and a major program to reform medical education.



John D. Rockefeller, whose Standard Oil fortune financed the vast philanthropies in his name, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who took over his father's financial empire and philanthropies (1921). Rockefeller Archive Center.

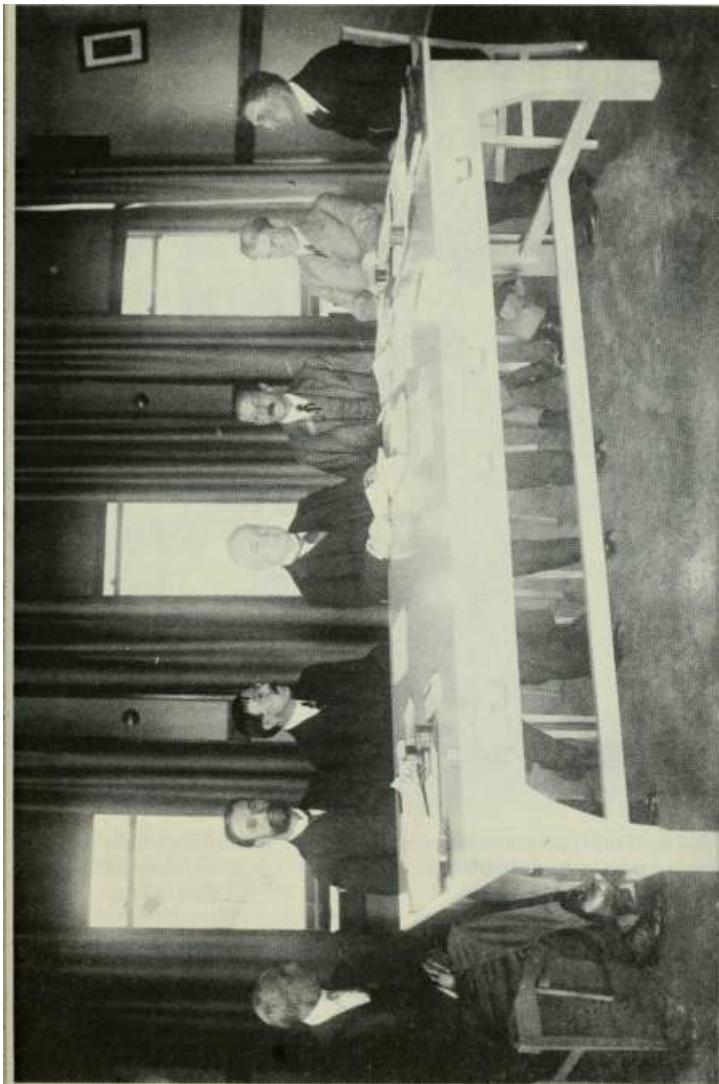




Frederick T. Gates, Baptist minister who became architect of the Rockefeller philanthropies and chief of Rockefeller's financial empire

(1922). Rockefeller Archive Center





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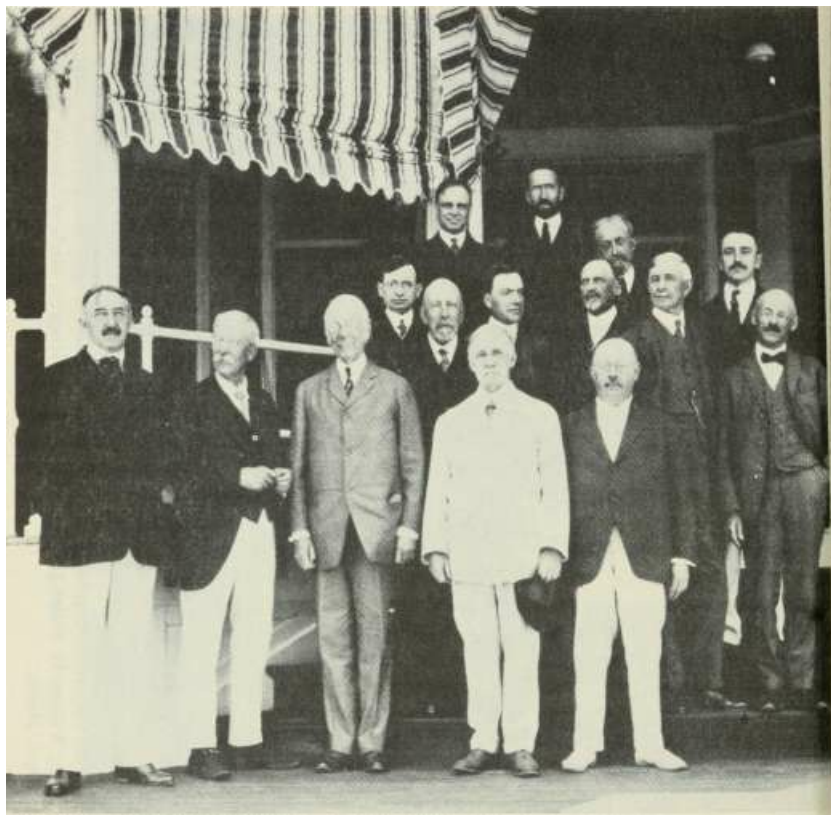
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Trustees of the General Education Board, the first Rockefeller foundation, at a retreat in Rockland, Maine, in July 1915. Front row\from left: Edwin A. Alderman, Frederick T. Gates, Charles W. Eliot (former president of Harvard University), Harry Pratt Judson (president of University of Chicago), Wallace Buttrick (executive officer of the Board). Second row, from left: Wickliffe Rose (head of the Rockefeller public health programs), Hollis B. Frissell, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., E. C. Sage, Albert Shaw, Abraham Flexner. Third row, from left: George E. Vincent (president of the Rockefeller Foundation), Anson Phelps Stokes, Starr J.

Murphy, Jerome D. Greene. Rockefeller Archive Center

## 4

### CHAPTER

#### Reforming Medical Education: Who Will Rule Medicine?

By the end of the nineteenth century, American physicians were still complaining bitterly of their "poverty" and low status in American society. Those who had studied in Europe were especially struck by the low esteem in which American doctors were held compared with their German colleagues. The disparity among physicians' incomes left some well off and some poor. As the New York State Medical Society's journal put it, "There is a handsome income for a few, a competence for the many, and a pittance for the majority."^

Most professional spokesmen blamed the relative poverty of doctors on "overcrowding" in the profession. The AMA Journal argued in 1901 that through death and retirement of old doctors and the increase in population, there was "room for nearly 3,300 new doctors each year," but the nation's 160 medical colleges were producing nearly double that number.^

To deal with these problems, the medical profession adopted an effective strategy of reform based on scientific medicine and the developing medical sciences. Their plan was to gain control over medical education for the organized profession representing practitioners in alliance with scientific medical faculty. Their measures involved large expenditures for medical education and required a major change in the financing of medical schools. Dependent on outside capital, the profession opened the door to

outside influence. The corporate philanthropies that intervened turned the campaign to reform medical education into a struggle for control between private practitioners, on the one hand, and academic doctors and the corporate capitalist class, on the other. The conflict over who would rule medical education, to which we now turn, was fundamentally a question of whose interests the medical care system would serve.

## PRACTITIONERS GAIN A FOOTHOLD

By 1900 the strategy evolved by elite physicians to reduce the number of doctors, increase incomes, and raise the social class base of the profession began to pay off. Medical research, despite its limited financial support, was building public confidence in modern practitioners. Reforms were being pressed in some leading universities, setting a new standard that others would soon be forced to follow. Most states had established medical licensing boards, however varied the standards they imposed. The Illinois Board of Health in particular had begun a crude evaluation of all medical schools in the United States and Canada. Its report published in 1889 shook more than a few of the 179 schools of the regular sect, twenty-six homeopathic, twenty-six eclectic, thirteen miscellaneous, and thirteen schools condemned as "fraudulent."<sup>^</sup>

All these advances did not yet resolve two major obstacles to professional uplift. First, medical schools remained unregulated. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century more than 114 new schools had been founded.<sup>^</sup> The finances of medical schools forced their faculties to oppose the reformers' strategy of promoting scientific medicine to reduce output. Medical schools were for the most part small profit-making enterprises, owned mainly by their faculties. The only commodities they could sell were medical degrees. Dependent for their survival as well as their profits on student fees, the schools continued to pour forth their products. Being proprietary in character but profitable only to the faculty directly involved, they were unable to attract outside capital or operating funds to support expensive teaching and research programs necessary to scientific medical education. Thus, "scientific medicine" was taught at only a few university medical schools, and to a limited extent even in those—except for Johns Hopkins, which was far from the norm.

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The second obstacle to implementing the reform strategy was the organizational disarray of the profession itself. The AMA had failed in its mission. It was by-passed in the last part of the century by specialty societies which formed an alliance in 1888 in the American Congress of Physicians and Surgeons. The American Academy of Medicine and other groups were formed to fill the reform role left vacant by the AMA. Membership in local and state medical societies did not confer membership in the national association, isolating it from the majority of practitioners. By 1900, only 8,400 physicians were members of the AMA.<sup>^</sup> The national leadership, without structural ties to state and local societies, operated within a vacuum. Structurally weak, numerically small, dominated by traditional doctors only half-heartedly committed to scientific medicine, the "voice of the medical profession" seemed to have laryngitis.

Before the medical profession could secure reforms in medical education, it had to strengthen its own organization. After some stalled attempts at reorganization at the end of the nineteenth century, the reformers won support from state medical societies and completely reorganized the AMA at the 1901 convention in St. Paul. The new organization, which continues to this day, made the local medical society the basic unit of the association. Individual physicians would join a local society. The local society would send representatives to a state society, which in turn would elect delegates to the newly formed house of delegates, the legislative body of the national association. The president of the AMA and a board of trustees were given substantial powers. With the campaign skillfully managed by Dr. George H. Simmons, the reform leader recently appointed secretary of the AMA and editor of its Journal, and with the convention sessions presided over by Dr. Charles A. L. Reed, the reorganization plan was instituted without discussion.<sup>^</sup>

The reorganization created a hierarchical, representative structure. The direct line of authority depended on the strength of the local societies, always the strongholds of professional interests. The new structure gave the state and national organizations stable leadership, which could more effectively coordinate and mobilize resources for



the profession's interests. The plan was intended, and succeeded, to federate state societies into the national association and, in the words of the committee on reorganization, "to foster scientific medicine and to make the

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medical profession a power in the social and political life of the republic.""

Doctors with a vision of uniting the profession behind a campaign to elevate it moved from the wings onto center stage. George Simmons invigorated the Journal with the mission of the reform movement. AMA leaders asked physicians around the country to spur legislative reforms, control state licensing boards, and goad medical schools into altering their admission criteria and curricula. The increased effectiveness of the AMA brought support and membership from the many specialists who seemed to have forgotten that they were physicians first and surgeons or gynecologists second. Private practitioners of all types rose to support the coordinated local-state-national vehicle for their common interests. By 1910 some 70,000 doctors were AMA members, more than eight times the membership at the turn of the century.

Although many rank-and-file physicians were unhappy with the centralized control emanating from the AMA's Chicago offices and with the reform strategy itself, most physicians undoubtedly supported the movement.^ Most physicians resented the economic and social conditions of the profession, particularly when they realized that things could be better. They understood that competition among physicians for a greater share of the available medical dollars would help only a few and that the interests of every physician were tied to the interests of the profession as a whole.

The reform leadership, representing a coalition of private practitioners and medical school faculty, articulated the desires of most doctors for financial and social uplift, and offered a viable strategy for achieving them. This coalition controlled the \*AMA from the end of the nineteenth century until World War I, sharing the association's presidency and jointly implementing its reform strategy.^

## COUNCIL ON MEDICAL EDUCATION

Once in control of the reorganized AMA, the reformers launched their most effective tool for transforming the profession. In 1904 the AMA replaced its temporary committee on medical education with a permanent Council on Medical Educa-

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tion, headed by the energetic and resourceful Arthur Dean Sevan, a successful surgeon and part-time professor at Rush Medical College in Chicago. The new council was armed with a staff to help it exert "a national influence and control of medical education."^°

To facilitate that control, it invited state licensing boards to a national conference in 1905 to review the status of medical education and set standards. There the council adopted "an ideal standard to work for in the future"—one that would raise U.S. medical education to the same basis as England, France, and Germany—and "a minimum standard for the time being." The temporary standard was: (1) a preliminary education of four years of high school, (2) a four-year medical course, and (3) passing an examination before a state licensing board."

Bevan urged local and state medical societies to become more active in the reform movement and to see that "the right sort of men" were appointed to the licensing boards. Within two years the state medical societies, under the guidance of the Council on Medical Education, dominated the state boards. Through the influence of the state societies and direct contact by the council, the licensing boards increasingly became agents of the council's plan of action.'^

The more the state boards cooperated with the council to accept diplomas only from medical schools "in good standing" and to gear their examinations to the curricula of scientific medical schools, the more uncertain was the future of all medical schools except those elite schools already geared to the needs of scientific medicine. Those schools that could tap sufficient resources to provide laboratories, "technical material," and scientifically

trained faculty had a reasonably good prognosis. The graduates of such schools were allowed by the state boards to take their licensing exams, and they had a fairly good chance of passing. There was little incentive for students to attend and pay the fees of unapproved schools and schools whose graduates tended to flunk the licensing examinations. But state boards were not uniformly in the hands of the state medical societies, so the council developed a new tactic to upgrade medical education, close more schools, and develop a controlling role for itself in the field.

In 1906 the council inspected every one of the country's 160

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medical schools. Each school was personally visited by council secretary Dr. N. P. Colwell or another council member and was rated on the percentage of its graduates who passed the state licensing exams, enforcement of preliminary education requirements, curriculum, laboratory and clinical facilities and instruction, laboratory science faculty, and whether the school was run for a profit. Reports on each school were sent to the state licensing boards, and the percentage of each school's graduates who failed state board examinations was published in the AMA Journal. ^^

In 1907 the council divided medical schools into classes A, B, and C, depending on their ratings. Of the 160 schools inspected, eighty-two were rated as class A medical colleges, forty-six were class B, and thirty-two class C. The impact of the council's report was significant. Fifty schools agreed to require one year each of college physics, chemistry, biology, and a modern language before admission to the medical program. Sensing doom, a number of schools consolidated with other medical schools in their cities, combining facilities and staffs. Other schools realized that they did not have the resources to survive the heightened competition. By 1910 the number of schools had fallen from a high of 166 to 131.^^

While the practitioner reform leaders were pressing for stiffer standards within medical education, the medical schools themselves were doing their best to survive. The Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC), representing about a third of all American medical colleges, sought to differentiate its member schools—"the better classes of medical colleges"—from run-of-the-mill schools. They were concerned that rising standards in admission and instruction would bankrupt even the best schools. As the representative of the elite portion of scientific medicine's rear guard—the schools themselves—the AAMC favored cooperation between itself, the Council on Medical Education, and the association of state licensing boards. The AAMC sought uniform minimum standards for all states so that each state's requirements of medical schools would come "up to, but not beyond," the standard recommended by a joint committee of all three bodies. ^^

Although the Council on Medical Education had neither legal powers nor authority within the profession, council chairman Bevan, AMA secretary and Journal editor Simmons, and other

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professional reformers well understood the role of leadership and the powerful advantage of articulating a strategy consistent with historical forces. Science's time had arrived in medicine: A middle and upper class whose dominance depended on industrialization was receptive to what scientific medicine advocates within the profession offered. State licensing boards, under the influence or in the hands of the medical societies, assured the dominance of scientific schools and the competitive disadvantages of economically weaker schools. The cost of a scientific medical education was shattering the financial arrangements of proprietary medical schools. The council could not order schools closed, but it rallied political allies in the state boards and the forces of the marketplace to wreck the ancien regime.

#### MONEY FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION: WHO WILL PAY?

The reforms initiated and pressed by the AMA leadership were clearly having their desired impact. But the profession's power to accomplish its ultimate goals was limited. Scientific medicine was an expensive affair. Nearly all medical schools at the end of the nineteenth century relied for most of their support on students' tuition fees. Most independent medical colleges and many of those nominally associated with universities had

no other source of income. Yet the teaching of scientific medicine required expensive laboratory buildings, a teaching hospital and teaching clinic, and equipment. Some of these facilities could be obtained from local men and women of wealth if faculty members had fashionable private practices. Some facilities could be had if the medical school was affiliated with a well-endowed university. However, more than facilities were needed.

The largest operating expense for a scientific medical school was the faculty to teach the laboratory science courses. A practitioner might be good enough to teach clinical courses, but he usually was not expert enough in physiology, bacteriology, or pathology. The basic medical sciences had to be taught by medical scientists who were specially trained in that area and whose on-going research kept them abreast of developments in their field. These faculty had to devote their full time to teaching and research, and they were the largest operating expense of a turn-of-the-century scientific medical school.

The cost of a scientific medical education was beyond the

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means of students. "It costs more to educate a medical student," Bevan noted, "than he can pay in the way of fees." ^ The capital investment and operating costs for scientific medical education were also beyond the means of the profession itself. Wealthy physicians might provide a small portion of the capital for a medical college, but the reformers recognized early that most of the capital for scientific medical schools would have to come from outside the profession. ^^ States might be persuaded to support state institutions, but most medical schools and universities—and certainly the most elite—were privately controlled. "The public must be taught the necessities and the possibilities of modern medicine," Bevan argued, and philanthropists must be shown that medicine deserves their endowments. ^^ Because of the amounts involved, much of the money would have to come from the fortunes of the very wealthiest men and women in America. The medical reformers were well aware of the dangers of help from the outside. "Rich men may injure the cause of medical education," the AMA Journal warned in 1901, unless their giving is directed by the profession itself. ^^ With the blessings of the rest of the profession's leadership, Bevan took on the task of getting and guiding endowments for medical colleges. "We must secure for them state aid and private endowment," he told the council's 1907 national conference. "We must start an active, organized propaganda for money for medical education." ^^

## HELP FROM THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION

Impressed with the impact of the council's own survey, Bevan turned to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. He sought the foundation's help, not just to replicate the council's own work, but to add to their campaign the foundation's developing prestige and image of "objectivity." Bevan understood the foundation's potential for molding public opinion and providing a credible blueprint for philanthropists to follow while channeling their money into medical education. It was also clear that an agency outside the profession could openly attack medical schools that resisted reorganizing themselves or going out of business without once again splitting medical school faculty off from the reform leadership. At the council's first

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national conference in 1905, Bevan criticized proprietary medical schools as an obstacle to reform, but he felt compelled by the need for diplomacy to urge leniency because of the "property and professional interest" invested in them. ^^

In 1907 Bevan invited Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, to examine the survey materials collected by the council. Meeting at the Chicago Club, Bevan and Pritchett saw eye-to-eye on the value of a Carnegie-sponsored study of medical education. For Bevan the Carnegie study would be the big guns in the campaign for medical education reform. Pritchett was sympathetic to that concern, but mainly in the context of the foundation's program to reform and rationalize the nation's colleges and universities, including its professional schools. ^^

The foundation had been established in 1905 to upgrade the status of college teachers while creating a uniform system of higher education. Out of discussions between Andrew Carnegie and Pritchett emerged a plan to

advance teaching by the carrot-and-stick method. The new foundation provided an initial endowment of \$10 million to support a retirement program for college teachers. The pensions would be given without any cost to the institution or its individual teachers, but each college must meet the conditions laid down by the foundation. Denominational colleges were not eligible for the pension plan. Religion was, of course, an important moral force, but it would not promote the universality of science; colleges controlled by competing denominations would be more concerned with propagating the faith than with training scientists and engineers. Denominational colleges, hoping to make themselves more attractive to faculty, besieged the foundation with inquiries about how to amend their charters to make themselves eligible for free pensions. In addition, the foundation imposed academic and financial requirements designed to force the poorer colleges to match the academic standards of the better colleges and to make higher education follow a uniform pattern throughout the country."

Thus, Bevan's request for a study of medical schools fit well with the foundation's general program and provided an opportunity for the foundation to move into reforming professional education. Pritchett discussed the proposed study with Charles Eliot, president of Harvard and a trustee of the Carnegie

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Foundation, Rockefeller's General Education Board, and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. He also talked with Dr. Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute. Flexner suggested a director for the study, his brother Abraham. The suggestion meshed well with Pritchett's conception of the study as contributing to the reform of higher education.^"^^

Abraham Flexner was a professional educator. He got his bachelor's degree from Johns Hopkins in two years of diligent and hard work. He later founded and ran his own college preparatory school in Louisville and afterwards spent a year in advanced study in education at Harvard. While in Heidelberg in the summer of 1908, Flexner wrote *The American College*, which, in his own words, "fell quite flat." Late in the summer of 1908 Flexner returned from Europe unemployed and "prepared to do almost anything." Hoping to get a job, Flexner initiated a meeting with Pritchett. They talked about higher education and its problems and found they agreed on the necessity for reform. "When I next saw him," Flexner later recalled, "he asked me whether I would like to make a study of medical schools." Flexner was enthusiastic, "but it occurred to me that Dr. Pritchett was confusing me with my brother Simon at the Rockefeller Institute, and I called his attention to the fact that I was not a medical man and had never had my foot inside a medical school."

"That is precisely what I want," replied Pritchett. "I think these professional schools should be studied not from the point of view of the practitioner but from the standpoint of the educator. I know your brother, so that I am not laboring under any confusion. This is a layman's job, not a job for a medical man."^^

A report on medical education by a physician would lack credibility, and it would feed the divisions between practitioners and part-time medical school faculty. Moreover, Pritchett, while certainly not adverse to aiding medical professionals, wanted medical education integrated into a general system of education. A report by an educator sold on the importance of a scientific medical profession would provide both the right perspective and credibility.^^

At their November 1908 meeting, Pritchett asked the Carnegie Foundation trustees to authorize the study and appropriate the necessary funds. With their approval, Flexner immediately began his study.^^ Bevan directed the reform campaign, Pritchett

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financed it with Carnegie's money, and Abraham Flexner implemented it.

## THE "FLEXNER REPORT"

A scholarly technician, Flexner began by reading up on the history of medical education in Europe and America. He went to Chicago to discuss the study with George Simmons, secretary of the AMA and editor of its *Journal*.

He also met with Bevan and Colwell, secretary of the Council on Medical Education. He read Colwell's reports on medical schools and found them "creditable and painstaking documents" but "extremely diplomatic."

Flexner then visited his alma mater, Johns Hopkins, where he met with the medical school's leading faculty members, Drs. Welch, Halsted, Mall, Abel, and Howell. Flexner found Hopkins "a small but ideal medical school embodying in a novel way, adapted to American conditions, the best features of medical education in England, France, and Germany." Hopkins became the living model for Flexner. "Without this pattern in the back of my mind, I could have accomplished little."^^

Flexner saw his mission as translating the Hopkins medical school into a standard against which to judge all other medical education in the United States. All others paled before this "one bright spot." Flexner's praise of Hopkins grew ecstatic:

It possessed ideals and men who embodied them, and from it have emanated the influences that in a half-century have lifted American medical education from the lowest status to the highest in the civilized world. All honor to Oilman, Welch, Mall, Halsted, and their colleagues and students who hitched their wagon to a star and never flinched!"

Flexner visited every one of the 155 medical schools in the United States and Canada. Colwell, of the AMA, went with him to most of them. In nearly all cases, the school administrators and faculty laid bare the facts of their existence—facilities, laboratory equipment, numbers of faculty and their qualifications, numbers of students and their preparation, the curriculum, patients available as teaching material, income from student fees, and endowments.^o

Even administrators and faculty who knew their schools were

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deficient in many assets the Council on Medical Education believed important permitted Flexner and Colwell access to facilities, staff, and account books. Many of the schools were run by doctors who were committed to elevating the profession and saw the importance of creating scientific medical schools. Even more persuasive in opening medical schools to inspection was that deans, faculty, and trustees of most medical schools believed that Flexner's visit "would be followed by gifts from Mr. Carnegie to set things right." Whatever fear the medical school deans and faculty had of the consequences of public criticism, they understood that failure to comply with the Carnegie study would result in their rapid demise. The market for medical students was very competitive, and bad publicity would do serious injury. But riskier still were the dynamics of the competitive market. If many competing medical schools that cooperated with the Carnegie study got a large advantage—for example, a new laboratory or an endowment—the financial collapse and demise of the disadvantaged was assured.^ ^

Some colleges resisted inspection, but resistance was grounds for suspicion. To the recalcitrant medical schools, Pritchett let it be known that "all colleges and universities, whether supported by taxation or by private endowment, are in truth public service corporations," and, therefore, the foundation, the medical profession, and the public had a right to know about their finances and educational practices. Rather than fear intervention by outsiders, the leading reformers in the profession savored this attitude of the foundation. Not only did this attitude support their campaign, but it recognized medicine as a vital societal function.^ ^

## flexner's findings

Flexner visited the medical schools and wrote his report in the space of eighteen months. His whistle-stop tour and his acerbic comments on what he saw gave him a reputation, even among medical reformers, for being "erratic" and "hasty in judgment." The medical faculty at Harvard were insulted and in return cast aspersions on his ability while the faculties at lesser schools merely bristled."

Not coincidentally, Flexner's criticisms of American medical schools and his recommendations for reform were perfectly

consistent with those of the leading medical profession reformers. Flexner attacked medical schools for producing too many doctors, for requiring too little education before admission to medical school, for having inadequate facilities and faculty and providing inadequate training, and for creating a social composition for the medical profession that was inappropriate to its important social role.

Flexner and Pritchett both attached great importance to medicine's changing role in society. The physician's function in society, traditionally "individual and curative," was rapidly becoming "social and preventive."<sup>147</sup> If "society relies" on doctors for important social functions, then "the interests of the social order" must be considered first in any public policy for reforming the profession.<sup>148</sup> What was wrong with the medical profession from society's point of view?

Overcrowding was the most serious problem with the profession, according to Pritchett and Flexner. If Germany could thrive with one doctor for every 2,000 inhabitants, then the United States, with an average of one doctor for every 568 persons, suffered from a severe oversupply of physicians. Overcrowding forces professionals into competition with one another, fighting for a relatively inelastic market of patients and encouraging one another to perform unnecessary services to increase their incomes. Overcrowding "decreases the number of well-trained men who can count on the profession for a livelihood," reducing the attractiveness of a medical career to competent men. "The country needs fewer and better doctors," Flexner argued, and "the way to get them better is to produce fewer."<sup>149</sup>

The main reason for the overcrowding of the profession, as well as for its generally low standards, was the prevalence of "commercial" medical schools. Only fifty of the 155 medical colleges were integral parts of universities. The rest, whether independent or nominally affiliated with a university, were in reality run by the medical faculty alone without any outside control. These proprietary schools depended on students' fees, which were divided up among the local practitioners who were lecturers in the school. Many of the faculty fattened their incomes through "the consultations which the loyalty of their former students threw into their hands." Faculty chairs in the commer-

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cial schools were bought and sold, sometimes for as much as \$3,000.<sup>150</sup>

Commercial medical schools dragged down medical education in its entirety, argued Flexner. Their incomes based entirely on student fees, the schools tended to admit as many students as possible and to reduce their expenses as much as possible. Since lectures were the cheapest form of education—in which the income from student fees went directly to the faculty instead of being invested in buildings, laboratories, or equipment—medical education came to consist almost entirely of lectures until the 1880s. The necessity of laboratory and clinical training for the scientific medical doctor greatly strained the resources of proprietary medical schools. The choice was clear. "The medical profession is an organ differentiated by society for its own highest purposes, not a business to be exploited by individuals according to their own fancy."<sup>151</sup> To assure its public service character, medical schools must be made integral parts of universities.

The social importance of the medical profession meant not only that medical education should not be left to proprietary organization, but that it should be reserved for those who could afford "a liberal and disinterested educational experience." Proprietary medical schools, with their admission requirements of four years of high school or its "equivalent," attracted "a mass of unprepared youth . . . drawn out of industrial occupations into the study of medicine." Neither "the crude boy" nor "the jaded clerk" were suitable material for a career in medicine.<sup>152</sup> Flexner proposed a minimum two years of college for admission to medical school at a time when only 15 percent of the high school age population was enrolled in high school and only 5 percent of the college age population was enrolled in a college or university.<sup>153</sup>

Consistent with the racism of his period, Flexner argued that "the practice of the Negro doctor would be limited to his own race." However, "self-protection not less than humanity" should encourage white society to support

improved training for black physicians: "ten millions of them live in close contact with sixty million whites." In addition, the importance of black physicians in facilitating "the mental and moral improvement" of their race required creating an elite core of scientific black doctors. Applying the formula of "the fewer, the better," Flexner

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recommended that of seven black medical schools then in existence, only Meharry and Howard be continued/\*

Flexner also recommended closing the three women's medical colleges. Schools for women alone were unnecessary and inefficient since "medical education is now . . . open to women upon practically the same terms as men." If the number of women medical students was declining, it demonstrated a lack of either "any strong demand for women physicians or any strong ungratified desire on the part of women to enter the profession," or both. Flexner seemed to believe, with most of his peers, that women are seldom equipped for the mental rigors of medicine and, if middle or upper class, women make better patients than doctors."\*^

The very clear consequence was to be an across-the-board reduction in the production of doctors, with especially large reductions in the numbers of poor and working-class young men, blacks, and women entering the medical profession. The social class and status of medicine would be raised, together with the incomes of physicians, to a level appropriate to its role in society. These changes were made necessary, according to Flexner, by the requirements of scientific medicine as well as by medicine's new social role.

Flexner found that only twenty-three of the country's 155 medical schools required two or more years of college preliminary to medical school. And 132 schools admitted students with a high school education or its "equivalent." The latter would be a tolerable "temporary adjustment" where there were not enough college students to fill the medical school openings, but two years of college provides "the varied and enlarging cultural experience" necessary to a modern physician.'\*^

Instruction in biology, chemistry, and physics should be required before the student could enter medical school. The medical college curriculum was to proceed from there. In the first two years the student would study anatomy, physiology, bacteriology, pathology, and pharmacology. With this thorough grounding in the laboratory sciences, the student would spend his or her third and fourth years in supervised clinical study. Only the better medical schools, affiliated with universities and requiring two years preliminary college education, provided the model curriculum.\*^

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Flexner's report thus sought to place medical education on a uniform basis consistent with the needs of scientific medicine and to elevate the status of the medical profession to a position consistent with its important social role. This mission required eliminating both proprietary schools and the lower classes, restricting the opportunities of women and blacks to enter the practice of medicine, as well as increasing the preliminary requirements and standardizing the curriculum into a graded, four-year program. Reducing the supply of physicians was no mere by-product of Flexner's program. "The improvement of medical education cannot," he argued, "be resisted on the ground that it will destroy schools and restrict output: that is precisely what is needed."\*\*^

Flexner's analysis and recommendations were strikingly like those of the leading reformers of his time within the profession. For at least a decade before Flexner's report was published in 1910, medical journals argued that the profession was overcrowded and that improving medical education was the best means of restricting output. "We raise the standard of medical education year by year, yet the mushroom colleges do not go," Frank Lydston complained to his colleagues in 1900. "We have done the best we could to breed competition by manufacturing doctors."\*\*^

In 1901 the AMA Journal warned that the growth of the medical profession should be stemmed "if the individual members are to find the practice of medicine a lucrative occupation."\*\*^ And in 1905, Council on Medical Education member V. C. Vaughan told the council's first national conference that "the supply quite equals the demand, and for this reason the time is propitious for raising the barrier to admission one notch

high-gj. "48 yj^g argument that medical students should be drawn only from the better classes hkewise did not originate with Flexner."\*

At their 1905 national conference and in the following year, the council had urged a temporary preliminary education requirement of high school graduation and one year each of university physics, chemistry, and biology. The council had also recommended a curriculum of four years, with anatomy, physiology, pathology, pharmacology, and bacteriology in the first two years and supervised clinical study in the last two.^o

Strict university affiliation had been a cornerstone of the medical education reform movement for at least forty years by

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the time Flexner published his report. The university affiliations of most nineteenth-century medical colleges provided the medical school with prestige and legitimacy and gave the university credit for having a medical school, but there were few administrative or academic ties. Charles Eliot, when he assumed the presidency of Harvard in 1869, asserted the authority of the university over the medical faculty and turned the medical school over "like a flapjack," in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, then a faculty member in the school. Eliot's new regime raised entrance requirements, instituted scientific medical courses, and forced the faculty to submit to the normal university administrative and academic authorities. Eliot hoped to attract an endowment by demonstrating that the medical school was no longer a private venture "for the benefit of a few physicians and surgeons." His plan was successful. Subordination of the medical school to the university became a key plank in the platform of medical education reformers.^'

The coincidence of Flexner's and the profession's analysis and recommendations could be due to the compelling claims of scientific medicine. That is, any two investigators of the medical profession at that time might have been led to more or less the same conclusions because, within the strategy of developing medical science, the deficiencies of the profession and medical training were obvious. But the relationship of Flexner to the profession was close. His brother was director of the country's leading medical research institute, and he consulted at great length with the AMA leadership throughout his study.

In fact, it was explicitly understood from the beginning that the Carnegie study would be part of the council's campaign, lending credibility to the council's plans for reforms. Six months before Flexner's report was published, Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation, wrote Bevan:

In all this work of the examination of the medical schools we have been hand in glove with you and your committee. In fact, we have only taken up the matter and gone on with the examination very much as you were doing, except that as an independent agency disconnected from actual practice, we may do certain things which you perhaps may not. When our report comes out, it is going to be ammunition in your hands."

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Bevan, anxious to start getting mileage out of the Carnegie study, wanted Flexner and Pritchett to speak at an AMA meeting several months before the report was to be published. Pritchett was concerned that if the conspiracy between the foundation and the AMA was made visible—and especially before publication—the report would lose some credibility, and the foundation's "disinterested" image would be tarnished. "It is desirable," he privately added to Bevan, "to maintain in the meantime a position which does not intimate an immediate connection between our two efforts."

This sort of deception increased the credibility of the Flexner report, but it was not essential to the transformation underway. It merely helped along the social and economic forces already in motion.

## IMPACT OF THE REPORT

When the Flexner report was published as "Bulletin Number Four," the Carnegie Foundation found itself the object of "more stone-throwing than was to be expected" for its association with the "Medical Trust"—the AMA



and its Council on Medical Education. Pritchett was embarrassed by the "somewhat dogmatic appearance" of the report which lent credibility to charges of collusion with the AMA, but Bevan and the AMA felt "very much flattered by such an association." Regardless of how Pritchett felt about the public impugning of the foundation's reputation, neither he nor the foundation backed down from its support for the AMA."

Pritchett did not consider that aligning his foundation with the medical professionals might compromise the foundation's larger objectives. Only in 1913 did he begin to see a conflict developing between the profession's objectives of closing medical schools right and left and the foundation's goals of rationalizing higher education and providing for a professional group to fulfill an important function in society. The council's demand for one year of college preparation for admission to every medical school in the country did not take account of regional differences and especially the relative backwardness of the South. Pritchett feared that the very classification scheme that so impressed him in 1907 was being used to set medical education off from the rest of

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the school system, rather than gradually pressuring the lower schools to meet the preliminary training needs of the medical schools. He accused the council of disregarding "the educational results which the school system itself can turn out," and he warned that "your power will quickly disappear if you advocate courses which are educationally indefensible."^^

Pritchett gradually came to realize that the medical profession's interests would lead it to actions that conflicted with the interests that the foundation wanted to further. By 1918 it was clear to Pritchett that the AMA would wreck all medical education for blacks if left to its own devices. Believing in the social importance of black doctors among black people, the Carnegie Foundation was supporting the Meharry medical school while the council was rating it a class B school. Pritchett protested the "grave injustice done to the negro [sic] schools" by the council's de facto policy of not extending to them the same leniency given to white schools in the South. The policies of the zealous AMA reformers were closing medical schools and disrupting the attempts to build a uniform school system, all without regard for the public interest as defined by the leading foundations. Pritchett threatened to call a meeting of his and the Rockefeller foundations, representatives of some licensing boards, and the dozen "stronger medical schools" to force the council to "revise its present classification of medical schools."" Within a decade of his cordial meeting with Bevan at the Chicago Club, Pritchett had come to view the council's power in much the way Dr. Frankenstein viewed his own creation.

Pritchett's dismay at the council's use of its power was undoubtedly made more painful because of the influence exerted by the Carnegie report. It is sometimes forgotten that the report did not create the movement for medical school reform. The movement for scientific medical education had borne its first fruit four decades earlier. Charles Eliot had led the reform of the Harvard medical school beginning in 1870. Also in the seventies the first teaching hospital was founded by an American university in Michigan, state medical licensing boards were reestablished, and the Illinois board had begun a series of influential reports on medical schools. The Council on Medical Education's own survey of medical schools in 1907 was, of course, the model for Flexner's study and had a substantial impact itself. The pro-

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fession's increasing control of state boards made rapid "progress" possible. ^^

Flexner noted that even before his study was published, great strides had been made in reforming medical education. Medical school programs had been extended to four years, clinical teaching had been added to didactic methods, laboratories were widely available and had been expanded, admission standards had been adopted and were held up to with varying degrees of commitment, and state boards—the police power behind the reform movement—had been created in most states. The consequences of these changes were admirable. The number of medical schools was declining, he noted, and independent and commercial schools were rapidly giving up the ghost."

Flexner's report thus aided a process already underway. The rate of consolidation and elimination of medical

schools was as rapid before the report as after. Between 1904 and 1915 some ninety-two schools closed their doors or merged, forty-four of them in the first six years to 1909 and forty-eight in the second six years to 1915.<sup>^^</sup>

Cut off from sources of funding, in part by Flexner's recommendation, the five disapproved medical schools for blacks soon closed. With racism as rampant in white medical schools and medical societies as throughout the rest of the society, medical care for blacks declined even further. In 1910 there was one black doctor for every 2,883 black people in the United States (compared with one physician to every 684 people for the nation as a whole), but by 1942 the ratio had grown further to one black physician for every 3,377 black people.<sup>^</sup> Flexner's attitude toward women in medicine, more extreme than the views of many of his contemporaries, certainly contributed to keeping women at an average of less than 5 percent of all medical graduates from 1900 until World War II. Today women constitute about a fifth of all medical students and blacks about 6 percent, both far less than their proportions in the population but substantially higher than a decade earlier because of the recent struggle for an affirmative action policy in medical school admissions.

Flexner's report also contributed to eliminating sectarian medical colleges. Scientific schools no longer called themselves "regular." By 1932 Arthur Dean Bevan was able to say apprecia-

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tively, "We were, of course, very grateful to Pritchett and to Flexner" for enabling "us to put out of business" the homeopathic and eclectic medical schools in existence in 1910.<sup>^^</sup> Flexner's contribution was not as substantial as Bevan remembered: The 31 homeopathic and eclectic schools surviving in 1910 were down a third from their number in 1900.<sup>^\*</sup>

The report's direct impact on the profession was moderate, but its consequences were indirectly monumental. As Flexner himself pointed out, the report spoke to the public on behalf of the medical reform movement. It helped "educate" the public to accept scientific medicine, and, most important, it "educated" wealthy men and women to channel their philanthropy to support research-oriented scientific medical education. The Flexner report and the Carnegie Foundation's support brought economic and political power into the war as partisans of the "regular" doctors cum-scientific medical men.

Within a year following the report's publication, the General Education Board entered the fray in earnest. By 1920 the GEB had appropriated nearly \$15 million for medical education and by 1929 a total of more than \$78 million. By 1938 contributions from all foundations to medical schools exceeded \$150 million.<sup>^^</sup> The frequently used matching grant policy, requiring the recipient institution to raise an equal sum itself, greatly increased the impact of their funds. Because the foundation grants were conditional on specific reforms in the medical schools, the foundations exerted a major influence. They forced schools to adopt a research orientation, required teaching hospitals to subordinate their autonomy and patient care to the needs and authority of a university medical school, and established salaried clinical professorships.

The foundations' power was in providing the outside capital for the reform of medical education and the profession itself. As the suppliers of that capital, they were able to dictate terms to the profession. In the earliest years, however, it was the profession that defined the goals and the strategy. The Carnegie Foundation had provided its resources to the leading medical professionals. The Flexner report united the interests of elite practitioners, scientific medical faculty, and the wealthy capitalist class. The report validated the elite professionals and enabled them to speak to philanthropists with a single voice, amplified by the Carnegie

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Foundation. Without the Carnegie report, the fears of "misdirected generosity," voiced by the AMA Journal in 1901,<sup>^^</sup> might have been even more justified than they turned out to be.

## THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD: MEDICAL EDUCATION GETS A DIFFERENT DRUMMER

While Pritchett was parrying blows from critics and soaking up support from the medical profession reformers,

Flexner was sent abroad by the foundation to study European medical schools. Back home in New York in the spring of 1911, while he was writing the report of his personal investigation, he was invited to lunch by Frederick T. Gates.

As Flexner recalled the momentous meeting years later, Gates complimented him on Bulletin Number Four and asked him, "What would you do if you had a million dollars with which to make a start in reorganizing medical education in the United States?"

"Without a moment's hesitation" Flexner recommended giving it all to Welch and the Johns Hopkins medical school. Flexner could not have recommended anyone in medicine more dear to Gates' heart. Gates asked Flexner to obtain a leave for a few weeks from the Carnegie Foundation to go to Baltimore as an agent of the General Education Board and report back on his findings at Johns Hopkins. Flexner was delighted and went off to Baltimore assured that the million dollars was available.^^

In Baltimore Flexner went directly to Welch and explained that the GEB might add a million dollars to the Johns Hopkins medical school endowment and that he was there to study the situation and report back to Gates. Welch arranged a dinner that night at the Maryland Club and invited two of Hopkins' most illustrious medical faculty, Franklin P. Mall, an anatomist who in effect represented the medical science faculty, and William S. Halsted, a surgeon and de facto representative of the clinical faculty.

Mall spoke without hesitation: "If the school could get a sum of approximately \$1 million, in my judgment there is only one thing that we ought to do with it—use every penny of its income

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for the purpose of placing upon a salary basis the heads and assistants in the leading clinical departments." That, Mall added, "is the great reform which needs now to be carried through.""

Mall's suggestion was the focus of Flexner's report to Gates. Flexner recommended a grant of \$1.5 million to reorganize the medical, surgical, obstetrical, and pediatric departments, placing the clinical faculty on a full-time basis. The "full-time plan" would require the clinical faculty, at that time earning roughly \$20,000 to \$35,000 a year from consultations, to become salaried employees of the medical school and to turn over all their consultation fees to the school. Incomes would thus drop to \$10,000 for a department head, still a very high salary for the period, and \$2,500 for his assistants.

Flexner's report, in the same tradition of thoroughness as his Bulletin Number Four and Gates' own reports to Rockefeller nearly two decades earlier, greatly impressed Gates. The recommendation was informally adopted as policy, and, at Gates' request, Flexner returned to Baltimore and personally explained it to Welch and gave him an informal and confidential assurance that a Hopkins application for \$1.5 million to institute the reforms would be approved by the GEB. It would be up to Welch to convince his faculty and the university trustees to make the reform, for it was to be the only basis of the GEB's grant. "No pressure was used," Flexner recalled, "no inducement was held out." Just \$1.5 million.^^

When Flexner brought the proposal to the GEB, the full-time plan already had a powerful advocate within the board. Three years earlier Gates had been instrumental in establishing the strict full-time provision for physician-researchers at the Rockefeller Institute's new hospital.^" With a view to the needs of maintaining and further developing capitalist society. Gates believed the full-time plan would encourage the application of science to medicine and reduce the independence of the medical profession.

Gates, a director of industry, finance, and philanthropy, believed, as did other men in his position, in the usefulness of science and technology. Science could discover the causes of diseases, and technology could develop the means to prevent or cure disease. But medical science could neither relieve the misery of the world nor make the work force healthier if people could

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not afford its services. Likewise, the cultural and legitimizing functions of medicine could not be performed if medical services were priced out of the reach of the working population. The financial independence of the medical profession was an obstacle to bringing the benefits of science to the people. "This practice of fixing his own price granted to American physicians by custom," Gates wrote to the other GEB trustees, "is the greatest present American obstruction to the usefulness of the science of medicine. For it confines the benefits of the science too largely to the rich, when it is the rightful inheritance of all the people aUke, and the public health requires they have it."^\*

Commercialism was fine in the economic sectors that should be reserved for profit making, but in medicine it violated the needs of capitahst society. The full-time plan was adopted by the GEB as its central policy in medical education to help bring the medical profession to heel and subordinate its practices to the needs of industrial capitalism for fully accessible medical care, or, as board member Jerome D. Greene put it, to abate "commer-ciaHsm in the medical profession."^^ If the elite, standard-setting medical schools supported by the GEB adopted the fixed-price schedule for medical services. Gates argued, "public sentiment, in no time, will enforce those schedules, if reasonable, not only throughout their cities but other cities and finally the country at large."«

The full-time plan played a central role in foundation funding of medical education for the following important decade of development. The new arrangement altered the relationship of the medical profession to university medical schools. And it caused deep divisions between the reform-minded elite practitioners in the medical societies and the Rockefeller philanthropies.

## FULL TIME: "GOLD OR GLORY"

As Flexner himself has pointed out, the full-time plan for clinical faculty was suggested to him by Mall, though it had first been advocated publicly in 1902 by Lewellys F. Barker, a former colleague of Mall's at Baltimore and then a professor of anatomy at Chicago."^ The earlier origins of the idea can be traced to more obscure beginnings in German medical laboratories, but its introduction to the United States is of interest here.

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The full-time plan was first instituted in the United States in 1893 when the Johns Hopkins medical school opened its doors. Because of the new school's emphasis on research and the widespread experience that local practitioners do little research in the laboratory sciences, the university provided full-time faculty positions in anatomy, physiology, pathology, and pharmacology. The models for the Hopkins reform were the German medical laboratories and universities where Welch and the other Hopkins medical faculty got their scientific training. For some of the new faculty who had previously spHt their time between private practice and teaching laboratory sciences, the Hopkins plan meant giving up an income of \$10,000 a year or more, in return for a salary of \$3,000 or \$4,000. But the bright young men who were actively recruited were, like Welch and Mall, struggling to survive without private practice.^ For these men, medicine was science and laboratories, not patients and housecalls.

Welch himself had never wanted to be a physician. After graduation from Yale, he wanted to be a tutor in Greek, but the prospect of unemployment thwarted his ambition and drove him to follow his father into medicine. His interest in medicine soon bloomed though not with visions of a bedside practice. Welch was "fired in the dissecting and autopsy rooms with the desire to become a professor of pathological anatomy," wrote Simon Flexner, "to study and examine for the rest of his life without having to make his living as a practitioner." The development of scientific medicine in the United States opened to Welch the possibility of a new kind of medical career, and he ambitiously set about building a future for himself in the medical sciences. Returning from his postgraduate medical studies in Europe, Welch, with a little financial help from his friends, founded the first pathology laboratory in the United States at Bellevue Hospital medical school in New York. From there he was invited to Johns Hopkins by president Gilman as one of the first full-time faculty in the laboratory medical sciences and was soon made dean of the distinguished medical school. Welch devoted his life to building the first medical center "empire," seeking favor with philanthropists, initiating reforms in medical education and research, and planning and organizing new programs and institutions."^

Franklin Paine Mall, after receiving his medical degree from the University of Michigan in 1883, went to Germany for

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additional clinical training and came back a dedicated medical scientist. In Ludwig's and other laboratories Mall learned to love science and to appreciate the freedom to study what interested him. In his anatomy laboratory at Johns Hopkins, Mall was an efficient and organized administrator. He knew the investments of all the major universities and foundations and was good at bringing research grants to his laboratory. Mall put great value on original research as part of the training of physicians. If dissertations were required for the M.D. degree, he urged hopefully, "it would stimulate scientific work in the medical schools, would tend to reduce the number of graduates, and would improve the quahty of the physician."""^

It was Ludwig in Germany who put the bug about full-time clinical teaching into Mall's ear. Mall brought it back to Baltimore and Chicago and spread the idea among Barker and other colleagues. Mall saw the struggle over the full-time plan as a contest between the clinical faculty and practicing physicians, on the one hand, and the laboratory science faculty, on the other. Reform practitioners had demanded full-time laboratory faculty for the first two years of basic science in medical school, and now "it falls to us to demand of the last two years of medicine what they demanded of the first two." With a sense of victory occasioned by the GEB's proposal to Hopkins, Mall added that "the day of reckoning is at hand." The lesser salaries of full-time faculty should not deter brilliant men and women from entering the field. As Mall liked to put the issue, a physician must choose "which 'G' to worship—Gold or Glory."

Other laboratory science faculty had similar motivations. Many were undoubtedly drawn to the medical sciences partly by the field's growing prestige, partly by their interest in the single-minded pursuit possible in a laboratory, and partly for escape from hustling patients and dealing with the mundane business of medical practice.

To the laboratory scientists, limiting clinicians to their salaries would accomplish several things at once. First, they believed that medicine should be fundamentally a science devoted to finding the bio-physical causes of disease and less an art of bedside diagnosis and hopeful therapies. Second, since the medical sciences prospered most with faculty devoting themselves entirely to research and teaching, it followed in their thinking that clinical

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instruction would also benefit from the clinical faculty's singular devotion to research and teaching. Third, since the medical school competed with the clinicians' private practice for their time and energy, eliminating private practice would unify and rationalize the organization of the medical school. CHnicians would no longer be responsible to an outside practice. Finally, eliminating clinicians' private practices would unify the material interests of all the faculty in the medical school. Clinical faculty, leaving behind large and fashionable private practices, would derive their incomes and reputations from the same source as the laboratory faculty. From at least the days of Benjamin Rush, practitioners had used their faculty positions in medical schools to build large, prestigious, and very lucrative private practices. The proposed full-time plan would reduce such practices, making the main clinical faculty captives of the medical school, with loyalties no longer divided between personally lucrative consultations and the needs of the school for research and teaching.

Some practitioners as well as academic doctors were mindful of the need for faculty who would commit themselves mainly to teaching. As early as 1900, the AMA Journal argued that clinical departments should be headed by physicians "who are properly paid and of whom more may be demanded than of those who regard their clinical services merely as a means of rapidly acquiring a large private clientele."^^

But as news of the Hopkins plan spread, the outrage among private practitioners grew. The AMA appointed a special committee on the reorganization of clinical teaching. Its chairman, Victor Vaughan of Michigan, tried to steer a middle course, rejecting extreme involvement in private practice by clinical faculty while expressing the

committee's considerable skepticism of the full-time plan. Vaughan concluded that even if the plan were ideal, it would not be feasible for any but a few medical schools that were well endowed.<sup>^^</sup>

Many clinical faculty charged that full-time medical school faculty, based in laboratories and wards, made "poor practitioners" because they were more concerned with research than with patients as suffering human beings. They claimed that without a private practice a physician would lose touch with the real practice of medicine and be a poor example for medical students. WiUiam Osier, the renowned professor of medicine at Hopkins

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who had introduced a number of reforms in clinical teaching, had always been an advocate of "medicine as art" as well as science. He frequently argued with Mall, who conceived of medicine as simply a research science. When Osier left Hopkins for Oxford in 1904, he bitterly conceded to Mall, "Now I go, and you have your way."<sup>^^</sup> The initiation of the full-time plan at Hopkins must not have surprised him, and he wrote from England his severe criticisms of the proposed change. Similarly, the highly regarded Society of Chnical Surgery, including such celebrated surgeons as Charles Mayo and George W. Crile, registered their opposition to the plan. Other general and specialty societies joined the chorus."<sup>^</sup>

Practitioner attacks on the full-time plan exposed their ideological, material, and political differences with academic physicians, particularly the laboratory scientists. Although the practitioners' and academics' common interest in promoting scientific medicine had united them at the end of the nineteenth century, differences quickly developed as to just what that meant. Academics differed with practitioners over the relative weight of science and art in medicine, the financial interests of practitioner-clinicians, and who should control medicine.

Medical scientists and their foundation alHes believed that medicine was at its best as an exact science, isolating variables in the laboratory and finding a cure under very precise laboratory conditions. Practitioners, in the business of selling cures to patients, seldom saw the relevance of laboratory controls to treating individuals in the real world. With all their deficiencies, the proprietary schools had, in the words of Rosemary Stevens, "at least been firmly attuned to the average practitioner."<sup>^^</sup> The medical ideology implicit in the full-time plan was now driving practitioners and academics apart.

Whether the practitioners were driven more by their commitment to practice or by consideration for their bank accounts is, of course, a moot question. The issues were so intertwined that it was never clear whether the argument that medicine is an art was simply a ruse to hide pecuniary motives. Clinicians fiercely defended their material interests against the infringements of the full-time plan. Arthur Dean Bevan denounced the plan as "unethical and illegal" because it deprived clinical faculty of their fees.<sup>^°</sup>

Finally, the full-time plan exposed a poHtical conflict that

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grew out of the different material conditions of practitioners and academics. The AM A sought to control medical education as a vehicle for controlling entry into the profession and thereby medical care itself. The scientific medical school faculty, on the other hand, thought that they should control medical care. Medical scientists, remarked a prominent British physiologist in 1914, ought to "remodel the whole system so as to fight disease at its source. . . . Surely it is a time when those who have laid the scientific foundations for the new advances should take counsel together, assume some generalship, and show how the combat is to be waged."<sup>^^</sup> The Rockefeller philanthropists clearly sided with the medical scientists and cast their weighty fortune with the armies of academe.

Behind the passion of the AMA's attacks were the realizations that the position of medical faculty would no longer be a lucrative supplement for private practitioners and that the full-time clinical faculties' main loyalties would be to medical schools and not the organized profession. Elite practitioners would now have to choose either a grand income or a respected teaching and research position. But even more important to the strategy for controllhng medical education, the full-time plan, by reducing the clinician's income and monopolizing his loyalties and material interests in the medical school, would cut the clinical faculty off from private

practitioners. Instead of linking together the interests of the ehte practitioners with those of the medical schools, full-time clinical faculty would help separate the medical schools from the organized private practice profession. The full-time plan would reduce the power of the organized profession, in particular, the AMA and its Council on Medical Education, within the medical schools.

Of course, things were different in the 1910s from the way they had been at the turn of the century. The profession's reform strategy had accomplished much of what it set out to do: It had established scientific medicine as the ascending model of medical practice and education; it had reduced the number of schools considerably and thereby the output of new physicians; and it had secured supportive legislation and licensing laws. But the plan had just begun to work, physicians' incomes and prestige were rising, and the end was not in sight. Medical schools were still considered key to the strategy and to continued control by the organized profession of its own material conditions. And the

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AMA leadership was not about to let that control slip from its grasp. The profession launched a campaign to discredit and oppose the full-time plan.

## SELLING THE FULL-TIME PROPOSAL

Welch, an astute medical politician, anticipated the furor the plan would provoke. Four years before Mall suggested the idea to Flexner, Welch had called for reforms that would allow clinical department heads to "devote their main energies and time" to teaching and research, "without the necessity of seeking their livelihoods in a busy outside practice and without allowing such practice to become their c/z/^/professional occupation."^^

When the GEB proposed to fund full-time organization of Hopkins' clinical departments, Welch faced the dilemma of mediating the interests of the laboratory science faculty with those of the clinicians. Welch asked the GEB to allow some exceptions to the full-time rule, enabling the university president or "some other responsible authority" to permit some full-time, salaried professors to keep their consulting fees.\*^ The board adamantly refused to allow any exceptions.

The laboratory faculty unanimously endorsed the plan, but, Flexner later recalled, "there was a rift among the clinicians."^^ Within two years Welch won sufficient support from the clinical faculty. Lewellys Barker, the Hopkins professor of medicine who had publicly advocated the full-time plan in 1902, stood in the way of its implementation at Johns Hopkins. He chose "gold" over "glory" and resigned his professorship, agreeing to become a "clinical professor," drawing a small salary from the medical school but being able to devote most of his time to a lucrative private practice. In his place, Theodore Janeway gave up his chair at the College of Physicians and Surgeons and an elite practice in New York to become the first full-time professor of medicine in the United States. William Halsted was named professor of surgery and Charles Howland, professor of pediatrics. In October 1913 Welch formally applied for the grant, accepting the condition that the full-time clinical faculty at all ranks—assistant professor to professor—would "derive no pecuniary benefit" from any professional services they rendered. The board immediately voted its approval and a grant of \$1.5 million.^

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Three months later the GEB decided to devote all its funds in medical education to "the installation of full-time clinical teaching." Flexner had been hired by the board to administer their program in medical education, and he applied himself with his usual energy/^

Within a year Welch reported that "the full-time system is a great success" at Hopkins.^ Halsted and Rowland found the system to their liking, but Janeway resigned his position in 1917 to return to private practice in New York. He was dissatisfied with the full-time arrangements, he wrote in a widely publicized journal article, both because "outside engagements" had been a major source of clinical knowledge to him and because he and his family were used to a higher standard of living than he could afford on his salary. It was "unnatural and repugnant to the patient's sense of justice," he said with great sympathy for his patients, "that a consulting

physician should not receive the usual fee for such service."\*\*^

In 1919 even Osier backed off from his opposition. He asked Welch to use his influence to persuade the GEB to "help McGill start up-to-date clinics in medicine and surgery." Osier made it clear that he did not favor the full-time scheme, but he believed it was now necessary at the Canadian school because "new conditions have arisen" which would leave McGill behind the other first-class schools that had instituted full-time teaching in medicine and surgery.\*^

Over the next few years the board voted more than \$8 million from its general funds for similar reorganizations on a full-time basis of the medical schools at Washington University at St. Louis, Yale, and the University of Chicago. With the matching grant policy, these funds represented several millions more in support for the reforms. Between 1919 and 1921 Rockefeller, Sr., contributed \$45 million to the General Education Board specifically for medical education.

The first appropriation from this special fund was a grant of \$4 million to Vanderbilt University to make the Nashville medical school a model for the South. The GEB considered Nashville its "strategic point" in the South and Vanderbilt the institution that would lead the drive to improve Southern "public health and industrial and agricultural efficiency."^° By 1960 Vanderbilt, the board's major white university in the South, received a total of \$17.5 million from the GEB for medical education. Meharry

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Medical College, the board's model black medical school and one of only two that Flexner had argued should survive, received less than half the sum given to the white institution.^' Despite its relative stinginess toward black medical education, the board firmly believed that scientifically trained black doctors were necessary to improve the health of blacks, protect the health of neighboring whites, and provide an elite and "responsible" leadership for the black population. Through its annual grants to Meharry, it exerted substantial control and even instituted full-time teaching in medicine and surgery in the 1930s, with approved white faculty members in charge and a hand-picked white president.^ ^

The board used its \$45 million to foster, if not force, acceptance of the full-time plan at the major medical schools in the country. But not all the schools were won over as easily as Hopkins.

## BOSTON BRAHMINS RESIST

Harvard staunchly refused to accept the full-time plan. In 1913, while negotiating the details of the Hopkins grant with Welch, the GEB invited the Harvard medical school to apply for a grant to place their clinical departments on a full-time basis. The debt-ridden medical school sought a windfall through subterfuge. The faculty asked for \$1.5 million to reorganize all its clinical departments "on a satisfactory university basis." The clinical professors would "devote the major part of their time to school and hospital work," but they could still collect fees from their private patients whom they would see in offices provided by the teaching hospital. This proposal was hardly consistent with the GEB's by then well-known interpretation of full time.'^

The opposition to the GEB's strict full-time policy was led by two powerful members of the Harvard clinical faculty, Harvey Gushing, a renowned neurosurgeon and chief-of-surgery at Peter Bent Brigham Hospital (a Harvard teaching hospital), and Henry A. Christian, former dean of the medical school. Gushing and Christian, like other members of Harvard's clinical faculty, had lucrative private practices, which they refused to give up. They felt it was enough for the clinical faculty to devote themselves to working in the teaching hospital and "to confine their profession-

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al activities within its walls." In return, they wanted to accept fees from "patients who might consult us during hours as we felt justified in setting aside for this purpose." Committed though he was to academic medicine, Gushing even offered his resignation to Harvard president Lowell. But, as Gushing undoubtedly knew, Lowell considered the famous surgeon more important to Harvard's academic reputation than the \$1.5 million



endowment.^^

Gates and Flexner continued to press for strict full-time commitments, turning down Harvard's proposals during several years of negotiations. In addition to their ideological commitment to full time, the GEB members had a pragmatic incentive for pushing it as quickly and widely as possible. Harvard and other schools that allowed their medical faculty to keep their consulting fees were raiding the faculties of schools that adhered to the GEB's policy. In 1921 David Edsall, dean of the Harvard medical school, tried to lure Charles Howland, the Johns Hopkins pediatrician, with the same salary he was getting at Hopkins/?/i/5 consulting fees from private practice. Flexner had to help Hopkins upgrade their facilities as an inducement to keep Howland there.^^

Harvard was able to resist the full-time plan because of its reputation as a leading scientific medical school and because its clinical faculty were too prominent in Boston's ruling social circles to be easily dismissed. Already by 1900 the Harvard medical faculty boasted that it controlled "probably more clinical material than any other one school in the country."^^ Such powerful medical figures were also physicians to the Boston upper class, and by virtue of their earnings, and many their births, they were themselves members of that very class-conscious city's upper crust. It took such Brahmins to refuse to surrender their consulting fees in the face of the GEB's compelling offer, particularly when the school's accounts were heavily in the red.

## FEAR AND TREMBLING IN THE BOARD ROOM

Meanwhile, Charles Eliot, the illustrious former president of Harvard and a trustee of the GEB, carried the battle into the GEB's board room. Eliot argued that "great improvements in

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medical treatment have in recent years proceeded from men who were in private practice."^^ Eliot went on to argue not merely for Harvard's latest proposal but for a complete reversal of the full-time policy and the binding contracts imposed by the GEB on universities accepting its beneficence. How could the insistence of the GEB on full time be reconciled with the board's theoretical hands-off policy, he asked rhetorically. Eliot reminded the board that it had pledged itself not to interfere with the running of a recipient institution, "except as regards its prudential financial management." Yet the board was making its strict interpretation of full-time clinical organization the condition of a grant. "This condition does not seem to me consistent with what I have always believed the wise and generally acceptable policy of the board," Eliot diplomatically concluded.^^

Eliot's arguments fell on receptive ears. The Rockefeller philanthropies were under fire from a range of groups, individuals, and newspapers spanning a considerable portion of the contemporary political spectrum. Ida Tarbell provided fuel for roasting John D. Rockefeller and his financial empire with her "History of the Standard Oil Company," published from 1902 to 1904 in McClure's Magazine. In the latter year, Theodore Roosevelt was elected President on a platform of vacuous promises to bring the trusts to heel. Encouraged by growing popular resentment against the "robber barons" and wishing to channel that resentment through stable political institutions, the Progressive movement won support from the courts as well as the Congress for small reforms and slaps on the wrists of the largest trusts. In 1907 federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis struck Standard Oil of Indiana with an unprecedented \$29 million fine for receiving rebates from the Chicago and Alton Railroad. Making its way through the courts was an unprecedented anti-trust suit. On May 15, 1911, the Supreme Court ordered the Standard Oil Trust, then controlling nearly 90 percent of oil refining and sales in the United States, broken up. Neither action slew the Standard Oil empire nor diminished the fortune of John D. Rockefeller and his family. But as part of a growing public attack on Rockefeller and on unrestricted capital accumulation, these attacks were taken seriously by the Rockefellers and their industrial, financial, and philanthropic organizations.

Hoping to calm the troubled waters of popular hostility and to

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fuel his engine of social transformation, the Standard Oil billionaire attempted to get a congressional charter for the new Rockefeller Foundation. The proposed charter sparked a veritable firestorm of protest from working-

class and Progressive leaders and newspapers. The Los Angeles Record denounced the "gigantic philanthropy by which old Rockefeller expects to squeeze himself, his son, his stall-fed collegians and their camels, laden with tainted money, through 'the eye of the needle.'" Expressing a widespread suspicion of philanthropy, the paper argued that the "monopoly-ridden masses don't want charity under any guise, but justice." The charter bill foundered in Congress for three years and in the end failed to sweep aside the articulated public anger.^^

The Rockefeller organization found a more receptive mood in Albany and was granted an unrestricted charter by the New York legislature in 1913. But even in New York, anti-Rockefeller Progressive sentiments continued to haunt both the man and his corporate philanthropies. In 1917 State Senator John Boylan introduced a bill to repeal the foundation's charter. Although this attack also failed to stop the Rockefeller philanthropy, it added flack to the assault. What most upset the Rockefeller group about this campaign were the testimony and speeches in support of the bill from Bird S. Coler, a respected Wall Street stockbroker cum-Progressive. ^o"

Meanwhile, more specific attacks were being leveled against the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundation programs. The National Education Association (NEA), meeting in St. Paul in 1914, condemned the foundations' education programs for introducing undemocratic controls into the schools. Working-class and Progressive newspapers supported the NEA resolution. The radical organs understood the capitalist class character of the foundation programs in education. The Pittsburgh, Penn., Leader considered the foundation programs so effective "that it is difficult for genuine teachers to make any headway against the class concepts that hold their heads so high in school and college."\*o^

The most thoroughgoing indictment, however, followed the "Ludlow Massacre" at the Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. When workers at the mining operation went on strike in 1914 for union recognition, an eight-hour day, and emancipation from the choking economic, political, and social

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control of the company over the Ludlow miners and their families, the company brought in armed guards. On April 20 the company's private army together with the state militia shot to death six workers and burned the tents in which the strikers' families were forced to live, cremating two women and eleven children inside them. The Ludlow Massacre shocked an already aroused public and focused anger against the Rockefellers. Labor unions, anarchists, socialists, and radicals organized demonstrations and demanded broad reforms to protect labor. Progressives joined the cry for action, and even conservative newspapers criticized the mining company.

Congress created, and President Wilson appointed, the Commission on Industrial Relations to investigate the Ludlow affair, relations between capital and labor, and the role of philanthropic foundations in general. The commission, headed by Frank Walsh, exposed much of capital's relations with the working class to examination and criticism and pointed to the important role of foundations in building a superstructure to extend capital's control throughout society. The Walsh Commission subpoenaed the senior and junior Rockefellers, Charles W. Eliot, and Jerome D. Greene to testify about the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation. The commission's final report noted that the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations' policies are "colored, if not controlled, to conform to the policies" of the country's major corporations, which are themselves controlled by a "small number of wealthy and powerful financiers."^o^

The attacks on Standard Oil and on unrestricted capital accumulation, the hostility to foundations and the Rockefeller programs in particular, and the increased support for radical and socialist working-class movements greatly impressed the rrien of the Rockefeller philanthropies. Eugene Debs, a revolutionary socialist, rolled up nearly one million votes for President in 1912. In the Rockefeller offices and board rooms at 61 Broadway, the din outside must have sounded at times like the trumpets of Jericho.

General Education Board member George Foster Peabody, a New York banker, feared the rising tide would force the government to assume all support of educational institutions (robbing the foundations of their power and influence) and would also lead to "economic legislation which shall preclude the

acquisition of surplus wealth" (the end of capitalism itself). Peabody preached caution in the face of such challenges.'^ ^

Charles Eliot feared the outcome of class conflicts, but he believed the best defense were the programs the foundation had already undertaken:

We need not imagine that the process of accumulating great fortunes ... is going to continue through the coming generations. . . . The evils which I look forward to with dread in the coming years of the Republic are injustice inflicted on those who have by those who have not, and corruption and extravagance in the expenditure of money raised by taxation. Against such evils I know no defense except universal education including the constant inculcation of justice and goodwill. ^ o \*

Gates himself feared possible "confiscation" of wealth, but he had faith in the strength of capitalism to survive. "The recognition of the right to earn and hold surplus wealth marks the dawn of civilization," he noted to himself in 1911. ^ o ^

Gates favored standing fast on the principle of private control of wealth and opposed any special defensive strategies. When Rockefeller Foundation president George Vincent drafted the annual report for 1917, Gates suggested removing a new self-limiting policy statement. Among other points, the new policy precluded the foundation from "supporting propaganda which seek to influence public opinion about the social order and political proposals." Vincent defended the statement on the ground that "the one thing that the opponents of foundations seem most to resent is that attempt to control public opinion." ^ " ^ It was hoped that the formal statement denying the charges would be accepted by the public as a verdict of innocence.

## FEAR UNDERMINES THE FULL-TIME POLICY

Board members feared that the full-time contracts would be seen by the public as another example of private capitalist control of essentially public institutions. Visions of more public attacks and restrictive legislation undermined support for the full-time policy within the board. Anson Phelps Stokes, who succeeded Peabody on the board as the voice of caution, counseled against imposing the full-time policy through contracts. "It is not a question of whether we are right or wrong in our opinions," he

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explained. The full-time plan itself was not an issue. In fact, he thought it was a commendable program.

But it is a question of whether or not we can . . . afford—in view of public opinion and our great wealth as a board—to be imposing, or at least requiring, detailed conditions regarding educational policy in medicine in elaborate contracts which can only be amended with our consent. . . . Personally, I think this policy unwise and fraught with serious dangers.' ^

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The "elaborate contracts" were a policy brought by Gates from the American Baptist Education Society to the Rockefeller business dealings and philanthropies. Applied by the GEB to their grants to medical schools, contracts with the recipient universities uniformly included a clause specifying that if the full-time plan "shall, without the consent of the said General Education board, be abandoned, substantially modified or departed from, the said university will, upon demand of said board, return said securities or any securities representing their reinvestment." ^ o \*

Stokes' fear that the contracts would become public knowledge was prophetic. While Eliot, Lowell, and the medical faculty at Harvard could be counted on to keep a gentlemanly silence about their conflict with the GEB, the more volatile president of Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler, was not adverse to spilling the beans. Under Flexner's hard-nosed leadership, the GEB offered Columbia a substantial grant but only if the university took more decisive control of the medical school, booted out the reigning dean and clinical faculty while instituting the full-time policy, reduced the student enrollment in the medical school, and took more complete control of

Presbyterian Hospital as a teaching facility.'<sup>10</sup>^

After lengthy negotiations between Butler, Flexner, and representatives of the Presbyterian Hospital trustees, Butler rejected the proposals as "so reactionary and so antagonistic to the best interests of the public, of medical education and of Columbia University, that they will not, under any circumstances, be approved by us."<sup>11</sup>

The Presbyterian Hospital trustees, led by philanthropists Edward S. Harkness, W. Sloan, and H. W. deForest, had favored creating a new medical center and had supported all the conditions the GEB was demanding. In 1911 Harkness had given

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Presbyterian Hospital \$1.3 million to encourage them to tighten their bonds with Columbia, giving the medical school exclusive teaching privileges in the hospital and control over Presbyterian's medical staff/" Angered at Butler's rejection of the proposals and his support for the existing practitioner faculty, the hospital trustees voted to sever all ties with the Columbia medical school."<sup>12</sup>

Negotiations continued, with Henry Pritchett and the Carnegie Foundation entering the fray in 1919. The Carnegie Foundation joined with the GEB and the Rockefeller Foundation to offer \$1 million each toward building a new medical center for Columbia and endowing its faculty. Yet the GEB held out for complete fulfillment of their policy on full time."<sup>13</sup>

Pritchett could see no reason for such obstinacy. "It is quite true," he told Flexner, "that certain of the professors are allowed to take a small consulting practice. . . . That is not 100 percent fulfillment, but I should say that it was comparable to the claims of Ivory Soap to be 99.44 percent pure."<sup>14</sup>\*

Pritchett was not only uncommitted to complete subordination of the medical faculty through a strict full-time policy. He also, and perhaps more viscerally, feared attacks on the foundations and the recipient universities. "Such a contract binding a university to a fixed policy laid down by the giver of money seems to me a dangerous thing," he complained to Wallace Buttrick, president of the GEB. "If these contracts were made public, I am sure it would bring down on all educational foundations no less than on the universities themselves severe criticism. It seems to me a dangerous policy for those who administer trust funds to adopt."<sup>15</sup>^

The standard response of the GEB officers to such criticisms of their full-time plan contracts was that "the policy was proposed to us by the trustees and medical faculty of the university and that the terms of the contract were such as they themselves asked for."<sup>16</sup>^ According to this fiction, it was Welch who proposed the full-time plan to the GEB. "We have never asked any institution to adopt the plan," Buttrick claimed. "The Hopkins proposal in all particulars came from Doctor Welch."<sup>17</sup> This self-serving posture was supported by carefully worded statements in letters, personal contacts, and even the contracts themselves. Flexner and others orally and confidentially made known the board's requirements, and they were always careful that any written

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proposals came from the institution. The painstaking, almost nit-picking negotiations with the Columbia medical school faculty, Columbia's president Butler, and trustees of the university belie the GEB's claims that it had "no fixed policy regarding medical education" and that they never attempted to influence the internal policies of universities.<sup>18</sup>^\*

After continued resistance by Harvard and Columbia, public disclosure of the binding contracts, public criticism by the medical profession, and a long history of attacks on corporate philanthropy, the board in 1925 altered its contracts and thus its full-time policy. Eliot had continued his attacks within the board meetings right up to the time of his resignation in 1917, charging the GEE with interfering in the internal affairs of Harvard by demanding full-time organization as the price of an endowment grant. Board member Anson Phelps Stokes carried on the fight to do away with binding contracts and the GEB's narrow definition of full time."<sup>19</sup>^

WINDOW dressing: gates defeated

Although the public clamor for abolition of foundations, or at least for their severe restriction, had abated with the demise of Progressivism, the entry of the United States in the Great War, and the repression of radical and socialist movements following the war, a majority of the GEB's trustees feared a resurgence of such attacks. "Some day the power of the 'dead hand' will again be the subject of political, if not popular, discussion," warned Thomas Debevoise, legal counsel to the board.<sup>77</sup>

Debevoise prepared the arguments to support the majority of the trustees in their fight with Flexner and Gates. First, it was important for the board not to appear to control recipient institutions. "It will hurt the reputation of the board if it attempts to direct the operation of the objects of its bounty," Debevoise argued. Second, binding contracts were unnecessary to keep the universities in line. "Most of the schools which receive money from the board come back at least a second time, and the possibility of their needing additional help should lend all the inducement necessary to make them follow the ideas of the board."<sup>78</sup>

On February 26, 1925, the board voted, with Gates adamantly dissenting, to authorize a contract with the University of Chicago that required full-time clinical faculty to receive no fees for

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patients seen in the university's teaching hospitals but allowed them to "continue to engage in the private practice of their professions outside of the university's hospitals." The contract also allowed the university's board of trustees to make "such modifications and changes by the university in future years as educational and scientific experience may . . . justify."<sup>79</sup>

The final defeat for Gates and Flexner came later that year. At the end of September the executive committee of the GEB voted to modify the original contracts with Johns Hopkins, Vanderbilt, Washington (at St. Louis), and Yale universities to allow the boards of trustees to compromise the full-time provision (if they desired). Gates specifically asked to have his negative vote recorded.<sup>80</sup> Gates took his defeat at age seventy-two as a personal attack and a political blunder. Actually, the policy change was a minor one, a question of tactics rather than of strategy.

The full-time plan was an entering wedge, the first thrust of a continuing struggle by corporate philanthropy to control medical education and medical care—to establish the principle that society's needs, as defined by the corporate class, would prevail over the medical profession's interests. It was the first attempt on a large scale to rationalize medical care in the United States. Gates saw clearly the potential value of academic medicine—doctors subordinated to the university, the university controlled by men and women of wealth, and academic physicians researching the causes of disease and eliminating those causes at their microbiological source. All these relationships and functions would assure that academic doctors, unlike their practitioner colleagues, would serve the needs set before them and not some competing professional interest.

But in 1925 Gates was a strategist from another era. Although a loyal manager himself, he was a product of early corporate capitalism's rugged individualism, who never adapted to corporate liberalism's trust in the State and other bureaucratic organizations run by professionals and managers. He did not realize how fully academic medicine was already the instrument of foundation and capitalist interests.

Dependent on outside funding for its capital and operating expenses, medical education could be guided by whoever footed the bill. The GEB and Rockefeller Foundation efforts to insti-

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tutionalize full-time clinical departments had their effect, even with the resistance and the final defeat of binding contracts. Of the \$13 million in medical school operating expenses in 1926, the largest chunk—42 percent—went to salaries of full-time faculty. The Commission on Medical Education reported that in the twelve years since the GEB launched its program with Johns Hopkins, the largest single increase in budgets was "for salaries and other expenses in the clinical divisions, particularly in those schools which have placed the clinical departments on a university basis."<sup>81</sup>

Medical colleges were caught in a bind. Dependent on student fees, they had always been responsive to student demands. By the turn of the century, state licensing boards were requiring at least the rudiments of a scientific medical education. In 1907 the secretary of the Association of American Medical Colleges was able to report that students no longer sought merely the cheapest route to a medical degree. Guided by the demands of state boards, they wanted scientific medical education "and they are willing to pay for it." Every medical college that kept step with "the better schools" found "that the step taken was a profitable one in every way."

The catch was that it took more than student fees to make those changes. Although tuition fees increased to pay for the changes—in 1910, 81 percent of the medical schools charged less than \$150 per year whereas in 1925, 85 percent charged more than that in fees—they could not increase beyond the willingness of the middle class to pay them. Nevertheless, by 1927 more than one-third of the annual income of medical schools still came from tuition fees. Income from endowments was, by the mid-1920s, the second largest source of income and meant the difference, for most medical colleges, between making it as a class A school or not making it at all.^^ The influence of the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation was profound.

## STATE UNIVERSITIES: PROFESSIONALS, THE STATE, AND CORPORATE LIBERALISM

Between 1919 and 1921 Rockefeller, Jr., Flexner, and Gates persuaded the elder Rockefeller to give the General Education Board \$45 million to be used for medical education. With the

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foundation's program of building up several elite private medical schools well underway, Flexner wanted to expand the program to the lesser but still "strategic" schools of the West and the South.

In the East medical education is altogether in the hands of privately endowed institutions of learning. With the exception of some eight or ten schools, medical education in the West and South is in the hands of state universities. The board has found it practicable to cooperate with endowed institutions in developing their medical schools. It has had thus far no experience with state or municipal institutions in this field. It is evident, however, that if Mr. Rockefeller's benefaction is to be made generally effective, cooperation with state and municipal universities is necessary."

It was not long before Flexner brought a concrete proposal to the board to help the University of Iowa build a modern medical center across the river from its small and outmoded facility. The state legislature had dramatically increased its support of the medical school from less than \$70,000 in 1912-13 to more than \$1 million in 1922-23. But generous though it was to the medical school, the legislature would not appropriate the whole \$4.5 million needed to build a new medical center. Assured of continuing support by the governor and the legislature, Flexner proposed that the Rockefeller philanthropies donate \$2.5 million, with the state agreeing to raise the remainder from the taxes of the people of Iowa.^^^

When Flexner brought the proposal before the board, Gates prepared an unusually long and passionate speech. The stormy meeting was held over two days at the Rockefeller funds' favorite retreat, Gedney Farms near Whhe Plains. Gates orated for the first half day, his white hair falling in disarray over his forehead, and his necktie twisted out of place by his forceful gestures.'^^

Gates attacked the proposed grant to Iowa because: (1) it was a state university, (2) it was therefore "controlled by the taxpayers," (3) "the taxpayer is not intelligent on the needs and cost of first-class medical education," (4) no attempt was being made "to give Iowa the one supreme and simple thing Iowa needs—viz., illumination of the voter," (5) the indigenous Iowa leadership were incapable of carrying out their ideals of uplifting the medical school, and (6) the proposal was presented by Flexner, whom Gates had grown to despise as an upstart, one of

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the "bureaucratic officers, usurping the power of the board."^o

Flexner followed Gates and presented his arguments in favor of supporting Iowa's medical school "in the

mildest manner that I could possibly assume." He defended the plan as being practicable and necessary. "We are trying to aid in the development of a country-wide, high grade system of education in the United States. If we confine our cooperation to endowed institutions, we can practically operate only in the East." Flexner's brief, low-keyed presentation suggested the demeanor of a man assured of victory.'^^'

That afternoon and the next day board members participated in the discussion. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of funding the Iowa proposal.

Gates never forgave Flexner's opposition. "It is amazing," he angrily wrote Flexner. "How could you! You have never squarely met one of my arguments." The issue of not contributing to state universities was a sacred one to Gates. ^^^

For Gates, the issue of the board's making gifts to state universities was bound up with his views on the relations between capital and the State and his attitude toward the people generally. Gates did not argue against the existence of state universities. "Indeed, not a few advantages must be conceded them arising out of the fact that they are tax-supported," Gates asserted. "Every taxpayer is told by his annual tax bills that the higher education is not less necessary for a democracy than the district school and the high school at his door; and that all three are equally the inheritance of his children; that the university is not a privilege reserved for religion or leisure or wealth, but belongs equally to every citizen.'""

Gifts from private wealth, however, would violate the "principle" of taxpayer support for state universities. They are "needless and gratuitous" as well; in 1923 state medical schools received fifteen times more state funds than they got in 1900, a testimonial to the "pride which legislature and people alike take in their universities" as well as to the threefold increase in the states' wealth.'^^

Worse yet, gifts by the Rockefeller philanthropies to state universities would cooperate with the state and federal governments' inheritance taxes, "designed to confiscate between them

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the whole of very large fortunes." Since the Rockefeller philanthropies were "the only part of the Rockefeller fortune certainly safe," none of their funds should be "thrown into the swollen maw of the confiscatory states."^^^

"endow private colleges"

This attitude toward the states had been the official policy of the GEB from 1906 until the 1919 policy statement on the need to expand the medical education program to state-supported medical schools. The board was initially endowed by Rockefeller, Sr., with \$1 million in 1902. In 1905 Gates and Junior persuaded the old man to donate another \$10 million to allow the board to expand its program. Gates wrote Rockefeller's letter accompanying the gift, saying the funds were to be used "to promote a comprehensive system of higher education in the United States." As a member of the board, Gates proceeded to define what "the founder" intended in "his" letter and gift. Gates emphasized the necessity of forming a rationalized system of stable colleges and universities, "comprehensively and efficiently distributed."^^^

Gates' plan was to build up private institutions in population centers by providing them with substantial endowments. The board should "cooperate with denominational agencies," which then controlled most of the private colleges, but the colleges were not to be aided so long as they remained creatures of any church. All of the Rockefeller-funded colleges and universities, as with the Carnegie Foundation's policy, were to be strictly nonsectarian and nondenominational. In addition, Gates declared, "we must seize the centers of wealth and population." Only they can assure continuing support for universities and colleges, adequate student enrollments, and a mutually supportive relationship between the institution and the local business class. This relationship was necessary "for influence, for usefulness, and for every form of power."^^^

Finally, support by the foundation should usually take the form of contributions to the institutions' endowments rather than yearly appropriations for operating budgets. Gates and Rockefeller learned from their

experience with the University of Chicago that supporting a college's operating expenses could easily

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become like quicksand, consuming the whole energy and fortunes of the foundation. Moreover, Gates laid out four strategic reasons for making endowments the prime work of the GEB/^^\*

First, endowments will give universities and colleges financial stability, enabling them to attract a faculty of "great gifts and attainments" without having to pay them high salaries. High-calibre academicians are attracted "not for money but for security, for permanence and continuity of work, for freedom from distraction." The same argument, that people are drawn into academic careers for reasons of security and the undistracted pursuit of research, was applied a few years later to support the demand for full-time clinical faculty. '^'^

Second, by providing endowments to carefully selected institutions, the foundation could "preserve and mass our income ... on the strategic points in ever:increasing and cumulative power." It would not be dissipated in smaller amounts on the operating budgets of lesser programs. Third, general endowments given by the GEB would call forth other gifts and personal involvement by the local business class. ^^°

Finally, the financial stability of the colleges, the involvement of local capitalists in them, and the continued power and wealth of foundations like the GEB would keep the colleges and universities out of the hands of the people. With sufficient endowments, "no clamor of the masses can embarrass the fearless pursuit and promulgation of truth." This truth, hke the colleges themselves, was intended by Gates, as he quoted John Stuart Mill, "to rear up minds and aspirations and faculties above the herd [and] to educate the leisured classes."^"^^

The failure of state universities is their financial dependence on the legislature and the populace. "That fact becomes a powerful reason for endowing the private institutions," Gates candidly argued to the board. "If the test should ever come, the power which will act most effectively to preserve the state institutions will be private and denominational colleges and universities amply endowed and holding and teaching truth whatever may be the passions of the hour, and ultimately directing popular opinion into right channels." And, Gates prophesied, guiding the universities will be private foundations, "everywhere numerous and free." They will "so enlighten and

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direct popular opinion at all times that there can never ensue a conflict between the democracy and its state universities."^"\*^

Thus, giving endowments to colleges in a system of higher education is like planting "apple trees" in the orchard of capitalism.

I want to see a hundred colleges in this country so planted as to cover the whole land and leave no part destitute, each of them planted in a fruitful soil, each so planted that it shall not be overshadowed by others, each conducted under such auspices as will take care of it, see that it is watered, particularly in its earlier years, see that it is properly fertilized, see that the forces of destruction which always fasten themselves on institutions shall be pruned away.^"\*^

## A NEW ROLE FOR THE STATE

During the period in which Gates' policy against giving to state universities was in force, the GEB, with Gates as chairman until 1917, often contributed to state programs. The board provided the salaries of professors of education at Southern state universities to tour their respective states to urge development of tax-supported high schools. The board paid the U.S. Department of Agriculture for the expenses of agricultural demonstration programs in the South. The campaign against the hookworm in the South and throughout the world was conducted by state and national health departments whose expenses were paid in part by Rockefeller money. '^'^^ But there were two important differences between these programs and the issue of contributing to state



university medical schools.

First, the Rockefeller organization directly controlled all these programs. The GEB named the professors of education and defined their duties. Each professor toured his state "as an officer of the university, laden with its wisdom and moral authority." The high schools that were built because of his efforts were paid for and supported by the state and local governments. Similarly, the GEB found and hired Seaman Knapp to develop the agricultural demonstration program. And, again, "the hookworm work is done in every state under the guise of the State Health Boards, while it is in fact minutely directed by Mr. Rockefeller's

staff and paid for with Mr. Rockefeller's money."""^^ Clearly, Gates and the Rockefeller philanthropies were willing to give money to the State when the State provided legitimating cover for their programs and when they were able to direct the operation.

Second, higher education differed from other programs. The bulk of Rockefeller's fortune was being used to expand the economic base of society—"employing labor, multiplying the means of subsistence, and enlarging the national wealth." But Gates recognized that other elements of civilization were equally important if the base was to survive. While Rockefeller's industries were "enlarging the national wealth," his philanthropies must stimulate "progress in government and law, in language and literature, in philosophy and science, in art and refinement." And all these "are best promoted by means of the higher education."^^^ Thus, the institutions that wrought progress in any one sphere—agriculture, public schools, health—were not so important as the institutions that promoted progress of the whole of civilization.

Because they are so widely believed to be fundamental to modern society, colleges and universities are more visible and thus more difficult for a single, national private philanthropy to control. Since the GEB and the Rockefeller Foundation could not control the institutions directly, they had to rely on people within each state. For Gates, it was tenuous enough to rely on local business classes to control private colleges. It was unthinkable to yield that control to the people, even through their legislators. It became a sacrosanct principle for Gates not to support state university programs that could not be directly controlled by the foundation.

As public and governmental attacks on Rockefeller and his philanthropies started to mount, Gates' confidence in the ability of private colleges and foundations to protect private wealth turned to bitter pessimism. "There are too many evidences for my peace of mind," he wrote Rockefeller, Sr., following Judge Landis' anti-trust decision in 1907, "that wherever the voice of the people finds absolutely free expression, that voice is not the voice of reason, of enhghtenment, and least of all of a deep-seated sense of right in pubHc things." The people's voice is merely "the voice of reckless greed to lay violent hands on other people's property."^'^^

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Although all the political, legal, legislative, and public opinion attacks never seriously diminished Rockefeller's wealth, they struck sufficient fear into members of the capitalist class to make them somewhat circumspect in their actions. The GEB members gave up binding contracts and their strict full-time plan. But these "ominous" signs of the times made Gates all the more rigid. He strongly opposed weakening the full-time conditions, and he clung ever more fiercely to his view of the potential evils of the state universities and the importance of "throwing around them in every state a cordon of strong, free, privately endowed colleges and universities."""^\*

To Gates, then, the fight within the General Education Board over the appropriation to the state University of Iowa's medical school was a struggle over fundamental principles. Would Rockefeller's fortune be dissipated and, even worse, given over to the enemy? The board answered by overturning the policy established by Gates.

The GEB, including Rockefeller, Jr., and its newer officers were not acting on impulse or out of fear in contributing to state universities. They were impressed by the need to build a rationalized system of medical schools and realized that much of the medical education in the country would necessarily fall to state schools. Furthermore, they trusted the state universities because they understood the strength of institutional structures and the class ties of professionals as forces for "constructive" but conservative social and technological change. Raymond Fosdick, one of the new GEB members and later president of it and the Rockefeller Foundation, explained the board's defeat of Gates' policy: "Gates did not understand the progressive forces which, even as he spoke, were converting the great state universities into the social and scientific laboratories they have become.

## MODERNIZING THE GEB! GATES DEFEATED AGAIN

Soon after the board's decision to pursue and develop the Iowa grant, Flexner brought in other requests to fund

state-supported medical schools. By the middle of 1921 the board voted to aid four more taxpayer-supported medical schools—at the universities of Cincinnati, Colorado, Georgia, and Oregon—

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that had accepted the university arrangements that prevailed at Hopkins and the other elite private schools. '^^

After a couple of years of ad hoc decisions, Gates insisted his policy be respected or debated and voted on as policy. "Our funds, and our rules of policy," he declared to the board, "form our legacy to our successors." Exceptions "should be treated as exceptions. It is vital that these successive boards have written policies and the habit of them."^^

At the end of 1924 the board voted to appoint a committee to recommend a policy on aid to state universities. The GEB committee consisted of Gates; Rockefeller, Jr.; George Vincent, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; James Angell, president of Yale University; Trevor Arnett, a vice-president of the University of Chicago; and Wickliffe Rose, the star director of the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Commission. The committee met at least twice and presented its report at the end of May 1925.^^

The two-page report, written by Vincent and Rose, tersely dispensed with Gates' old policy. It noted that the GEB, the Rockefeller Foundation's numerous divisions, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, and the International Education Board all had dealt with and financially aided taxpayer-supported universities and other institutions. The report politely acknowledged that in 1906 Gates' policy was "sound," but in 1925 it was clearly "unwise to adopt principles so rigid as to prevent occasional contributions to medical schools whose growth might be of importance in a national system of medical education." With Gates boycotting the meeting and Wallace Buttrick conveniently absenting himself so as not to have to vote against his friend, the board made the de jure policy coincide with the Rockefeller foundations' practice."

The reversals of the full-time contracts and the policy on state universities were too much for Gates to accept. Still fuming in October, he resigned from the GEB executive committee.'^"\*

The same revision was underway at the Carnegie Foundation, which was unable to join the GEB and the Rockefeller Foundation in aiding the University of Iowa because of opposition from old-timers among its trustees, men like Elihu Root, a corporate lawyer and former Secretary of State." The foundations and

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individual capitalists had lost their fear of State-run institutions. Indeed, many financiers and industrialists, adherents of the new corporate liberalism, saw great possibilities for stabilizing their markets and profits in cooperation with the State. Sufficient initiative in developing legislation and executive department agencies bore fruit in the creation of regulatory agencies that enabled the most powerful sectors of several industries to control and regulate their industry themselves. Capitalists, corporate managers, and professionals in America were coming to see the State in a new light. Corporate liberalism embraced the State as the guarantor of a stable, profitable economy.^^

The state universities were no exception. In the years ahead, all the major foundations gladly developed programs at state universities as freely as they used private universities. As with physicians and medical education, the more expensive it became to operate universities, the more the universities—state and private alike—turned to any agency or organization offering money. If money was offered for developing computer sciences, there were long lines of university presidents at the foundation doors explaining how strong their mathematics, statistics, and electrical engineering departments were and how well they worked together in the campus' fledgling program in computer science. Just as with medical schools, a major foundation would fund a few key schools to develop model departments or programs. And soon thereafter other universities would be copying them or refining some problem area in a similar program, hoping to get on the bandwagon of money for research and to attract new faculty. The strategies developed in medical education were refined and applied by numerous foundations in a broad array of programs down through the years.

This willingness to use state universities and other state organizations came partly from the changed attitude of the business class toward the State, accepting the necessity and value of State intervention in the economy. But foundation officers and trustees had other reasons as well. State universities performed a valuable role by conducting foundation-designed programs at taxpayer expense. Just as the General Education Board had fostered the development of vocationally oriented secondary schools in the South, for which taxpayers picked up the major

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tab, its provisions for development grants in medical education and other fields committed a university to continue to support the new program once foundation funding was cut off. Gates had always supported this tactic for objectives outside the university, but to Gates the university was too essential an institution to be entrusted to "the people."

The decisive argument for including state universities in foundation programs, however, was necessity. In 1908 Andrew Carnegie dropped his opposition to including state university faculty in his foundation's retirement plan because in the Midwest and the West, state universities were the dominant institutions of higher education. The same understanding convinced John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other members of the GEB to support state-run medical schools. If the foundations were to develop a system of higher education, it was necessary to include the predominant type of institution.

Finally, professionals as a group had demonstrated their value and loyalty to the objectives of the foundations. The foundations' own professional staffs had earned the trust and confidence of their employers—the financiers, industrialists, corporate lawyers, and university presidents who sat on the foundations' boards of trustees. Most staff officers felt trust in their fellow professionals in the field. Gates himself trusted professionals whom he hired and those who worked with his programs although at the end of his career he disagreed sharply with them. Rockefeller, Jr., voted with the board against Gates to rescind full-time binding contracts and to fund state university medical schools; he did so because he believed them important to the very goals of class domination that he shared with Gates. The foundations were not captured by their officers, as Gates asserted. Rather it was the professionals who were captured by the foundations. They did for the foundations what other members of the professional-managerial stratum had already been doing for the same people's industries and financial organizations.

Whether an economist or medical doctor teaching and doing research in a university or developing and implementing programs in foundations, professionals saw foundations supporting the development of their fields, providing for their livelihoods, promoting expanded opportunities, and rewarding excellence.

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What could be wrong in cooperating with such foundations? Weren't they, after all, run by such esteemed men as university presidents, corporation directors, and other professionals?

These were the very relationships and attitudes encouraged by Gates and other self-conscious strategists who built the foundations and gave them purpose and direction. Like the medical schools in Gates' and Flexner's funding strategy, the leading foundations won the flattery of imitation by their weaker brothers and sisters. Gates was indeed the pillar of the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation until his semi-retirement in 1917. Although his successors modified some of his policies and tactics. Gates' goals and strategies seemed inscribed in stone.

Corporate philanthropies continued to find their mission in making capitalist society work better. Sometimes they tried to make it work more justly, but even then it was because gross injustice leads to movements for radical change. Generally, they have followed the corporate liberal view developed in the Progressive era and later joined by Rockefeller, Jr. His son David, head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, recently summed up this perspective, still popular in business and dominant in foundations:

In view of the emerging demands for revision of the social contract, a passive response on the part of the

business community could be dangerous. ... So it is up to businessmen to make common cause with other reformers—whether in government or on the campus or wherever—to prevent the unwise adoption of extreme and emotional remedies, but on the contrary to initiate necessary reforms that will make it possible for business to continue to function in a new cHmate. . . . ' ^ " ^

If the foundations lost their fear of the State, it was not because they had turned aside the objectives or general strategies of people like Gates. They pursued the same goal of rationalizing higher education in general and medical education in particular to make them better serve capitalist society, and hke the dominant view within the Rockefeller boards (but unlike Gates' personal view), they adopted corporate liberalism's perspective that the State is a necessary aid in rationalizing industries, markets, and social and educational institutions alike.

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### SUMMING UP

The reform of medical education led to a contest over who would control medicine and for what ends. At the end of the nineteenth century laboratory scientists and elite practitioners formed an alliance to promote scientific medicine, revamp the AM A, win hcensing legislation, and begin reforming medical education. Abraham Flexner's report for the Carnegie Foundation capped the drive to eliminate proprietary medical schools, the pariahs of all proponents of scientific medicine. Proprietary schools, sensitive to the needs of the average general practitioner, had served the needs of most students going into family practice while their faculty enhanced their incomes with student fees and consultations referred by former students. These commercial schools, however, churned out "too many" doctors, resisted control by medical societies, and were completely inadequate to providing the scientific, research-oriented medical education that was desired by the profession's reform leaders and by capitalist philanthropies.

Focusing on "commercial" medical schools and their low standards, the Flexner report articulated criticisms of American medical education and a program for reform that unified elite practitioners, medical scientists, and philanthropists. With the rapid decline of proprietary schools in the 1910s, however, the basis of unity evaporated, and more fundamental conflicts emerged.

The organized medical profession, in particular the AM A, which represented practitioners, wanted to control entry into the profession, assure that the training of physicians upheld the newly established confidence of the public in doctors' technical ability, and ensure that medical schools provided material support and propaganda to continue the dominance of scientific, technological medicine.

The new academic medical men, especially laboratory scientists, saw the medical centers as their turf. They wanted a greater share of the money spent on medical care, and they wanted, through their medical centers, to control all health care services and facilities. It made sense, they argued, for those who were the source of medical science to direct the resources of the new scientific medical system.

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Foundations, claiming objectivity from their position above interest group squabbles, wanted to rationalize medical care, to create an efficient and unified system that would contribute to the health of the people. To that end, the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation together gave more than \$100 million to transform medical education. Like the committed academicians, they believed medical schools were the pivot of an increasingly technological system of medicine.

The Carnegie Foundation stepped onto center stage before the conflicts between medical scientists and elite practitioners reemerged. Their support for the Council on Medical Education encouraged reform-minded practitioners and science-oriented academics vying for control Flexner's report supported practitioners' insistence on closing down medical colleges and raising the social class base of the profession, and academicians got support for channeling endowment and construction money into medical schools. The capitalist class was encouraged that a medical care system useful to and compatible with its interests was at last at hand. The Carnegie Foundation, under Henry Pritchett's personal guidance, lent its prestige and legitimacy to the

profession's own strategy.

The General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation, under Frederick T. Gates' direction, jumped in with a different strategy. Rather than supporting the scheme of the profession's leadership, which sought unity among academics and practitioners, the Rockefeller philanthropies supported the dominance of the medical scientists. Practitioners espoused capitalist values in wanting to make a profit from their professional services qua small business. But Gates and other foundation leaders had in mind a more important political and economic role for medicine, a role that required that health care be organized along the most efficient and productive lines possible under leadership that had demonstrated its support for the interests of the greater capitalist society. Just as the AMA Journal had warned at the turn of the century, there were dangers in letting wealthy capitalists formulate their own philanthropic designs.<sup>^^</sup> The GEB's full-time plan attacked the interests of clinicians and the organized profession's ties to the medical faculty.

The differences in the Carnegie and Rockefeller strategies can be traced to Pritchett and Gates. Pritchett, before organizing the

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foundation for Andrew Carnegie, had been president of MIT and before that an astronomer for the U.S. Coast and Geodesic Survey. He was a scientist and a professional, and he was concerned about developing and maintaining a sufficient supply of engineers and trained personnel for industrial and government needs. Gates was a former minister and, since the 1890s, a director of industry and finance. Gates' ministerial background probably contributed to his perception of the role of social institutions as an important superstructure for society. His daily experience with business affairs from his perch at the top of the capitalist class gave him a broad perspective on the needs of capital.

Though these two men were significant in shaping their foundations' policies, the differences between them were not personality differences. They differed on political questions— what will best serve the needs of capitalist society?—and their personal histories are merely sources for understanding how their differing political perspectives developed. Both men and both foundations supported rationalizing medical care. Gates foresaw the problems with the medical profession that Pritchett only later appreciated. Pritchett supported the profession's own plan of action for several years before he became piqued at the narrow concerns of the AMA and Bevan in particular.

Bevan and other clinicians leading the AMA resented the General Education Board's attack on clinicians' interests. The Rockefeller philanthropies had become "a disturbing influence by dictating the scheme of organization of our medical schools," Bevan wrote to Pritchett. "Their position has become a real menace to sound development." The GEB had been "badly advised by men who are laboratory workers and teachers of anatomy and pathology," he complained. These men regarded "the laboratory as representing the science of medicine, and they rather feel that clinical medicine is not scientific." Bevan argued that in the training of physicians "the controlling influence must lie with the teachers of clinical medicine."<sup>^^</sup> But Pritchett had seen the results of leaving medical education to the practitioners' singular concern for their own interests and their disregard of the larger goal of rationalizing education in the society.

By 1920 the elite practitioners broke off their alliance with the medical academicians and other supporters of rationalized medi-

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cal care. A plan for compulsory sickness insurance sponsored by the American Association for Labor Legislation—a corporate liberal organization of social reformers, enlightened capitalists, and a few labor leaders—had won the support of a few key men in the AMA beginning in 1915. From the perspective of the time, the efforts to rationalize medicine seemed to physicians and foundation people alike to be leading to the demise of the private practitioner. In 1915 Welch rather condescendingly urged that "every effort ought to be made to rescue this situation," to preserve the "fine" institution of the family doctor.<sup>^^</sup> The dour prognosis for private practice

medicine was definitely premature.

As local medical society leaders caught on to "the professional philanthropists" and their attempts to "put something over on us to our detriment," the Progressives within the AMA were denounced. The academics, like Welch who had been elected AMA president in 1909, were by then isolated. By 1920 at least 60 percent of the country's doctors were members of the AMA. '^ With so many physicians joining up to support practitioners' interests, with the academics out of leadership and the Progressives, like Alexander Lambert, in retreat, the conservative leadership of the practitioners prevailed, a reign uninterrupted to this day. '^

By the time Gates resigned from the General Education Board's executive committee in 1925, the efforts to rationalize medical care had not gotten as far as Gates had hoped. The constraints on his program notwithstanding, Gates' position became the established foundation direction in medicine for half a century.



## CHAPTER

### Epilogue: A Half-Century of Medicine in Corporate Capitalist Society

A VIRTUAL revolution transformed American medicine from 1890 to 1925. The medical profession ascended from ignominy and frustrated ambition to prestige, power, and considerable wealth. Medical science was developed from a mere gleam in the profession's eye to an established and powerful force in society.

This American success story is attributable to several historical developments. First, industrial capitalism created a new role for science and its application. Science was elevated from a gentlemen's avocation to a vital element in the competition for increased productivity and decreased labor costs. Scientists seized the opportunity to be of service to the masters of this new economy, and they were in turn rewarded with money and facilities for their work and prestige for their achievements and themselves.

As the organization of production grew larger and as the financial and legal underpinnings of capital grew more complex, capitalists recognized the need for managers and professionals to run their factories, their banks, and the social institutions that serviced the society and held it together. Universities became the main vehicles for training this new stratum of managers, professionals, and scientists and for organizing scientific research.

Second, physicians who were dissatisfied with the state of their profession recognized the economic and political, as well as

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technical, advantages of applying science to their rather crude art. By embracing scientific medicine, leading practitioners bolstered their crusade for a monopoly over the practice of medicine. The forefathers of academic medicine chose "glory" over "gold" and advanced the cause of medical science. Working together, elite doctors and medical researchers adopted the analytic methods and rubrics of science and lodged the training of physicians in the university. They sought designation as the society's legitimate professionals in matters of health and illness. With this strategy, they won the political and financial support of the new corporate class.

Third, mobilizing the power of corporate wealth in the social sphere, foundations brought unprecedented aid to the promotion of scientific medicine and to the reform of medical education. As the guiding force for the reform and development of institutions to serve the scientific, educational, and cultural needs of capitalist society, foundations played the leading role in financing necessary changes in medicine. By providing the carrot of subsidy to capital-hungry medical schools, foundations secured a position of enormous power in medicine from 1910 to the 1930s. In this period, foundations gave some \$300 million for medical education and research. Rosemary Stevens concluded, "Foundations were thus the most vital outside force in effecting changes in medical education after 1910." ^

## THE ROCKEFELLER PHILANTHROPIES

Of all the foundations, the General Education Board was, in the boastful but true words of Abraham Flexner, "the leading influence in remodeling American medical schools on the Hopkins plan."^ The more than \$82 million they applied to medical education reform by 1930 had an enormous impact because they employed a carefully conceived and faithfully followed strategy in which they consciously analyzed the interests and goals they wished to further, mapped out a plan for achieving them, and imposed necessary financial and programmatic conditions on recipient schools. The GEB sought a rationalized medical care system, directed by medical schools that were committed to a scientific and technological type of medicine.

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Frederick T. Gates and the General Education Board did not achieve everything they sought, but even by 1929, the year Gates died, they had firmly established three important strategies in the development of medicine in the United States. First, Gates and the GEB created an important role for foundations—to give direction to the development of American health care. They assumed the right to define what kind of health care their society needed, and they used their tremendous corporate wealth to realize that vision. In its early years, the GEB provided a leadership that was widely followed by other foundations and by wealthy individuals. Gates and his associates achieved power over American medicine partly because of the wealth they wielded but, more fundamentally, because they articulated the interests of the corporate class in a strategy that won sufficient support to succeed.

Second, as part of their strategy. Gates and the Rockefeller philanthropies promoted the dominance of scientific, technological medicine. Because of the ideological appeal of this new medicine and its presumed technical effectiveness, the philanthropies and many other groups in industrialized capitalist societies embraced the analytic theories and the research and development methodologies of medical science and advocated the organization of medical practice solely around technological medicine. By 1930 they had firmly established the importance of well-equipped medical centers for all medical practice and health care organizations as well as for training new medical professionals and for developing knowledge and technique.

Finally, Gates and his followers in and out of the GEB began the long struggle to rationalize medical care, that is, to coordinate and integrate the different elements of the system so that it performs its designated functions. One of the main obstacles in that struggle has been private practice physicians, whose desire to profit from other people's sickness and suffering evoked angry opposition and accusations of "commercialism" from Gates and his colleagues. Because the interests of the organized medical profession conflicted with the goals of disseminating the technical benefits and ideological influences of medicine as widely as possible, the Rockefeller philanthropies attacked the profession head-on. Although they did not succeed in vanquishing the medical profession, they did initiate the strategy that was continued and refined by foundations for decades to come.

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The forces set in motion during Gates' time continued to develop over the next half-century, as the remainder of this chapter will make clear. Although foundations continued to provide leadership in medical affairs, the State soon took over from the foundations the dominant financial role in the reform and development of medical care. The State continued foundation-developed strategies of rationalizing medical care and developing technological medicine. This chapter will focus on two important developments that created conditions Gates and his contemporaries did not anticipate.

First, technological medicine created opportunities for the development of new medical industries that came to play powerful roles in medical politics as well as in the medical economy. Rationalization was simply applied to this private market sector, facilitating the expansion and control of capital-intensive medical industries but failing to correct the deficiencies inherent in market-distributed medicine.



Second, the State's continued emphasis on medical technology served the corporate class interest in its own legitimation and the interests of medical technology interest groups. But the explosively inflationary effects of medical technology in a market system eventually undermined support for its expansion and encouraged the partial substitution of other legitimizing ideologies. As we will also see, neither of these developments has produced a medical care system that meets the widely recognized needs of the population.

## RATIONALIZING THE MEDICAL MARKET

### THE COMMITTEE ON

### THE COSTS OF MEDICAL CARE

One of the milestones in foundation-led efforts to rationalize health care was the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care (CCMC). The committee was formed in 1927 and was provided with a million-dollar research and expense fund by eight foundations, including the Rockefeller, Rosenwald, Macy, Milbank, and Carnegie philanthropies. Over the next four years the CCMC's staff and consultants turned out twenty-six reports, and in 1932, the committee concluded with a final report that at the time seemed sweeping.<sup>^</sup>

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The report documented the great disparity in medical care according to income. Middle- and upper-income families averaged substantially more physician visits per person each year than lower-income families. Hospitalization, dental care, preventive care, and eye care were likewise strongly related to family income. The committee's critical analysis implied an important principle: The sale of medical care as a commodity distributes that care to those who can pay for it rather than on the basis of need. That is, it is distributed according to the society's class structure.

The committee recommended reorganizing medical care into group practices and developing more hospitals rationally distributed where needed, voluntary insurance plans to spread the uneven financial risks of illness among the population, and coordination of health care by the government. The thrust of these recommendations was to reduce the runaway power of the medical profession over health care by weakening the fee-for-service system of private practitioners, strengthening the position of hospitals in the organization of health services, and organizing the callous market for medical services into a rationalized, regulated system."<sup>^</sup>

The report articulated and legitimized the perspective and goals of the medical care reform campaign, much as the Flexner report had done for the medical profession's campaign for medical education reform some twenty years before. The recommendations were supported by virtually all of the committee's thirty-eight public health officials, business leaders, foundation officers, medical school faculty members, social scientists, labor union officers, and government officials. Through the CCMC, they formed a loose coalition whose leaders included some foundation officers and staff members who had worked for or with Gates and the Rockefeller philanthropies. Over the years this coalition, soon joined by hospital administrators and some health insurance industry officers, led efforts to rationalize medical care.

Nine representatives of organized medicine on the committee dissented from the majority report, attacking the group practice and prepaid insurance proposals and supporting voluntary insurance only if it protected fee-for-service practice under local medical society control. Although the committee majority advo-

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cated a continuation of privately controlled medical care, their proposals for more publicly organized financing and increased coordination of care were taken as a declaration of war by private practitioners. The *AM A Journal* rose to the occasion with a classic in hyperbole:

The alinement is clear—on the one side the forces representing the great foundations, public health officialdom, social theory—even socialism and communism—inciting to revolution; on the other side, the organized medical profession of this country urging an orderly evolution guided by controlled experimentation which will observe

the principles that have been found through the centuries to be necessary to the sound practice of medicine.'

Efforts of this "revolutionary" coalition in the 1930s to develop some form of national health insurance met defeat at the hands of the AMA's well-funded lobbying machine. "The controversy between 'organized medicine' and many major interests in our society became intensified," I. S. Falk, research director for the CCMC, recently observed, "and a dichotomy of national proportions began to take shape." ^ The AMA, as an interest group, declared civil war against the corporate class-supported efforts to rationalize medical care. A long succession of national health insurance bills was submitted to Congress by the reform coalition, but they were defeated by the AMA wielding the medical profession's wealth and the resulting power to influence public opinion and legislators' votes.

## DOCTORS AND THE CAPITAL-INTENSIVE COMMODITY SECTOR

In the long run, however, the medical profession's autonomy was undermined by the same economic forces that contributed to their seemingly irrepressible rise in power, wealth, and status. Just as outside capital was needed to finance the development of medical science and the reform of medical education, technological medical care requires a financial base that cannot depend on the fees paid by individual patients. The dependence of physicians on technological medicine and the requirements of technological medicine for large capital and operating expenditures eventually weakened the political autonomy of the profession.

Hospitals, for example, provided doctors with new diagnostic

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and treatment facilities that made physician care technically more sophisticated and enhanced the prestige of doctors' roles. But hospitals required increasing funds and a stable system of finance. Since physicians could not themselves provide the capital to build and equip hospitals, the hospitals had to depend on philanthropy, government, and commercial banks for their needed capital. As the demands for operational funds increased, hospitals had to look beyond the billing of individual patients to the resources of insurance companies and the government. Similarly, physicians depended on medical schools to produce advances that might be applied to medical practice, to train new members of the profession in science-based medical theories and techniques, and to socialize new members in norms that made the profession cohesive and powerful. They also depended on drug companies to produce their materia medica—the essential base of their practice since prescription drugs gave doctors new power by making the public see a physician in order to be allowed to obtain the fruits of medical research. Prescription drugs, hospital care, medical equipment and supplies, and health insurance all quickly became essential commodities of the medical kingdom over which physicians reigned.

Private practice medicine had been founded upon simple, or petty, commodities that the physician himself could produce and sell. But technological medicine made physicians dependent on capital-intensive commodities, ones that require substantial capital investments and a good deal of hired labor to produce." For decades, this development redounded to the advantage of the profession. Medical technology enabled the profession and these new interest groups to further divide medical care into discrete service units and products that could be sold in the medical market. This intensive "commodification" of medical care enlarged the number of medical commodities that could be marketed. Physicians assumed a new role in this market as middlemen as well as more "productive" producers. They were able to control more and more of the increasingly lucrative medical market, claiming a monopoly of expertise and authority over health care and over the increasing numbers of health workers. But the profession's growing dependence on capital-intensive medicine contained the seeds of their political decline—the loss of their ability to protect the economic relations on which private practice

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was founded. This contradiction was focused especially in the hospital.

Hospitals, as the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care demonstrated, were inadequate in number and not rationally distributed according to need. In the 1930s, the Julius Rosenwald Fund gave the American Hospital Association (AHA) \$100,000 and the loan of staff member Dr. C. Rufus Rorem (who had been a senior

researcher for the CCMC) to help the AHA rationalize hospital administration and organize Blue Cross associations.\* The foundation and the AHA hoped the hospital insurance program would provide a stable income for hospitals hard hit by the depression, centralize and integrate local health services around hospitals, and further the cause of voluntary health insurance at least for hospital expenses.

Blue Cross plans were a phenomenal success and proved the value of "third-party" payment mechanisms. The risk of medical misfortune was spread among many individuals and families, enabling them to have access to more expensive kinds of care. The demands of labor unions for greater economic security and more benefits encouraged the spread of work-related group plans. By 1947, after several years of cost-plus government war contracts. Blue Cross enrollment reached 27 million members, 19 percent of the population. After the war commercial insurance companies, following the Blue Cross lead, pushed energetically into the health insurance market they had previously all but ignored. Blue Cross and commercial health insurance companies developed this new commodity into a major industry—totaling \$39 billion in premium income in 1977-and strengthened hospitals' finances and their position in the medical delivery system.'

The groups that had coalesced around the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care pressed on with their campaign to reform medical care. Since these interest groups favored coordinating care under the leadership of medical schools with hospitals as the "logical center" of the system, hospitals became ardent advocates of reform and rationalization that expanded their roles and power. With the support of the AM A, the loose coalition won passage in 1946 of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, better known as the Hill-Burton Act.^° The Hill-Burton Act was another milestone, not merely because of the \$5 billion it has since provided for hospital construction and modernization, but

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because it marked the entrance of the State as a principal power in the medical care system.

## THE STATE: RATIONALIZING THE PRIVATE MARKET

After World War II, the State became the conduit for more funds to expand and rationalize health care, taking over from foundations the primary role of financing reforms in medical education and later providing the operating funds for medical schools and medical care itself. The State's intervention would not, of course, be neutral. The State's interests are larger than those of any interest group, whether in health or in the larger economy, but the State is only relatively autonomous. In developed capitalist countries, it shares a mutual dependence on and an interdependence with the dominant economic class. Top government officials come disproportionately from the corporate class. The government's tax revenues depend on the "health" of the capitalist economy. And the government promotes and protects the larger interests of the corporate class, particularly its dominant sectors. Though it might be to the disadvantage of any one company at a particular point in time, in the long run, government regulation benefits the dominant firms in an industry by permitting monopolistic concentrations of economic power but preventing those concentrations from turning into devastating wars of economic conquest. The State facilitates the process of capital accumulation and legitimizes the existing capitalist society. The explicit reliance of the corporate class on the State was articulated by corporate liberals in the Progressive era. Although the State's intervention in organizing production and social relations was initiated during that period, it matured rapidly during the Great Depression and became the ruling order during and following World War II. The State became as important to medicine as it is to the larger economy."

While the commitment of the State to rationalizing medical care was clear, it was not clear whether it would rationalize it under existing private ownership and control or whether it would rationalize it under government ownership and control, as many Western European nations were doing. The consequences would be important.

Rationalizing health services under private ownership and

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control would accelerate the transformation from simple commodity production to capital-intensive commodity

production while nationalization would begin to transform health services from commodities into a public service function. The direction was not decided as a matter of policy. It was shaped and constrained by economic and political developments in medical care and the larger society—in part by the AMA's opposition to national health insurance and the lack of a sufficiently strong and threatening working-class movement, in part by the growth of the powerful capitalist commodity sector in medical care, and in part by the role of the State in advanced capitalist countries.

In Europe national health insurance programs were established either by fairly conservative governments in response to militant working-class revolt that threatened to overturn State power and capitalism itself or by labor or social democratic parties that won sufficient electoral victories. In 1883 Bismarck established the Sickness Insurance Act to help stem the growing support for socialism among the German working class. In England Lloyd George and the Liberal party enacted the National Health Insurance Act in 1911 to win the workingmen's swing vote away from the socialistic Labor party. When the Labor party finally came to power after the Second World War, it nationalized the hospitals and the insurance system in the National Health Service Act.

In the United States the closest the working class came to threatening ruling powers was during the Progressive era when the Socialist party won significant election victories and its militant wing was gaining support for more revolutionary activity. In 1916 the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL), an alliance of Progressive businessmen and reformers and nonsocialist labor leaders, introduced its model compulsory medical insurance bill into several state legislatures. Although some Progressive AM A officials supported the bill, the proposal was crushed by private practitioners who organized within and outside the AMA to defeat this "attack" and by the conservatism and political repression that swept the country following America's entry into the war.

In the absence of a sufficiently independent and militant working-class movement, national health insurance continued to be defeated in the decades that followed. Throughout the 1930s

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and 1940s the AMA carried on its vehement opposition to any federal intervention into the financing of medical care. Liberal reformers tried to get national health insurance included in the Social Security Act as part of the New Deal response to the Great Depression and the militant organizing among the unemployed and industrial workers. But the AMA was powerful enough to strike any mention of health care from the Social Security bill. In the 1940s the AMA waged well-funded, energetic, and successful campaigns against the Wagner-Murray-Dingell and Truman proposals for a nationalized health insurance system. The association even came around to supporting voluntary private health insurance as "the American way" to undercut the growing support for a government-run national health insurance program. Finally accepting defeat, liberal proponents of medical care reform retreated to advocating proposals for government health insurance restricted to the beneficiaries of Social Security programs.

The depression and the Second World War firmly established the principle of federal economic intervention to organize and stimulate production and necessary social institutions and services. The Hill-Burton Act was an example of that principle extended to medical care. But the AMA continued its decades-old opposition to increasing the number of medical students and defeated proposals for direct aid to medical schools. Nevertheless, a back door was opened with medical research funds—which the AMA welcomed as furthering the development of medical technology—to help pay some of the overhead and salaries at medical schools. In the 1950s construction grants and traineeships for medical schools were finally approved by Congress because of the intensifying public concern about a growing doctor shortage. The AMA was learning the limits of its political power."

In the mid-1960s the advocates of rationalization won a major legislative and programmatic victory over the AMA with the passage of the Medicare and Medicaid bills, fallback programs from earlier efforts to obtain comprehensive national health insurance. Medicare is a Social Security program that covers most hospital, physician, and related medical services for more than 95 percent of all Americans over sixty-five years of age. Medicaid, a welfare-linked federal and state program, helps pay the health care costs of people on welfare and

other "medically indigent"

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persons. Bitterly and expensively fought by the medical societies, the passage of Medicare and Medicaid signaled the further decline of the medical profession's power and the growing dominance of forces committed to rationalizing medical care.

Like private health insurance, these State subsidies and "third-party" programs were parts of larger strategies to rationalize health services. Since attempts to nationalize even health insurance appeared blocked, proponents of rationalization seemed content with rationalizing the private medical market.

## THE GROWTH OF CAPITAL-INTENSIVE COMMODITIES

While private health insurance provided a stable cash flow on which hospitals could depend and expand, Medicare and Medicaid seemed a Umitless largess. They fed the market competition between hospitals and the avariciousness of hospital administrators, construction companies, banks, the medical supply industry and others who could get their hands into the public till. Following the introduction of Medicare and Medicaid, hospital and physician fees rose each year at twice their previous rates of increase, and the cost of medical care in general rose twice as fast as inflation in the rest of the economy. Capital investment per hospital bed rose three times as fast in the five years after Medicare and Medicaid began as it did in the five years before, reaching \$56,000 per bed in 1976. Medicare and Medicaid picked up an even bigger share of the medical care bill—\$37 billion in 1977, a fourth of all personal health care expenditures from all sources. ^^

Medicare and Medicaid, together with private health insurance, effectively subsidized the rapid expansion of capital-intensive medical care. Hospitals felt assured that everything from automated blood-chemistry analysis machines (costing upwards of \$100,000) to computerized axial tomography (CAT) scanners (costing \$300,000 to \$750,000) could be paid for. Expansion has resulted in as many as 100,000 excess hospital beds in the country, averaging about \$20,000 per bed in annual operating costs. ^^ Banks were among those who profited from this expansion by providing hospitals with profitable commercial loans, usually guaranteed by the government.^" CHnical laborato-

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ries, hospital and medical supply, drug, and nursing home industries similarly boomed.

An increasing share of the medical commodities being produced were capital-intensive ones compared with physician services. The "average" person spent seven to eight times more on physician and dentist services in 1977 than in 1950, but he or she spent twelve times more on hospital care and forty-nine times more on nursing home care.^\* With the expansion of private health insurance and especially with the passage of Medicare and Medicaid, the power of physicians shrank relative to the increasing economic and political power of the capital-intensive medical sector. This sector has now surpassed the medical profession as the dominant political force in medical care, mainly because of the shared interests of three important groups.

## THE "CORPORATE RATIONALIZERS"

Medicaid and Medicare are the offspring of the groups that articulated the majority position of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, helped the American Hospital Association develop and coordinate the role of the hospital as the "logical center" of the health care system, and secured passage of the Hill-Burton and other federal aid programs. They are what Robert Alford calls the "corporate rationalizers,"^^ favoring the coordination and organizational integration of the different parts of the medical care system, or as they refer to it, the "non-system."

In reality, there are three distinct groups that favor rationalization—two interest groups and a class. One interest group is composed of bureaucratic professionals—academic physicians and public health officialdom, advisers, planners, and consultants. They are the functionaries of bureaucratically organized medical care who staff the

increasing layers of government units, medical schools, and health agencies and organizations of all types. Although the bureaucratic professionals generally maintain that the major goals of medical reform are equal access for the poor and racial minorities and more accessible primary care for everyone, they have a material interest in such reforms because they gain power and status with each new level of rationalization. They are the technicians and managers on whom

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foundations and government rely for planning and conducting the reforms that are proposed and implemented. Bureaucratic professionals are the least powerful of the three groups because their positions are dependent on those whom they serve.

The second interest group among the rationalizers are those industries with a direct economic stake in the medical market—the market rationalizers. The two most active industries in this group are hospitals and health insurance carriers. In 1976, voluntary hospitals, as privately owned nonprofit hospitals are called, claimed 70 percent of the beds, 72 percent of the average daily patient census, and 76 percent of the assets of nonfederal short-term hospitals.<sup>10</sup> And they took the lion's share of the more than \$65 billion spent on hospital care in 1977, making them a major economic force in the health sector. While their existence does not depend on the medical commodity marketplace—that is, they would exist even in a nationalized health system—their autonomous power is greatly enhanced by this privately controlled market system. Like any corporation, hospitals have entrepreneurial power to capture what they can of the market,<sup>11</sup> accumulate a surplus of revenues above expenses, and allocate resources within the constraints of the market.

Similarly, Blue Cross and Blue Shield, though "not for profit," aggressively marketed about \$19 billion of their insurance products in the medical market in 1977. Like the "Blues," profit-making insurance companies, which collected about \$20 billion in health insurance premiums in that year, depend for their existence on the market system for medical care. The traditionally close ties of Blue Cross and Blue Shield to hospitals and medical societies, respectively, have weakened in recent years because of public pressure over rapid rate increases which brought stronger regulation and formal separation from their parent bodies. The Blues and commercial carriers now share increasingly similar interests in holding down medical costs to what the premium market will bear. Together with drug companies, banks, and other profit-making concerns, hospitals and insurance companies have a direct stake in the ascendance of an expanding commodity system in medical care, especially with the enormous State subsidies represented by Medicare and Medicaid or a national health insurance program. Their interest in rationalization is limited to expanding the market for their wares and

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protecting their respective places in the increasingly rationalized system they see as inevitable.

The third group of rationalizers is the corporate class, including those who own or manage the nation's corporate wealth and foundation trustees and officers who supervise the expenditure of that portion of the wealth that is devoted to managing social institutions. The contemporary corporate class includes the main shareholders and the top officers in the largest corporations. It certainly includes the one-half of one (0.5) percent of the nation's population who own one-fifth of all the nation's wealth, including half the net worth of all bonds and corporate stock.<sup>12</sup> Economic power is similarly concentrated among corporations, a minute fraction of which (0.06 percent, or 958 corporations) held a majority (53.2 percent) of all corporate assets in 1967. Similar concentrations are found in the separate economic sectors— manufacturing, banking, and insurance among them.<sup>13</sup>

Power is concentrated among foundations, too. Of the 2,818 foundations in the United States in 1976, the top eight (representing three-tenths of one percent of all foundations) held an average of \$948 million in assets while three-fourths held less than \$5 million each, and another fifth had assets of \$5 million to \$25 million.<sup>14</sup> The top eight—including such important ones in the health field as the Robert Wood Johnson, Rockefeller, Kresge, and Kellogg foundations—have an enormously disproportionate impact on educational, scientific, and cultural institutions. Although the members of this class do not think alike by any means, they share a common

interest in maintaining the capitalist economic system and their collective positions of power and wealth in it."

As my analysis of the involvement of earlier capitalists in medicine demonstrates, the corporate class has a compeUing, but narrow interest, in the health of the people and the kind of medical care provided for them. But that interest extends only to assuring that the population maintains sufficient physical and mental health to provide an adequate work force and that medical care encourages dependence on technical and professional management of individual problems. Capitalists may be concerned about accessibility, as Gates was, because an inaccessible system cannot perform its designated functions. They may even favor the complete nationalization of medical care, as

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Vicente Navarro points out,^^ to raise productivity or placate threatening movements and bolster the failing legitimacy of the system.

However, corporate owners and managers and foundation trustees and officers are ideologically reluctant to view private ownership and control as inherently problematic in providing for social needs. Members of the class who are associated with corporations obviously profit directly from the private control of capital accumulation while the influence of foundation members derives from their foundations' investments in corporate wealth. They thus share a material interest in ignoring any conflict between private control of resources and the stated goals of rationalizing medical care.

Bureaucratic professionals, medical industries, and the corporate class coalesced around their common interests—expanding capital-intensive medical care and bureaucratic organization as the main features of rationalization, being careful not to trample on private ownership and control. Faced with this corporate model of rationalization, how did the State respond?

## THE STATE AND CAPITALIST MEDICINE

The State intervened with subsidy, incentive, and regulatory programs to readjust the market system, decrease the market economy's inequitable distribution of medical commodities, and restrain the unusually inflationary forces of the medical marketplace. Although it has provided "categorical" programs for those who could not afford essential medical services, the State has not tried to replace the commodity market with an equitably distributed pubHc service. Because the power of the medical profession, in the absence of sufficient countervaiHng pressure, blocked efforts to nationalize the financing and delivery of medical care in this country, the privately owned and privately controlled system was simply expanded through direct subsidies and incentives. Expansion and subsidy favored the development of a capital-intensive commodity medical sector both because it was the economically dominant portion of the medical market and because it was consistent with the ideological perspectives and material interests of the corporate class.

Those corporation and foundation members who have no

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investment in profit-making medical industries see the health care system as a support industry for the primary and secondary sectors of the economy. But by the 1950s the powerful finance sector of the economy, represented by insurance companies and banks, had developed a large stake in the subsidized medical market. Few members of the corporate class, even those without profit-making medical investments, railed against "commercialism" in medicine, as Rockefeller philanthropy officers had done in their drive against private practitioners early in the century. Even most bureaucratic professionals, who do not themselves have a financial stake in profit-making medical care, preferred to ignore the issue.^"^^

The more the State intervened financially in the medical care system, the more likely it became that it would have to intervene politically to control the system in which it had developed a principal financial interest. Employers worried about the growing cost of health plan benefits they were paying. In 1976 General Motors spent more on Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans, about one billion dollars, than it did on purchases from U.S.

Steel. Steel companies, banks, airlines, and most industries were unhappy about the 10 to 25 percent a year increase in the cost of employee health insurance benefits.<sup>^^</sup> And unions were concerned because every increase in health insurance rates (paid for through fringe benefits) cuts into potential pay raises for their members. Other health services "consumer" groups also criticized the shrinking proportion of physicians and services devoted to primary care and the rising expenses that consumers had to pay out of their own pockets, in spite of increasing insurance coverage. Congress, the executive branch, and state governments were fearful of their impending fiscal crises in which expenditures were rapidly outstripping tax revenues; they wanted to restrain the rising costs of their medical care programs, which had increased from a fourth of total health expenditures before Medicare and Medicaid began to more than 42 percent in less than ten years.<sup>^^</sup>

By the time market conditions and rising State subsidies necessitated rationalization, the only substantial profit-making medical sector without sufficient protective support in the corporate class or other powerful sectors of society was the petty commodity sector—private practitioners. The control and regulation of physician services seemed inevitable because doctors'

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orders for their patients' hospital stays and procedures were important elements in the meteoric rise in tax dollars being spent on Medicare and Medicaid as well as private expenditures for health services. Prepaid group practices, which originated in the 1920s and were strongly recommended by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, became a major part of the reorganization plans of rationalizers. Despite long-standing opposition from medical societies, the federal government promoted these prepaid plans, called Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). HMOs have a built-in incentive to keep costs down because they convert high utilization by patients from an asset to the provider, as in fee-for-service practice, to a liability when a person gets all his or her care for a monthly fee paid in advance.<sup>°</sup> Bureaucratic organization seems destined to replace solo private practitioners. In 1972, despite the AMA's enormous lobbying machine in Washington, the rationalizing forces won congressional approval of a bill to create Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSROs) that would establish utilization review over individual practitioners' services to Medicare and Medicaid recipients. Some state and local medical societies, wanting nothing to do with outside review even if it were controlled by the profession, threatened to boycott the required program. But the AMA Journal, acknowledging the handwriting on the wall, soberly warned physicians: "If we stand as a rock against the current, our base will be eroded and we will be swept aside. Organized medicine must remain elastic and adapt to our time. To do less is to invite extinction in the manner of dinosaurs and dodos. . . . There are perilous times ahead but we must participate if we are to prevail."<sup>^^</sup> As an example of their new realism, the AMA dropped its half-century-long opposition to any form of national health insurance and put forth its own "Medi-Credit" proposal to try to salvage for private practice physicians conditions that would permit their survival.

## DIVIDED THEY STAND

Just as the unity among elite private practitioners and medical school faculty dissolved after their victory over traditional doctors and medical sectarianism early in this century, so is the unity among corporate rationalizers more fragile now that their victory over private practice medicine is in sight. Hospitals, though the

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centerpiece of rationalized health care, have become the bete noire to groups trying to contain rising health care expenditures. The state and local Comprehensive Health Planning agencies, mandated by Congress in the mid-1960s, failed to put a sufficient brake on hospital expansion and escalating costs. Their successors, a somewhat strengthened network of Health Systems Agencies (HSAs) created by the National Health Planning and Resources Development Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-641), are another attempt to bring order to the economic chaos of the unregulated medical market and to avert the fiscal bankruptcy of the government's medical care programs. While these agencies, in combination with state-run Certificate of Need programs, will probably slow expansion of hospitals and their acquisition of very expensive equipment, they are unlikely to bring the different medical interest groups to heel.<sup>^^</sup>



Members of the corporate class, through business organizations and foundations, push for reform of medical care to improve its delivery of primary care services and to rationalize its organization and financing. The Committee for Economic Development (CED), a policy organization with representatives from nearly 200 major corporations, has urged the restructuring of medical care into HMOs, the development of national health insurance, and increased government planning and regulation of medical care providers.^ ^ Foundations similarly use their corporate wealth to encourage the coordination of care around hospitals and academic medical centers, with an emphasis on promoting "front-line" or primary medical care so badly neglected by the technology-oriented, medical market. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, with more than \$1 billion in assets derived from the Johnson and Johnson band-aid empire, spends its funds entirely in the health field. The Rockefeller Foundation, with assets over \$700 million, the Kellogg Foundation, with nearly \$1 billion in assets, the Kresge Foundation, with more than \$600 million in assets, and others all place great emphasis on reforming medical care.^\* Although their wealth is enormous, it is dwarfed by the health expenditures of the federal government each year. The foundations, therefore, concern themselves with developing model programs, which may then be taken over by the government, and with directly influencing policy in government as well as in medical care institutions.

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The attempts of foundations and the State to rationalize health care have simply been superimposed over the market economy for health services. Despite their appealing rhetoric favoring coordination, integration, and planning, bureaucratic and corporate rationalizers are unable to control all the necessary factors in the production and provision of health services and products.^ ^ Doctors, hospitals, insurance companies, the Blues, drug and hospital supply and equipment companies, and medical schools all seek the commanding role in the health system—or at least the lion's share of its resources. Present rationalizing strategies conceal the disparity between stated goals and political and economic reality; they appeal to legislative and bureaucratic mechanisms to unify and integrate the system.

The failure of one mechanism is taken as evidence of the need for another patchwork mechanism. Endemic inflationary problems, caused in part by Medicare and Medicaid, were answered with Comprehensive Health Planning agencies, and their failure was the impetus for the creation of Health Systems Agencies (HSAs). Falk, the research director for the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care half a century ago, warned recently that the powerful interest groups in medical care will all be reluctant to let their interests be overridden by some higher social interest. But he is left with the strikingly naive hope that these "resistances will have to be overcome as far as possible by the reasonableness of the proposals and the persuasiveness of the explanations, and beyond that, by confrontations in the legislative arena."^ ^

Such mechanical solutions, which dominate health planning, ignore the substantial political and economic power that simultaneously unites and divides the system's interests. The medical care system has evolved into a glut of interest groups, none of which has sufficient power to prevail by itself. Although the proponents of corporate rationalization have prevailed over the petty commodity sector, they do not share among themselves an interest in the coordination and integration of the entire system. However, their occasional bickering among themselves—for example, over who will be regulated and how much^"—should not be mistaken for fundamental opposition. Corporate rationalizers and organized medicine share an overriding and unifying interest in the private ownership and private control of social resources. Each group is best able to promote its own survival, growth, and

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profits if it is not subordinate to either the State or any other interest group. Alford argues,

Differences between dominant and challenging interests should not be overemphasized . . . because both professional monopoly and corporate rationalization are modes of organizing health care within the context of a market society. Both must avoid encroachments upon their respective positions of power and privilege which depend upon continuation of market institutions: the ownership and control of individual labor, facilities, and organizations (even nonprofit ones) by autonomous groups and individuals, with no meaningful mechanisms of

public control.^\*

Thus the State has entered into the medical care arena very much as the foundations had. Whatever the intent of the supporters of specific legislative programs, federal and state programs have, in sum, furthered the transformation of medical care from simple commodities, produced and sold largely by private-practice physicians, to capital-intensive commodities, produced and sold by bureaucratic organizations that assemble large amounts of capital and hired labor and strive to accumulate a surplus of revenue over expenses.

State intervention to rationalize medical care thus benefited interest groups whose existence depends on technological medicine—especially hospitals, health insurance carriers, and medical technology industries—more than it helped the medical profession, although doctors gained financially, too. How did consumers fare in these developments? Did they also benefit from the State's rationalization of the private medical market?

## UP AGAINST THE MEDICAL MARKET

The combination of private and public third-party payment programs has reduced the gross inequalities in utilization of medical care, but these programs have neither eliminated the inequities nor provided health care matched to the population's health needs. Rather than need determining the allocation and distribution of health services, which equity would require, we find that services became distributed according to their prevailing markets. The "commodification" of health services remains the major cause of the inaccessibility of health services to the poor

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and a major factor in the distortion of care to the entire society.

Over the last three decades private health insurance and public assistance programs have narrowed the gaps between the poor and nonpoor in their use of health services. Poor adults from eighteen to sixty-four years old now make slightly more visits to a physician on the average than do nonpoor adults. However, the poor at all ages receive less care relative to their need for medical care. The disparity between need and what's received is especially great for children.^'

The reasons for these class differences are not difficult to find. First, many physicians do not accept Medicaid patients because Medicaid programs, which are administered by the states within federal guidelines, pay less than doctors are used to getting from their privately insured patients. In California, only about a third of the state's obstetricians and gynecologists participate in the Medicaid program, leaving nearly a third of the state's fifty-eight counties without a single obstetrician or gynecologist to serve Medicaid women."^^ Second, white physicians and dentists generally do not locate their offices in poor or minority communities.^ Third, as of 1971 nearly half the country's 35.5 million people officially defined as poor had no Medicaid coverage."^^

Health insurance itself is distributed in part according to the class structure. Today 90 percent of all Americans have some form of health insurance, three-fourths of them from private insurance plans. In general, however, the most comprehensive health insurance is available to persons in higher paying occupations and in the dominant sectors of the economy, which are more unionized and can more easily pass along the costs of health insurance to consumers. In 1974 some 60 percent of the employed poor had no health insurance at all, and fewer than 10 percent were insured for nonhospital services."^^

While the growth of private health insurance and government third-party payment programs helped reduce the inequities, they do not cover all people or all health services equally well. In 1977 sixty-one cents of each dollar spent on personal health care services were paid by third-party payment plans, leaving consumers to pay thirty-nine cents of each dollar out of their own pockets. Third-party payers covered more than 90 percent of the cost of hospital care, but only 61 percent of physician fees and even less for drugs and other commodities.

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Thus, even with the government subsidizing medical care for the poor, the production and sale of medical care

as commodities are still distributed according to the class structure of the society rather than on the basis of need. However, those at the bottom of the class structure have not been the only ones to suffer under this market economy.

The market system has also distorted the character and supply of medical care for most of the population. The relatively complete private and public third-party coverage of hospital care has encouraged hospitalization for diagnostic and therapeutic procedures that could be done more safely and inexpensively outside hospitals—or avoided altogether.

Most surgery in the United States is done on a fee-for-service basis. Doctors get paid high surgical fees for the operations they perform, not for those cases in which they decide surgery is unnecessary. As Dr. Charles Lewis has observed, "Patient admissions for surgery expand to fill beds, operating suites, and surgeons' time."<sup>1</sup> The United States has twice the ratio of full-time surgeons to its population as England and Wales—and twice as high rates of surgery.<sup>2</sup> A congressional report estimated that in 1974 approximately 2.4 million unnecessary operations were performed in this country, resulting in 11,900 avoidable deaths and a cost of \$3.9 billion.<sup>3</sup>

Nationally, Medicaid patients have become a major source of revenue for "underemployed" surgeons and underutilized hospital facilities. Medicaid recipients undergo surgery at twice the rate of the general population and for some elective operations (that is, for conditions that are not life-threatening) the difference is even greater.<sup>4</sup> Many well-insured persons—whether they be privately insured members of the working class and middle class or government-subsidized members of the poor and near-poor strata—have been victimized by excessive care just as the poor have historically been victimized by being priced out of adequate medical care.

Physicians have concentrated themselves in specialties and locations where they can take best advantage of the market for their services. Because physicians have such a strong influence on the demand for their services, large numbers of doctors in even a relatively small but affluent area make an exceptionally fine living by ordering enormous numbers of diagnostic and therapeutic

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procedures which they either perform or evaluate. Their market in the past relied mainly on the middle and upper classes, and because of the financial and bureaucratic constraints of Medicaid, doctors are still attracted more to the shrinking but well-off areas of big cities and the expanding suburbs than to poor and working-class areas. While affluent areas of Chicago average 210 physicians per 100,000 persons, poverty areas have sixteen doctors per 100,000—one-eighth as many physicians to population. Similarly, Mississippi has only a third as many doctors as New York state's abundant average of 244 per 100,000.<sup>5</sup>

Physicians have also abandoned primary care practice for more lucrative and prestigious specialties. General practitioners, who in 1963 comprised nearly 28 percent of the country's nonfederal physicians, by 1973 represented less than 18 percent of the total. If we add to these GPs those specialists whose practices are mainly focused on primary care—those in internal medicine, pediatrics, gynecology, and family practice—still less than half of all U.S. physicians are involved in primary care. By contrast, prepaid group practices average 69 percent of their physicians in primary care and the British National Health Service includes 74 percent. This leaves the United States with only sixty primary care physicians per 100,000 population, far below the ratio of 133 such doctors per 100,000 persons recommended as necessary to provide adequate primary care.<sup>6</sup>

Since the turn of the century, the generalist and primary care have taken a back seat to specialized practice and sometimes even a career in medical research. The countryside, with its limited market for specialty services and its isolation from centers of technological medicine, cannot compete with more densely populated urban areas with their hospitals linked to research-oriented medical schools. Rural areas were of no interest to modern physicians, and the urban poor were of interest only when they served as research or teaching material. The technological imperative in medicine combined with the market organization of medical care to divert physicians from areas and types of services in which they were most needed to those that were most interesting, profitable, and professionally rewarding to them. In sum, the private medical market has remained a major contradiction in efforts to provide an accessible system of medicine geared to the needs of the population.

# NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE: MORE OF THE SAME

It can be stated as almost a certainty that national health insurance in the United States will continue to promote capital-intensive medical care in a market system. Each major medical interest group is represented by a bill in Congress. The AMA, the insurance industry, and the American Hospital Association have all submitted bills that would favor their members. The AFL-CIO and most bureaucratic professionals support the successive bills sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy. The Kennedy bills would go farther than other national health insurance bills in providing comprehensive and accessible care. Some versions of the bill would even eliminate any administrative or third-party role for insurance companies. All versions include an incentive payment system to encourage physicians to join prepaid group practices. While the Kennedy proposals would weaken the financial base of fee-for-service medicine, none of them would eliminate it nor would they eliminate the professional control of hospitals and medical schools.

Only one proposal now under consideration would radically alter the commodity system of medical care. The Health Service Act, a bill sponsored by Representative Ronald Dellums, would create a national health service that would employ physicians and all other personnel on a salaried basis, take over the nation's hospitals, control the production of health workers in medical schools and other training programs, eliminate insurance companies from health care, and reduce the hierarchy of power among health workers by subordinating all policy to community-based boards. The Dellums bill would effectively transform the commodity production of medical care into noncommodity "social production." Were the Dellums proposal implemented, it would give the United States one of the most advanced health care systems in the world, surpassing the most progressive systems in Western Europe and perhaps equaling the organizational rationality and public service character of health care in many socialist countries. The Dellums bill is supported by a small proportion of bureaucratic professionals, some of whom are leaders of the American Public Health Association, and by left-of-center

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political groups. So thoroughly does it assault every vested interest in health care and the ideological tenets of capitalist society that it is a virtual certainty that the Dellums bill will not see the light of legislative victory in the near future. Nevertheless, it may serve as a model for those who want to reform the U.S. medical care system.

The more far-reaching of the Kennedy bills are also unlikely to win congressional approval. Their attacks on the interests of the AMA, the best-financed lobby in the country, and the insurance industry, not only a powerful lobby but a controlling force in the nation's economy as well, make their legislative future very dim. The other bills submitted by medical interest groups will also fail because they too narrowly support the interests of one sector of the industry. Instead, an administration-sponsored bill will become the foundation of national health legislation, with amendments and revisions made to accommodate the more powerful interest groups that have entered the fray.

The legislation that emerges from this process will undoubtedly favor the medical market and enhance the capital-intensive sector of the system. It is likely that whatever plan is adopted will convert additional services that are now provided by the government into commodities that can be bought and sold on the private market.^^ The insurance system will organize the collection and payment of private funds into this commodity system with federal tax dollars subsidizing only those who are priced out of the medical market, thereby increasing the access of those groups to medical care. While national health insurance will probably encourage a slight redistribution of physicians, geographically and between specialties and primary care, it will not break up the power of interest groups and their manipulation of the medical market to their advantages. It is likely that national health insurance will push doctors toward prepaid group practice at a slightly faster rate, and it will strengthen the control of most dominant interest groups—especially the hospitals, medical schools, insurance companies, and drug and medical supply industries. More regulation will be developed to restrain inflationary forces, somewhat protecting the interests of the State, and to prevent the competitive interests of each segment from destroying the medical care system they share. In other words.

through national health insurance, the State will intensify the capital-intensive commodity production of medical care and rationalize the medical system in ways that further the common interests of the system's dominant members. If this sounds familiar, it should. National health insurance essentially promises to give us more of the same.

Given the present size and importance of the medical commodity sector and the absence of militant demands from the underclasses, the State will continue to develop the role it has increasingly taken over from foundations since World War II. It will protect and promote a medical care system that is compatible with corporate capitalist society's economic and political organization—not only in the organization of medical care, but in its content as well.

## TECHNOLOGICAL MEDICINE

After World War II, the State rapidly replaced foundations as the major source of financial support and direction in medical research and education, just as it did in medical care. As the remainder of this chapter will demonstrate, the State, like foundations and wealthy individuals before it, continued to promote and develop a narrowly technical and ideologically conservative type of medicine—despite the overwhelming evidence that broad factors in the physical and social environment have at least as great an impact on health status as the microbiological factors that receive most of the attention.

## SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE: BELIEFS AND REALITY

Nearly all of us turn to medicine when we are sick. Whether the healer is called a shaman, a witchdoctor, a priest, a feldsher, or a physician, we all seek someone in whom to place our confidence, someone we believe will make us well. Early in the nineteenth century, most Americans relied on lay healers. By the middle or latter part of that century, most Americans turned to physicians, who were being prodigiously produced in mushrooming medical schools throughout the land. At the time, one could choose the particular medical theory one wanted in a physician—from homeopathy to orthodox or "allopathic" medi-

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cine—or the particular type of healer—from herbal traditions to Christian Science. Not until the last two decades of the last century were there any significant number of physicians who practiced what they called "scientific" medicine, meaning a medical practice based on principles continuously being developed and refined by the analytic biological and physical sciences.

Today most of us look to doctors and hospitals and surgery and drugs to cure us of every ill. We want solace, and, therefore, we expect it. The medical profession has, of course, encouraged such beliefs through its campaigns to increase the confidence of the populace (described in Chapter 2). Other medical interest groups, like the American Cancer Society and the National Cancer Institute, have joined in the campaign for public confidence, frequently hosting briefing sessions for newspapers' science and medical writers to learn about the "latest advances" in cancer treatment. We have come to credit scientific, technological medicine with having reduced the enormously high death rates of past centuries and with being effective against most disease and suffering in our time.^^ Yet such past successes and current prowess are greatly exaggerated.

## LIFE, DEATH, AND MEDICINE

## THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Historical epidemiological evidence overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that medical science has played a relatively small role in reducing morbidity and mortality. Thomas McKeown^^ argues very convincingly that improved health and the great decline in Western Europe's total death rate from the eighteenth century to the present were due to four factors. First, nutrition improved because food supplies increased from the early eighteenth century, due initially to the reorganization of agriculture rather than improved chemical or

mechanical technology. Second, environmental sanitation measures—cleaning up the accumulated filth of the cities, assuring uncontaminated water supplies, and so forth—instituted by the late nineteenth century added to improved nutrition and further reduced mortality, particularly of children. These measures were well underway by the middle of the century, before either the concept of specific

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causes of disease or the germ theory was widely accepted. Third, these improvements in the standard of living caused a substantial increase in population, which would have overrun the gains in health if birth rates and family size had not soon sharply declined. Finally, specific preventive and therapeutic medical measures gradually introduced in the twentieth century strongly accelerated the already substantial decline in mortality and also improved physical health. While science greatly extended the original nontechnological advances in agriculture, hygiene, and birth control, the contribution of medical science to the overall reduction in death rates and improved health was relatively quite small.

In the great majority of cases the toll of the major killing diseases of the nineteenth century declined dramatically before the discovery of medical cures and even immunization. Tuberculosis, the Great White Plague, was one of the dread diseases of the nineteenth century, killing 500 people per 100,000 population at midcentury and 200 people per 100,000 in 1900. By 1967 the U.S. rate had dropped to three deaths per 100,000. This tremendous decline was only slightly affected by the introduction of collapse therapy in the 1930s and chemotherapy in the 1950s.^^ Similarly, for England and Wales John Powles shows that overall mortality declined over the last hundred years well in advance of specific immunizations and therapies."

Rene Dubos, the microbiologist formerly with the Rockefeller Institute, succinctly summed up the historical record. "The tide of infectious and nutritional diseases was rapidly receding when the laboratory scientist moved into action at the end of the past century," Dubos wrote in *Mirage of Health*. "In reality," he observed, "the monstrous specter of infection had become but an enfeebled shadow of its former self by the time serums, vaccines, and drugs became available to combat microbes.""

Improvements in general living and working conditions as well as sanitation, all brought about by labor struggles and social reform movements, are most responsible for improved health status. Improved housing, working conditions, and nutrition— not medical science—reduced TB's fearsome death toll. Responding to riots and insurrections as well as the pitiable living conditions of the poor and working classes in Western Europe and North America, nineteenth-century reformers brought dra-

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matic declines in mortality without the benefit of even the germ theory.^^"

Children have benefited the most from these changes. The average baby born in 1900 could have expected to live only forty-seven years. A baby born in 1973 can expect to live more than seventy-one years. Most of this increased life expectancy at birth has been due to a sharp decline in infants' and young children's deaths from infectious diseases. At the turn of the century young children succumbed to influenza, pneumonia, diarrhea, scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping cough, and measles. By 1975 the infant death rate had fallen to sixteen per 1,000 live births—less than one-ninth the rate in 1900. And the death rates of young children have similarly declined.^^ Improved housing, nutrition, water supplies and waste disposal, pasteurization of milk, and the virtual elimination of child labor (except for migrant farm workers) drastically cut the spread of infectious diseases and enabled children's bodies to resist them.

## LIFE, DEATH, AND MEDICINE TODAY

The physical and social environments are just as important in determining disease and death rates today as they were historically, despite the fact that "degenerative" diseases, such as heart disease, cancer, and stroke, have replaced most of the infectious diseases as leading causes of death.

Infant death rates are still strongly influenced by environmental factors. Twelve countries—Sweden, East

Germany, and England among them—have lower infant death rates than the United States. Within the United States an infant born to a black mother with eight years of schooling or less is three times as likely to die before its first birthday as a baby born to a white college-educated mother. Although white and black infant death rates have decreased in parallel through most of this century, the death rate for black infants has remained consistently about twice the rate for white babies. And a baby born into a poor family, white or black, is much more likely to die than if he or she were born into a nonpoor family.^ ^

Indeed, a person who is poor or nonwhite is more likely to die at every age. Nonwhite children die at twice the rate of white children. Up to the age of sixty-five, nonwhite male death rates exceed white male death rates by 40 to 95 percent, and nonwhite

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females die at more than twice the rate of white females in most age groups.\*" The probability of being disabled (temporarily or permanently) is negatively related to income and education, but positively related to being black.\*' The more privileged your class, race, education, and occupation, the less likely you are to get sick or die at each age.\*^ As epidemiologist Warren Winkelstein put it, poverty "remains among the most powerful determinants of altered health status and clinical disease today. It may well be that elimination of poverty in and of itself would drastically alter the health status of the population in a favorable direction.""

Environmental and occupational pollutants are also major determinants of disease and death rates. Even "normal" levels of air pollution have been associated with increased rates of disease. Air pollution causes temporary deterioration of lung function and increased frequency of lower respiratory tract infections in children, in whom smoking and occupational dust exposures are assumed to be minimal. Air pollution is also associated with lung, stomach, and other forms of cancer, as well as chronic bronchitis and asthma.\*'^

More than 14,000 workers are killed each year in work accidents, and between 2.5 million and 5.6 million workers suffer temporarily or permanently disabling injuries on the job. Occupation-related diseases are estimated to kill well over 100,000 persons each year." Even the president of the Blue Cross Association has estimated that "31 percent of workers' health problems are caused by factors in their environment."\*\*

Social relations—the patterned ways in which individuals relate to one another in society—also have a broad and dramatic impact on how healthy people are and how long they live. Hypertension, or high blood pressure, is associated with the stresses of moving to or living in industrialized, urban society; it is also related to working at high-pressure jobs and to being poor or black.\*" The poor and racial minorities have higher rates of alcoholism, mental illness, and homicide, and nonwhites at every age die at rates 40 to 100 percent higher than those of whites. From birth to old age, males have higher rates of death than females, including death from many stress-related diseases, such as heart attacks and strokes, and from many nondisease causes of death, such as auto accidents, work accidents, homicides, and

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suicides/\* Even whether labor is alienated or satisfying is related to life expectancy. A Department of Health, Education, and Welfare task force reported that "in an impressive 15-year study of aging, the strongest predictor of longevity was work satisfaction."^^ Clearly, people's social roles and their positions in the social structure have a major impact on their health.

Health and disease are thus determined by a combination of factors. Genetic inheritance is one conditioning factor, and the social, economic, and physical environment into which people are born and in which they must live are other critical factors. These factors determine the person's receptivity to disease as an unwitting "host." Whether a person remains healthy or gets sick is determined by inheritance, environment, and external "insults" to the person—bacteria and viruses, chemical and physical assaults on the body, social and emotional assaults.

Technological intervention in this process is very limited. Robert Haggerty, a nationally respected pediatrician, recounts some of the limitations of children's medicine in the 1970s:

We do not know how to prevent or treat effectively most of the major killing disorders of childhood in the United States. . . . The state of knowledge about acute and chronic conditions that usually do not kill but impair function for short or long periods is not much better. There is little we can now do to prevent or treat specifically most acute respiratory infections or chronic handicapping conditions.'

Efforts to improve medical care in very poor communities have had only a slight impact on people's health. A well-known project that brought advanced primary care to a Navajo community succeeded in reducing the recurrence of active tuberculosis and the prevalence of infections of the middle ear but had little or no effect on the pneumonia-diarrhea complex which continued as the biggest single cause of illness and death as it had throughout the country up to half a century ago. By the end of the experiment the infant mortality rate for the community remained about three times the national average." Other experiments in the United States and underdeveloped countries have had similar results."

These sobering observations of the limits of medicine and the importance of the environment should reduce our enthusiasm for

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turning to medical science and physicians to cure all our ills. But we need not become "therapeutic nihilists" in the process. While we reject the popular mythology that cloaks medicine in robes of omniscience, while we reject the unquestioning assumption that technology can solve all our health problems, we must recognize the advances and considerable value of modern medicine. Until the 1930s all but a few drugs were palliatives, at best relieving the symptoms of a disease. Sulfonamides were developed in the 1930s, penicillin in the 1940s, and other antibiotics in the 1950s. All were major additions to the arsenal of physicians in the long-anticipated "war against disease." The most rapid development of technical advances in medicine occurred from the late 1930s, accelerated during and after the war in the 1940s, and peaked in the 1950s.

Only some medical care, however, has had a significant positive impact on the health status of the population. Campaigns to immunize the population with polio vaccines, introduced in the 1950s, have reduced one of the most dread childhood diseases from 18,000 cases in 1954 to only six in 1975. Rubella (or "German measles"), which in pregnant women can cause devastating congenital defects in their offspring, was reduced from an average of more than 47,000 cases a year before widespread use of the vaccine to 16,343 cases in 1975, following even limited immunization of the population."\*

Good maternal health services—including prenatal and maternal medical care and coordinated social services—provided to the entire population could materially reduce infant mortality rates. David Kessner and other researchers, who carefully studied New York City births in 1968, concluded that adequate maternal health services provided to all women in the city would have reduced infant mortality there by one-third. The percentage of low-birth-weight infants and infant deaths both decreased as the adequacy of maternal health services increased, within each racial, socioeconomic, social-risk, and medical-risk group. Among college-educated mothers, the infants of those with inadequate care were twice as likely to die as the babies of those with adequate care. Among black college-educated mothers, the infant death rate for those with inadequate maternal care was six times as great as the rate for those with adequate care." As valuable as good maternal care is, however, one-quarter of the

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substantial decline in the infant mortality rate in the late 1960s is accounted for by women giving birth at lower risk ages (mainly in their twenties) and having fewer children."\*\*

Thus, comprehensive health services can have a limited but positive impact on health status. Some vaccines have substantially reduced infectious disease and death rates, although historically most have simply accelerated already falling rates. Antibiotics and sulfa drugs have also reduced disability and death from infectious diseases. Recently developed antibiotics have greatly reduced the isolation and convalescence of TB patients. Adequate maternal care can lower infant mortality rates although most of the decline has been and is



still due to improvements in environmental conditions and patterns of child-bearing. In general, comprehensive primary medical care can help limit the progress of disease and help restore a sick or injured child or adult to healthy development and functioning. When distributed throughout the population, such care can contribute to improving the general health status of that population. When combined with social reforms—particularly ones that would eliminate the inequities of class, the brutality of racism, and the destruction of the physical environment — good technological medical care and supportive personal and social services can reduce the burden of disease an individual, a family, or a society must bear. From the Progressive era to the present, however, foundation- and government-sponsored medical research and medical care have been narrowly technological and ideologically conservative.

## TAPPING THE STATE TREASURY

Up to World War II foundations were the leading force, besides the medical profession, shaping the direction of medical education and research and, ultimately, medical theory and practice. By 1940 the Rockefeller philanthropies alone had contributed more than \$161 million to medical education and medical research.""

Until World War II the federal government's support for medical research and education was minor. In 1938 the Public Health Service's research budget amounted to only \$2.8 million. In order to develop and apply medical research to the country's war needs, however, the Committee on Medical Research was set

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up in 1941 in the new Office of Scientific Research and Development. By 1944 the committee had received \$15 million to allocate to medical research activities."\*

After the war federal support for medical education and research blossomed. The AMA's opposition to direct financial aid for medical education was circumvented by channeling Hill-Burton funds to teaching hospitals and turning on the spigot of federal support for medical research, both of which the AMA approved. The National Institutes of Health became the major single source of medical research money. Its research budget doubled from \$28 million in 1950 to \$60 million in 1955, and doubled again every two or three years up to 1963. By 1975 total federal health research expenditures reached \$2.8 billion, sixty cents out of every dollar spent by all sources on health research. While the federal government's expenditures increased more than thirty-six times in this period, philanthropy's contributions increased only six times."^

What was responsible for this astronomical increase in State support for technological medicine? Three sets of interests benefited from this emphasis on and funding of technological medicine—the academic medical profession, the corporate class as a whole, and corporate and medical interests that profit from medical technology. It was largely these groups that opened and sustained the pipeline from the federal treasury to medical research and technological development.

## A "SUPERACADEMIC GENERAL STAFF"

First, an influential medical research elite has grown up around medical schools, universities, private research laboratories, and teaching hospitals and clinics. Medical schools, however, have been the main beneficiaries of the foundation and government largess for research, receiving the largest share of the money and having the greatest influence in the direction and organization of medical research. Since World War II medical school research funds have increased faster than operating income. By 1953, research grants accounted for more than a fourth of total U.S. medical school income. Federal support for medical school operating and research expenses continued to grow, topping \$1.4 billion in 1973, most of it in research

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subsidies. By the late seventies about sixty cents of every dollar spent by medical schools were provided by the federal government, three times its share in 1950.\*^

The ranks of full-time researchers and teachers among physicians swelled to match the availability of funds. The

government, like the Rockefeller philanthropies under Frederick T. Gates, encouraged the expansion of full-time clinical faculty—from 2,200 in 1950 to 24,000 in 1973, a 1,100 percent increase! Doctors engaged full-time in medical teaching or research increased from less than 2 percent of all physicians in 1950 to nearly 5 percent in 1973.«^

The bonanza of federal dollars bestowed on medical schools since World War II fragmented them into collections of virtually autonomous departments. Departments and institutes of full-time faculty and researchers grew like mushrooms in response to one or another funding program. Empires were built by prominent faculty members who seemed to have a direct line to the National Institutes of Health. Medical school and teaching hospital administrators, wanting to expand their own domains of facilities and staff, courted foundation and government officials responsible for doling out research funds as well as the faculty who attract the grants and contracts. Faculty members who excelled at grantsmanship, rather than those who were the best teachers, were favored with money and prestige, and became models for medical students.\*^ The situation remains unchanged today.

Prominent members of this academic medical elite not only control the considerable sums of research money that they receive from outside, or extramural, sources; they also have a major role in determining who else will receive such funds. Moving easily among medical schools, institutes, foundations, and government agencies, this national academic elite has become a formidable interest group. Even by 1927 Hans Zinsser complained that the "guidance of medical education is to a considerable extent passing out of the hands of the universities" and into those of a "superacademic general staff."\*^

Following the dictates of their training, their intellectual and practical competence, and their material interests, this academic medical lobby has promoted technological and curative medical research that has focused largely on hospital and medical school

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clinic patients. They encourage the appropriation of money for health research, and they shape the specific research directions and programs for which money is given.

But they and their institutions are dependent on outside sources for both capital and operating expenses, and they tend to be very responsive to agencies that foot their bills. They have been supported by the larger medical profession which benefits from the production of knowledge and technique (some of the commodities of medical practice), but more fundamental support comes from outside the health professions. That support depends on the interests and programs of this dependent group coinciding with the interests and strategies of economically and politically more powerful groups. At first, foundations and then the federal government provided that financial support and exercised the control that goes with it, just as the AMA's Journal had feared and warned the profession against as early as 1901.\*\*

## THE CORPORATE CLASS

As in the organization of medical care, foundation and government programs in medical research represent the interests of the corporate sector of society. From the founding of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in 1901 to the present time, substantial sums of corporate wealth have supported medical science and its technological applications. In 1975 foundations contributed \$64 million, mainly income from their corporate investments, to health research while private industry itself spent \$1,322 million on medical research and development.\*^ Even more important has been the strong political support by foundation and corporate leaders for increasing appropriations from the vast federal treasury. Private wealth accounts for only a third of national health research expenditures, but it has been influential in generating the other two-thirds from the State.

The reasons for this support include the same considerations that led to the founding of the Rockefeller Institute. As we found in Chapter 3, Gates and other members of the corporate class embraced scientific medicine because it supported their political and economic struggles. Technological medicine provides the corporate class with a compatible world view, an effective

technique, a supportive cultural tool, and a focus on the disease process within the body that provides a convenient diversion from the health-damaging conditions in which people live and work.

Continuing its earlier policies, the Rockefeller Foundation spearheaded efforts in the 1930s to develop a scientific biological perspective in medicine and to integrate chemistry and physics with biology. The Rockefeller, Macy, Milbank, and Ford philanthropies also generously supported the development of research into mental illness, almost exclusively focused on physiological factors with a little behavioral research.\*^

Like the foundations and individual capitalists earlier in the century, federal health research has focused on the narrowly technical components of disease and death rather than on the broader economic and physical environments so central to the population's health status. Cancer research is a prominent but typical example. Throughout its existence since 1937, the National Cancer Institute (NCI) has sought the key to understanding the etiology, cure, and prevention of cancer largely in microbiological research. In 1971 the Nixon administration launched a grand "war on cancer," the second leading cause of death, and gave the NCI a hefty 62 percent boost in its appropriations for the next year, the biggest since a 90 percent increase it received in 1957. By 1977 the NCI's annual budget had grown to \$815 million— three and a half times the pre-"war" level.\*"

Neither the National Cancer Institute nor the American Cancer Society has shown much interest in investigating the environmental contribution to cancer. A committee of the NCI's National Advisory Cancer Board expressed its "astonishment" that the National Cancer Program allocated only 10 percent of its budget to this area. In 1975 the NCI expanded its environmental carcinogens program to \$100 million, an impressive sum except that it is only 17 percent of the NCI's budget for the year. This miserly proportion devoted to environmental causes of cancer seems especially ironic because NCI director Frank J. Rauscher, Jr., publicly stated on several occasions the widely substantiated view that up to 90 percent of all cancers originate in the environment. According to federal health officials, epidemiological evidence demonstrates that at least 20 percent—and perhaps 40 percent—of all cancer cases are caused by occupational carcinogens, the most neglected area of environmental cancer research.\*®

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The more dominant lines of research focus on possible viral causes, hereditary factors, and immunological defenses in the etiology of cancer. The so far unproductive search for a viral origin for human cancer cost three-quarters of a billion dollars by 1977. This and other lines of microbiological research have contributed only marginally to improving survival rates for most cancer victims. Rauscher boasted in 1974, "The 5-year survival rate for cancer patients in the 1930s was about 1 in 5. Today, the figure is 1 in 3." However, Daniel Greenberg notes, "virtually all of this improvement was achieved prior to 1955, which, ironically, was when federal spending for cancer research began to accelerate to its present level." Greenberg chalks up much of the improvement in survival rates through the midfifties to the postwar introduction of antibiotics and blood transfusions that reduced the death toll due to cancer surgery. "It wasn't that more patients were surviving cancer^" Greenberg asserts, "rather, they were surviving cancer operations that previously killed them." In Greenberg's view the contributions of chemotherapy, radiation therapy, and new surgical techniques have been negligible.^ ^

Typified by the federal cancer research program, lavish funds are available for microbiological investigations of many diseases, but relatively scant support is provided for research on occupational and other environmental causes. At most, one-sixth of all federal health research dollars in 1977 were spent on environmental factors. One out of every five working coal miners in the United States is a victim of black lung disease (which kills 4,000 miners each year), and on the average one miner is killed every other day in mine accidents. Yet the amount of money per miner spent in the United States for studying ways to improve miners' occupational health and safety is only one-twentieth of that spent in the majority of European countries.\*"

This neglect of occupational and environmental bases of disease and death is not primarily due to conspiracy. The medical profession is, as we have seen in previous chapters, tied to the corporate class. Office-based

physicians' median incomes reached \$63,000 in 1976, placing them in the top few percentiles of the society's income structure.'^ Physicians in private practice earn their money from a market system of medical commodities, encouraging a conservative "free enterprise" political perspective and a sympathy for other entrepreneurs in the capitalist system.

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Medical researchers may be free of the influence of the medical commodity marketplace, but to win fame and fortune they must obey the rules of the medical research funds "market." Their dependence on foundation and government funding agencies restricts the range of problems and methods they may investigate and constrains their creative intellectual processes as well. The malignant neglect of occupational and environmental, social, and economic factors in medical research is thus due to the lopsided financial support provided for narrow microbiological investigations, the financial and class interests of the medical profession, mechanistic and reductionist medical theory, and the correspondingly narrow technical training of physicians.

Underlying these largely institutional and class factors, however, are the deliberate policies of major corporate and political institutions. Foundations, corporations, and government agencies differ among themselves and over time in their financial and political support for social versus technical perspectives in medicine. But in the long run and at any time they overwhelmingly support technical perspectives that separate health problems from their social and political contexts. Their policies reflect a general corporate class concern that any excess sickness and death not be attributed to the admitted inequities of capitalist society or to the organization of production that places profits before environmental protection and workers' health. In addition to this broad class interest in legitimation, however, a growing interest group within the corporate class has a direct financial stake in the dominance of technological medicine.

## THE MEDICAL-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The interests of doctors, hospitals, research scientists, and medical industrial corporations all coincide in the promotion of expensive medical technology. They have built a profitable symbiotic relationship based on the commodity system of medical care and society's cultural affinity and ideological support for technological medicine.

A recent report of the congressional Office of Technology Assessment showed how the introduction of new medical technologies creates or expands a market. Most of the risk capital is supplied by the government although the profits derived from the products of this research are taken by private industry. In 1975

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the federal government provided about \$2.8 billion out of a total of \$4.6 billion spent on health research and development. State and local governments picked up about 5 percent of the total, and private nonprofit agencies gave another 5 percent. These public and private funding agencies provided almost all the funds for basic research, the fundamental laboratory and clinical science work that develops new knowledge in medicine. The \$1.3 billion spent by private industry, together with a healthy chunk of government money, went mainly for product development, applying knowledge gained from basic research to the creation of technologies that can be used in medical care.^ ^

Private industry not only controls the fourth of all this research and development money it spends; it also determines whether the knowledge generated by basic research will be made available as new medical products. Since both kinds of decisions are based on the expected profitability of any investment rather than on the basis of medical need and safety, it is not surprising that drugs and equipment of questionable usefulness and often significant danger are produced and that other medically useful products fail to be developed.^ ^

Once a product or service is developed, the major medical interest groups determine its market. The commodity's producers extol its advantages and push for acceptance and sales. If the drug, instrument, or procedure increases the technical effectiveness of physicians, it is likely to be ordered by them. If it increases the status or incomes of physicians, it is also likely to be used. If its availability in a hospital is likely to attract

physicians or otherwise produce income, hospitals will want to buy it. If third-party payers will foot the bill, it is a certain winner. The growth of clinical laboratory testing illustrates the effectiveness of these market forces.

Automated blood analyzers, first introduced in the 1950s and perfected in the years since, make it possible to perform many "extra" tests on a single sample of blood, at a low unit cost but at a high aggregate cost. Physicians order increasing numbers of tests which were previously considered unnecessary and which are, to many analysts, not necessary "for even the most rigorous medical practice." Physicians frequently fail to use the results of tests they have ordered. As fears of malpractice suits increased, doctors began expanding the limits of "defensive medicine,"

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ordering ever larger numbers of tests to protect themselves against "litigious" patients. The growth of third-party payment programs facilitated increased use of clinical laboratories, and hospitals found it economically desirable to expand their laboratory capacities. Between the added fees doctors could charge, the economic "necessity" that hospitals felt, the facilitation of third-party payments, and the advertising of equipment and supply companies, the number of clinical laboratory tests reached 5 billion in 1975 (an average of twenty-three tests for every woman, man, and child in the country) and is increasing by 11 percent a year. Although automated laboratory equipment is expensive—for example, the latest automated blood chemistry analyzer (the SMAC 60) costs more than \$250,000—it represents only a minute fraction of the costs generated by clinical laboratory technology. The \$375 million spent on laboratory instruments in 1975 was only 2.5 percent of the \$15 billion bill for clinical laboratory testing, most of which went for space, supplies, maintenance, personnel, and profits for the laboratories and physicians.^\*

The cost of this and other medical technology in a commodity medical care system is enormous and rising at essentially geometric rates. Medical technology is estimated to account for half the increase in costs of hospital care from 1965 to 1974, a period in which hospital expenditures tripled.^ ^

In the days when Frederick T. Gates dreamed of medical research laboratories unlocking nature's secrets, medical technology was a fledgling business. Today the "medical-industrial complex" is a huge business that sops up an increasing share of national health expenditures for products and services that return a handsome profit to manufacturing and sales companies, researchers, hospitals, laboratories, and doctors. However, the economic return to these interest groups and the political value of technological medicine to the corporate class were not enough to overcome the serious economic problems caused by medical technology in a subsidized market economy.

## TECHNOLOGY IN CRISIS

As hospitals increased their charges at more than twice the rate of inflation in the rest of the economy, as health expenditures

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took a bigger and bigger bite of national resources and the federal budget, as medical fringe benefits consumed more corporate income and medical expenses cut into more and more of workers' incomes; government, corporate, union, and consumer leaders grew critical of the endless expansion of capital-intensive medicine. Besides demanding regulation of hospital expansion and the imposition of cost controls, these groups' political support for the expansion of medical technology fell off sharply. The market system's tendency to produce and absorb an inordinately expensive medical technology forced an examination of the value of that technology.

Dr. David Rogers, president of the giant Johnson Foundation, whose wealth emanates from the medical supply business, called for "technologic restraint."^^ Anne Somers, usually an advocate of the hospitals' interests, succinctly summarized the case against unlimited expansion of technological medicine: "The more advanced and the more effective the technology, the greater the overall costs of health care."^"

By the midsixties support for continued growth of technological medicine began to wither. Rapidly increasing

health expenditures and the well-documented role of medical technology in pushing up those costs darkened the previously bright future for medical research and its applications. The war in Vietnam was competing for federal tax dollars while the anti-war movement and the rapidly growing movement to protect what was left of the environment undermined political support for indiscriminate technological development. The virtual war in American cities in the midsixties, whose demands were articulated by the civil rights and black liberation movement, forced increasing appropriations for improving inner city services, including medical care. The combination of all these factors reduced political support for technological medicine—and cut into medical research's share of health expenditures. Federal appropriations for health research, which had increased 745 percent between 1955 and 1965, increased less than a fifth that much in the next ten years.^ ^

Foundations and the government increased their support for the study of medical care delivery problems. They supported experiments and reforms that would either lower the costs of medical care or improve access to low-technology primary care. They also gave new life and prominence to an old medical

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ideology—one that justified clamping down on medical care expenditures and provided a substitute for the legitimizing functions performed by the increasingly discredited medical technology.

## BLAMING THE VICTIM: NEW PROMINENCE FOR AN OLD IDEOLOGY

At first the criticisms of technological medicine focused on the many systemic factors that increased its use. Medical economist Victor Fuchs criticized the "technological imperative" in medicine, the attitude that if something technological can be done for a patient, it should be done.^ Fuchs attributed this accelerator tendency to the training of physicians, the reimbursement insurance system that encourages the use of costly services, drug and medical supply companies pushing their products, and pressure from patients.

Disenchantment with medicine's technical effectiveness, or rather its ineffectiveness and its dangers, reinforced the attack on medical technology that began with medicine's fiscal problems. Doubts about all this emphasis on medical technology spread from a small coterie of academic critics in the 1950s to the highest policy circles of government and foundations in the 1970s. In the latter half of the fifties, Rene Dubos^°° and a handful of other observers were pointing out the futility of relying on medicine to cure the ills created by social and physical environments. In the seventies Jesuit priest and social philosopher Ivan IUich,^°^ Canadian Health and Welfare Minister Marc Lalonde,^""^ and others^°^ criticized medicine for the disease it breeds, for its relatively small positive impact on health status and disease rates, and for extending its domain of control to more and more of our social and personal relations.

One outcome of this criticism was the belief that what doctors and medical technology were doing badly, we could do better for ourselves. Critics of medicine advocated individual "self-help" as a source of liberation from professional and technological control. Many of them, however, extended this position to identify individuals as the greatest dangers to their own health. A large-scale study of health behavior in CaUfornia supported the view that a person's "lifestyle" is a powerful determinant of his or

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her health status.^""^ Fuchs, ignoring contrary epidemiological evidence, asserts that "the greatest potential for reducing coronary disease, cancer, and the other major killers still lies in altering personal behavior.""^ A host of other academic health researchers and writers and members of the growing "holistic" health movement fastened on the individual as the core of health problems. ^°^ Perhaps the ultimate absurdity of this position blames lead poisoning of young children in low-income neighborhoods on maternal deprivation^""^ and "permissive socialization of oral behavior" ^°^—instead of on landlords who fail to remove the lead-based paint peeling from walls of their rental units and to repaint with lead-free paint now required by law.

These arguments quickly caught the attention of major health policy makers. Walter McNerney, president of the Blue Cross Association, argues.

We must stop throwing an array of technological processes and systems at lifestyle problems and stop equating more health services with better health. . . . people must have the capability and the will to take greater responsibility for their own health.

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Technological medicine is becoming prohibitively expensive, but victim blaming is cost-effective. "The cost of sloth, gluttony, alcoholic intemperance, reckless driving, sexual frenzy, and smoking have now become a national, not an individual, responsibility, all justified as individual freedom," asserts Dr. John Knowles, the influential president of the Rockefeller Foundation. "But one man's or woman's freedom in health is now another man's shackle in taxes and insurance premiums." Knowles sternly warns that "the cost of individual irresponsibility in health has become prohibitive." ^° Fuchs attacks what he sees as "a 'resolute refusal' to admit that individuals have any responsibility for their own distress." "" And Leon Kass, denying that health or health care is a ri^ht, proclaims that "health is a duty, that one has an obhgation to preserve one's own good health." Kass, a professor of medicine and bioethics, goes on to condemn "excessive preoccupations with health" such as "when cancer phobia leads to government regulations that unreasonably restrict industrial activity or personal freedom." ""^

Individual failure has long been used to explain why the poor and racial minorities use many physician and dental health services, especially preventive ones, less than more affluent

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groups do. Health professionals and their academic colleagues often conclude that low utilization reflects inadequate knowledge of the importance of preventive and early illness care and insufficient motivation to use them. ^^ "Under-utilization" and disapproved lifestyles are, in this view, individual failings which can perhaps be remedied by educational programs—an opportunity for professional intervention to teach the poor "correct" health habits and the importance of health services.

Attitudes do influence health behavior, but there is substantial evidence that when racial minorities and the poor have accessible and comprehensive medical services, their utilization rates are similar to those of the general population.' ""^ This evidence supports the argument that the lower use of such health services is the result of structural and functional problems in the services themselves rather than disfunctions in the potential users.

Victim blaming has been used not only to explain lower utilization by the poor but as a way of decreasing the use of health services by Medicaid recipients. In order to cut the escalating costs of Medicaid programs, the Nixon administration and conservative governors created barriers to the use of services. Setting limits on physician and dentist visits, especially for preventive care, and setting up bureaucratic delays for hospitalization (such as requiring physicians to obtain prior authorization before admitting a Medicaid patient to the hospital), the State made the "beneficiaries" of its programs pay for the market system's fiscal problems. ^^ Similarly, Medicare patients have been forced to pay higher deductibles and copayments in order to encourage them to spend less on their care. With the recent campaign of putting increasing responsibihty on the individual, the working and middle classes, as well as the poor, are being blamed for getting sick in the first place.

The prospects of national health insurance raised fears that further socializing the costs of medical care would only escalate the "technological imperative." Rather than question the decades-old policy of rationalizing the private medical market, health policy makers focus instead on the individuals who dare to succumb to the hazards of life in our society. Paying little more than lip service to the need to do something about the physical environment and social and economic conditions that are known to breed disease, they settle on an ideological position that is less

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threatening to the capitalist society of which they are important members. Technological medicine was proving a costly hardware system whose legitimacy has been undermined. Victim blaming is a cheap and ideologically

safe software alternative.

However, the victim-blaming strategy is generating opposition. Some public health officials have spoken out against this perspective. "For the vast majority of people in our society," argued C. Arden Miller as president of the American Public Health Association, "the life circumstances leading to poor health are not adopted as a matter of personal choice, but are thrust upon people by the social and economic circumstances into which they are born."\* Opposition is also developing in the labor movement to screening workers for at-risk health habits and "sensitivity" or "susceptibility" to occupational carcinogens, and to the barring of fertile women from hazardous jobs in the lead and chemical industries instead of eliminating the hazards from the workplace.""

An alternative to victim blaming and narrowly technological approaches to environmentally generated disease is an "ecological" strategy. In this model, health workers analyze the different factors that contribute to a health problem and, then, with the people affected develop social and political, as well as medical-technical, strategies for changing them."\* Individually oriented curative medicine is obviously needed because human beings are not perfectly adapted to any physical or social environment. But health care should do more than apply a band-aid to the wounds created by disharmony between people and environment. Much of this disharmony is the result of exploitation of the physical and social environment for profit, a process in which cancer caused by occupational and environmental pollution, high blood pressure due to stress, and excessively high death rates related to poverty and racism are considered "social costs" of production. However, political pressure can be developed to change these conditions and, ultimately, to reorganize production around social needs rather than the private accumulation of capital.

## CONCLUSION

American society is faced with a health system that is at once expensive and incapable of serving the important health needs of

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the population. Despite many decades of efforts to make medicine more effective and improve its accessibility, the system seems to remain impervious to fundamental change. The reform efforts, however, are themselves fundamentally flawed.

From the early Rockefeller medical philanthropies to the opening of the federal treasury to the health sector, the major strategy for making medicine more effective has been biomedical research and the development of technological medicine. Technical advances have been very great, but the results have not been distributed equitably, coordinated rationally with needed primary care, or matched with support for improvements in the physical and social environments. Technique has also increasingly replaced personal caring and emotional support in doctor-patient relationships. As we have seen, these emphases have had only a limited positive impact on the health of the population. The persistence of such narrowly technical approaches is due to their usefulness to powerful classes and interest groups. For members of the corporate class, technological medicine has legitimized their economic and political dominance by diverting attention from the consequences of their control—that is, from such "social costs" as class inequalities, domination based on race or sex, occupational hazards, and environmental degradation. For the medical profession, the knowledge generated by medical science and the techniques of medical technology provided the basis for physicians' claims to a monopoly of authority over the practice of medicine. Over the last few decades medical technology has been the foundation of a whole new industry, an interest group that directly profits from the emphasis on technical approaches to health problems. Technological medicine has benefited all these groups, and they have, in turn, supported its expansion.

The Rockefeller philanthropies also began the long process of rationalizing medical care. This campaign has been joined by groups in and outside the health sector and has been increasingly supported by the State over the last several decades. The political power of the medical profession was strong enough to block early efforts at subordinating all elements of the system into a hierarchy of organizational authority. So pieces of the rationalizing strategy were implemented where there was least resistance. Voluntary health insurance programs



—private and later public ones—were developed mainly around hospital care, financing the

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expansion of high technology medicine with the hospital at its center. The rationalizing of the private medical market helped the growth of the capital-intensive medical commodity sector, which has a major stake in technological medicine. The private control of this market, the emphasis on medical technology, and the socializing of costs by third-party payers combined to make expenditures soar, compounding government fiscal problems and draining ever-increasing amounts of money from the economy.

Medicine's upper-class reformers, from Gates and his foundation colleagues to present-day officials of the State, have been unwilling to oppose the private market in its entirety, producing a profound contradiction in their struggles to rationalize medicine. They favored the development of the private market with legislative and financial support in lieu of nationalizing medical care. The present crisis is a result of this political-economic process. It was an inevitable outcome only in that those who shaped the system believed in, or at least accepted, the needs and constraints of capitalist economic and social relations. If Gates and subsequent foundation and government leaders in the field of medicine had been committed to making health care serve the needs of the majority population rather than the needs of capitalism and the interests of the corporate class, a different course would have been followed. Even today a comprehensive, centrally planned nationalized health service could effectively control cost and provide equal care for the whole population. Health care could be more effective in improving health if its research and action were directed at environmental conditions in about the same proportion that those conditions contribute to sickness and death.

But health policy makers cannot be counted on to make these fundamental changes. As members of the corporate class or identified with its interests, they believe, to paraphrase Charles Wilson's audacious aphorism, "what's good for business is good for America." Furthermore, the capitalist sector of medicine has grown rich and powerful, bringing the economic and political influence of insurance companies, banks, and industrial corporations into active support for retaining the private medical market. National health insurance is supported because it will further socialize the costs of medicine, but nationalizing medicine in a national health service is unacceptable to the powerful private

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market forces and therefore is ignored by health policy makers. Instead of overhauling the medical system, they put the burden of controlling costs on people who have been afflicted with disease by restricting their access to services and demanding that they improve their health by changing their behavior.

However, even a national health service would not necessarily end medicine's role of legitimizing corporate capitalist society. It would, if anything, enable these ideological functions to compete less with the needs of the marketplace. Without the access problems that remain in the present market system, the "health administration," as Gates called medicine, could bring individual-focused, technical perspectives and methods to the health problems of the entire population.

Health care, potentially, has a great deal to offer. We rightfully expect it to prevent sickness, diagnose our ills, relieve our pains, and, when we are sick, return us to at least our usual level of functioning. If it were not distorted by its character as a commodity and by the ideological functions demanded of it, health care might well be developed as we wish it would. It is possible to make a health care system that effectively serves the health needs of the majority classes rather than the economic and political interests of its providers and the upper classes. It is doubtful, however, that such a health care system can be realized in a capitalist society, committed as it must be to maintaining the primacy of capital accumulation. Nevertheless, the struggle for that new health system may contribute to the larger struggle for a new, more just economic and social order.

## Notes

The Journal of the American Medical Association is abbreviated throughout as JAMA.

# INTRODUCTION

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6. See the excellent critique of industrialism and technological determinism in Robin Blackburn, "A Brief Guide to Bourgeois Ideology," in A. Cockburn and R. Blackburn, eds., *Student Power* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1969), pp. 163-213; the brief discussion in David Noble's illuminating book, *America by Design — Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York: Knopf, 1977), especially the introduction; and Vicente Navarro's critique of industrialism in his review of Illich's work, in Navarro, *Medicine Under Capitalism* (New York: Prodist, 1976), pp. 103-31.
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## CHAPTER 1

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7. Quoted in Edward Chase Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964; originally published 1956), p. 165.
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29. Elbert Vaughan Wills, *The Growth of American Higher Education—Liberal, Professional, and Technical* (Phila.: Dorrance and Co., 1936), p. 147.
30. Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy*, p. 135.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65, 112-14.
32. "Wealth," *North American Review*, 148 (June 1889), 653-64; and 149 (Dec. 1889), 682-98; reprinted in Andrew Carnegie, *Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 14-49.

34. For gifts given by Carnegie in his lifetime and bequeathed by him at his death, see A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1919).
35. Wall, Carnegie, pp. 806-12.
36. Manual of the Public Benefactions.
37. The account of Rockefeller's life is taken from Nevins, Rockefeller; and Collier and Horowitz, Rockefellers, pp. 1-73.
38. Quoted in Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 177.
39. Quoted in Collier and Horowitz, Rockefellers, p. 48.
40. A detailed and readable account of the development of the University of Chicago is found in Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 191-227.
41. Ibid., 213-14.
42. Ibid., 213-14, 627, 266.
43. Ibid., 269, 427; and Collier and Horowitz, Rockefellers, pp. 45-47.
44. Gates describes the meeting with Rockefeller in his Autobiography. At the time this book was researched and written. Gates' autobiography was an unpublished typescript in the Rockefeller Foundation Archives. It has since been published as Chapters in My Life (New York: Free Press, 1977). I continue to use the citation "Gates, Autobiography," referring to the typescript pages. Gates' meeting with Rockefeller is also recounted in detail in Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 266-69.
45. Gates, Autobiography, p. 342; and quoted in Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 268.
46. Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 268.
47. Gates, Autobiography, pp. 342-45.
48. Rockefeller, Random Reminiscences, p. 116; Allan Nevins, A Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), II, 197; and Gates, Autobiography, p. 366.
49. Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 274-81; and Rockefeller, Random Reminiscences, p. 117.
50. Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 279-81.
51. Ibid., 274; and Gates, Autobiography.
52. The only account of Gates' early life is in his Autobiography; it is summarized with quotes in Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 269-72.
53. Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 272-73.
54. Memo, April 20, 1891, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
55. Nevins, Rockefeller, II, 282-85; and Gates, Autobiography, p. 375.
56. Gates, Autobiography, pp. 310-15; F. T. Gates to J. D. Rockefeller, June 12, 1916, and E. N. Gary to J. D. Rockefeller, May 4, 1909, both in Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.
57. Quoted in B. C. Forbes, "How John D. Rockefeller Became America's Foremost Organizer and Richest Man,"

Leslie's, Sept. 29, 1917. See also Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 117.

58. Details of Junior's life are available in Collier and Horowitz, *Rockefellers*, pp. 75-178. The period of his entry to his father's office is described on pp. 87-92.

59. Gates, *Autobiography*, pp. 517-18; Nevins, *Rockefeller*, II, 289.

60. Raymond Fosdick, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., *A Portrait* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1956), p. Ill; Nevins, *Rockefeller*, II, 290.

61. Raymond Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1952), p. 2.

62. For the authorized and largely uncritical histories of the Rockefeller philanthropies, see Fosdick's history of the Rockefeller Foundation, cited above, and his *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); George W. Comer, *A History of the Rockefeller*

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Institute—1901-1953 (New York: Rockefeller Institute Press, 1964); and Greer Williams, *The Plague Killers* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), about the worldwide public health programs. For more critical views, see Harry Cleaver, Jr., "The Origins of the Green Revolution," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1975; E. Richard Brown, "Public Health in Imperialism: Early Rockefeller Programs at Home and Abroad," *American Journal of Public Health*, 66 (1976), 897-903; Collier and Horowitz, *Rockefellers*; and the following chapters in this book.

63. Quoted in Nevins, *Rockefeller*, II, 291.

64. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, pp. 159-60.

65. See F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Giving* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950); Warren Weaver, *U.S. Philanthropic Foundations—Their History, Structure, Management, and Record* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); and Bremner, *American Philanthropy*.

66. See Franklin Parker, *George Peabody, A Biography* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), pp. 160-67, on the founding of the Peabody Fund; and see Jessie Pearl Rice, *J. L. M. Curry — Southerner, Statesman, and Educator* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 159-75, on Curry's role in Southern education funds.

67. Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), discusses the Southern Education Board, pp. 75-101. Some of the important contributions to the board's total income, \$400,000 in the thirteen years of its existence, came from George Foster Peabody, Andrew Carnegie, Rockefeller's General Education Board, Frank R. Chambers of New York, the Russell Sage Foundation, and Robert C. Ogden.

68. Hugh C. Bailey, *Liberalism in the New South — Southern Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement* (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1969), p. 138.

69. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, pp. 75-101; Bailey, *Liberalism*, pp. 75-76; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School — Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Knopf, 1961), pp. 23-57. Washington was financially supported by Northern businessmen and Southern liberals; he was hired as an agent of the SEB though he was never allowed to attend a board meeting. More assertive black leaders denounced the Hampton model of industrial schooling for blacks. W. E. B. DuBois pointed out that exclusive support of industrial schooling emphasized blacks' duties and put their rights into the background. "Take the eyes of these millions off the stars and fasten them in the soil," he mockingly told a Hampton audience, and let their dreams be of "corn bread and molasses." DuBois, *The Education of Black People*, ed. H. Aptheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), p. 9.

70. Quoted in Cleaver, "Origins of the Green Revolution."

71. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving*, pp. 10-11. SEB member William H. Baldwin, president of the Long Island Railroad, argued that blacks "will willingly fill the more menial positions, and do the heavy work, at less wages," leaving to whites "the more expert labor," Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, p. 78, 75-101.

72. Fosdick, *Rockefeller, Jr.*, pp. 117-18.

73. Memorandum in Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

74. Copy of press release in Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

75. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, pp. 75-101; Frissell quoted on p. 86.

76. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving*, pp. 10-11; Buttrick to Gates, Oct. 14, 1904; confidential report of Jerome D. Greene, Wallace Buttrick, and Abraham

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Flexner, Oct. 22, 1914; Raymond B. Fosdick, Wickliffe Rose, and James Diliard, report of special committee on programs and policies, Oct. 6, 1922, all in GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives. The GEE greatly influenced several other foundations that worked in the Southern education movement; e.g., see Abraham Flexner, *Abraham Flexner: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 274; this is a revision of his autobiography published in 1940 as / *Remember*. 11. Gates, *Autobiography*, pp. 460-64; Gates to Wickliffe Rose, Aug. 21, 1914, Rockefeller Sanitary Commission files; R. B. Fosdick, W. Rose, and J. Diliard, report of special committee on programs and policies, Oct. 6, 1922, GEB files; *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1921-1922*, pp. 42, 65.

78. See Brown, "Public Health in Imperialism."

79. Gates, *Autobiography*, p. 460.

80. Gates to Rockefeller, June 3, 1905, Gates papers. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

81. Gates, *Autobiography*, pp. 440-42.

82. *Current Literature*, 42 (1909), 253-54; Gates to Rockefeller, Aug. 9, 1907, Gates papers.

83. Gates, "Some Reflections on Questions of Policy," memo to the board, Jan. 23, 1906. GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

84. William S. Vickery, "One Economist's View of Philanthropy," in F. G. Dickerson, ed., *Philanthropy and Public Policy* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1962), p. 31.

85. Wall, *Carnegie*, p. 828.

86. The origins and early years of the Carnegie Foundation are described in Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1932), vol. 2, 263-64; and Wall, *Carnegie*, pp. 869-79.

87. Henry S. Pritchett, "Introduction" to Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin no. 4 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910), p. vii. See also A. Flexner, Henry S. Pritchett, *A Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 96.

88. Phone conversation quoted in Buttrick to Gates, March 30, 1906; see also Buttrick to Pritchett, March 31, 1906, and April 16, 1906; and Pritchett to Buttrick, April 5, 1906. and Jan. 4, 1909, all in GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives. See also Pritchett to Buttrick, Feb. 3, 1911, Feb. 6, 1911, Nov. 12, 1915, and Nov. 24, 1916;

and Buttrick to Pritchett, Feb. 8, 1911, and Dec. 1, 1916; and Pritchett to Gates, Nov. 12, 1915, all in Carnegie Foundation files.

89. Gates to Rockefeller, June 6, 1905, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

90. W. Buttrick to H. S. Pritchett, May 29, 1917, Carnegie Foundation files; A. Flexner, "Supplement to the Gedney-Farm Memorandum," March 31, 1924, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, pp. 127, 129.

91. Fosdick, Rockefeller, Jr., pp. 143-87; and Collier and Horowitz, *Rockefellers*, pp. 109-34.

92. Charles P. Howland to Raymond B. Fosdick, Jan. 28, 1927, Rockefeller Foundation files; A. Flexner to W. Buttrick, Aug. 3, 1925, GEB files; A. P. Stokes to W. Rose, May 2, 1928, and Edwin R. Embree to George Vincent, May 7, 1928, GEB files; memos by Edwin Embree about 1932, Edwin Embree papers—all Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

93. Gates, memo to himself, Nov. 20, 1911, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

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94. Rockefeller, Jr., to Rockefeller, Dec. 31, 1906, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

95. Gates, memo to GEB, Nov. 1911, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

96. University of Chicago relationship described and letter quoted in Nevins, *Rockefeller*, II, 230-31, 246, 265-M, 627.

97. Gates to George Foster Peabody, March 20, 1912, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2; *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1924-1925*, p. 5; A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 209.

98. Williams, *Contours*, pp. 352-53. An illustration of the profitable use of managers comes from Carnegie's career. In 1873 Carnegie hired Captain William Jones to run his steel mill, and it was largely Jones who kept the company's costs below and its profits above those of its competitors. Jones introduced technical innovations that he personally designed, and he maintained relatively stable relations with his workers despite the intolerably exploitative wages and working conditions he and the company imposed on them. He worked the men under him twelve hours a day, seven days a week in mills where temperatures frequently topped 100°, but he also understood the necessity of setting some floor below which wages would not be pushed in order to keep his workers—a position that Carnegie had difficulty accepting. On Jones' role, see Wall, *Carnegie*, pp. 314-16, 328-29, 344<sup>5</sup>.

99. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 109.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Joseph E. Kett, *The Formation of the American Medical Profession—The Role of Institutions, 1780-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 9-10.

2. William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 35-36.

3. A Maryland physician named Alexander Hamilton complained of the empirics he found in his travels through the colonies in 1744. "A great many of them take the care of a family for the value of a Dutch dollar a year, which makes the practice of physick a mean thing, and unworthy of the application of a gentleman." Quoted in Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 35.

4. L. H. Butterfield, ed., *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), vol. 2, 661.



5. On lay healers, see Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *Witches, Mid-wives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: The Feminist Press, 1973); and Kett, *Formation*.

6. For a detailed description and discussion of regular medical practice in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 41-62.

7. On the Popular Health Movement and some of its component groups, see Richard H. Shryock, "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement, 1830-1870," in Shryock, *Medicine in America, Historical Essays* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 111-25; and Ehrenreich and English, *Witches*, pp. 22-25. On licensing, see Shryock, *Medical Licensing in America, 1650-1965* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967).

8. See Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 152-74; and Harris L. Coulter, *Divided Legacy*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: McGrath Publishing Co., 1973).

9. Rosemary Stevens, *American Medicine and the Public Interest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 24.

10. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 95.

11. "Medical Education in the United States," *JAMA*, 79 (1922), 629-37.

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13. Dr. S. E. Chains, quoted in Gerald E. Markowitz and David K. Rosner, "Doctors in Crisis: A Study of the Use of Medical Education Reform to Establish Modern Professional Elitism in Medicine," *American Quarterly*, 25 (1973), 90.

14. KoXhslt'm, *American Physicians*, pp. 120-21.

15. *The Three Ethical Codes* (Detroit: Illustrated Medical Journal Co., 1888), p. 31. This publication includes codes of ethics of the AMA, the American Institute of Homeopathy, and the National Eclectic Medical Society.

16. Donald E. Konold, *A History of American Medical Ethics, 1847-1912* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1962), pp. 1-24. Regarding the internal and external functions of codes of ethics in the medical profession, see Jeffrey L. Berlant, *Profession and Monopoly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), chap. 3.

17. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin no. 4 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910), p. 14.

18. A. M. Carr-Saunders, "Professionalization in Historical Perspective," in H. M. VoUmer and D. L. Mills, eds., *Professionalization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 3-4.

19. William J. Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Professions: Psychology, Medicine, and Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960), 902-14.

20. Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," *Social Work*, 2 (1957), 44-55.

21. Eliot Freidson, *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1970), p. 80.

22. Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (1964), 137-58.

23. Freidson, *Profession*, p. 81.

24. Carr-Saunders, "Professionalization," p. 6.

25. Everett C. Hughes, "Professions," in Kenneth S. Lynn, ed., *The Professions in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., for American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1965), pp. 2, 3, 9.
26. Freidson, *Profession*, pp. 79, 80 (emphasis added).
27. Henry E. Sigerist, *American Medicine* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1934), pp. 267-73.
28. George W. Corner, *A History of the Rockefeller Institute—1901-1953* (New York: Rockefeller Institute Press, 1964), pp. 7-8.
29. Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 40.
30. Sigerist, *American Medicine*, pp. 273-74.
31. See, for example, William Allen Pusey, *A Doctor of the 1870s and 1880s* (Springfield, III.: Charles C. Thomas, 1932).
32. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 209.
33. For an illuminating analysis of scientific management, see Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital — The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pp. 70-138.
34. John Powles, "On the Limitations of Modern Medicine," *Science, Medicine, and Man*, 1 (1973), 15.
35. Markowitz and Rosner, "Doctors," 92.
36. Erwin H. Ackerknecht, *A Short History of Medicine* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 130-31.
37. Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years—The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

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38. Corner, *Rockefeller Institute*, p. 4. See also Edward H. Kass, "Infectious Diseases and Social Change," *Journal of Infectious Diseases*, 123 (1971), 110-14.
39. Richard H. Shryock, *American Medical Research, Past and Present* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1947), pp. 43-44. See also Corner, *Rockefeller Institute*, pp. 8-9, on rising public interest in and expectations from medical science.
40. Leonard Keene Hirshberg, "Popular Medical Fallacies," *American Magazine*, 62 (1906), 655-60; Harvey Cushing, "Triumphs of Modern Medicine," *Education Review*, 47 (1914), 86-95; and C.-E. A. Winslow, "The War Against Disease," *Atlantic Monthly*, 91 (Jan. 1903), 43-52. The *New York Times* (Feb. 19, 1911) reported on a lecture by Dr. Harvey Wiley, then chief chemist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and later first head of the Food and Drug Administration, in which he asserted that in fifty years chemistry will have practically eliminated all forms of disease.
41. See, for example, Charles A. L. Reed, "President's Address," *JAMA*, 36 (1901), 1599-1606.
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43. Elizabeth Bisland, "The Tyranny of the Pill," *North American Review*, 190 (1909), 819-25.
44. Pusey, *Doctor*.
45. Fielding H. Garrison, John Shaw Billings, *A Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 256-57.

46. Richard H. Shryock, *The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., 1953), p. 19.
47. Donald Fleming, William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1954), especially p. 21. Welch's letter to his sister is quoted in Simon Flexner and James Thomas Flexner, *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine* (New York: Viking Press, 1941), pp. 75-76.
48. Konold, *Ethics*, pp. 33-35.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
50. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 292-94.
51. C. A. L. Reed, "President's Address," *JAMA*, 36 (1901), 1605.
52. A. Flexner, *Medical Education*, pp. 10-11. See also Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 19.
53. "Medical Education in the United States," *JAMA*, 79 (1922), 629-37.
54. W. J. Reader, *Professional Men — The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 10-17.
55. Richard Hofstadter, "The Age of the College," in R. Hofstadter and W. P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 228.
56. Daniel Drake, *Practical Essays on Medical Education and the Medical Profession in the United States* (Cincinnati: Roff and Young, 1832; reprinted by Johns Hopkins Press, 1952), p. 11.
57. William H. Welch, from an article in *Science*, quoted in Markowitz and Rosner, "Doctors," 95.
58. Inez C. Philbrick, "Medical Colleges and Professional Standards," *JAMA*, 36 (1901), 1700.
59. Frank Billings, "Medical Education in the United States," President's Address, *JAMA*, 40 (1903), 1271-76.
60. Quoted in James J. Walsh, *History of the Medical Society of the State of New York* (New York: The Medical Society, 1907), p. 173.

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61. Bryan, it should be noted, argued not from the needs of the working class nor even humanitarian grounds. An early advocate of what has become known as the "equal opportunity" doctrine, his argument for including the poorer classes in medicine came from his belief that "it is certain the only hope of this country for salvation from anarchy is in keeping the doors of higher opportunity open to the poorest." From Association of American Medical Colleges, *Proceedings of the 18th Annual Meeting*, Cleveland, March 16-17, 1908, p. 37.
62. F. C. Shattuck and J. L. Bremer, "The Medical School, 1869-1929," in S. E. Morison, ed., *The Development of Harvard University, 1869-1929* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 581.
63. Quoted in Garrison, Billings, p. 256.
64. Philbrick, "Medical Colleges," 1700-02.
65. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 230-34.
66. Kett, *Formation*, pp. 135-38.
67. Walter L. Burrage, *A History of the Massachusetts Medical Society, 1781-1922*. (Norwood, Mass.: Plimpton Press, 1923), pp. 426-27; and Konold, *Ethics*, pp. 22-26.

68. Quoted in Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 245 (emphasis added).
69. *Ibid.*, p. 307. See also. Richard Shryock, *Medical Licensing in America, 1650-1965* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 51-52.
70. Shryock, *Medical Licensing*, pp. 53-54; Robert C. Derbyshire, *Medical Licensure and Discipline in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 7; Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 43; and Berlant, *Profession and Monopoly*, chap. 5.
71. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 307-09.
72. Reed, "President's Address," 1605.
73. "Report of the Committee on Medical Ethics," *JAMA*, 40 (1903), 1379-81.
74. Reed, "President's Address," 1605.
75. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 23.
76. See, for example, T. McKeown, "A Conceptual Background for Research and Development in Medicine," *International Journal of Health Services*, 3 (1973), 17-28; and Powles, "Limitations."
77. Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 40.
78. Edgar Allen Forbes, "Is the Doctor a Shylock?" *World's Work*, 14 (1907), 8892-96.
79. B. Ehrenreich and D. English, *Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: The Feminist Press, 1973). See also their *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978).
80. H. Bigelow, "The Conservation of Energy and Conservative Gynaecology," *JAMA*, 4 (1895), 3U.
81. Quoted in Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 50.
82. Konold, *Ethics*, pp. 35-37; and "Report of the Committee on Specialties, and on the Propriety of Specialists Advertising," *Transactions of the AMA*, 20 (1869), 111-13.
83. Konold, *Ethics*, pp. 38-40.
84. Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 50.
85. Figures based on Rothstein's estimate (*American Physicians*, p. 344) of the number of physicians in the United States in 1900 less 5 percent who may have been full-time specialists, while the current figure is from Cambridge Research Institute, *Trends Affecting the U.S. Health Care System* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 357-66.

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86. Stevens, *American Medicine*, pp. 85-88, 92.
87. Maurice D. Clarke, "Therapeutic Nihilism," quoted in Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 184-85.
88. Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 324.
89. Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 134.
90. On the successful campaign to get rid of midwives, see Frances E. Kobrin, "The American Midwife Controversy: A Crisis of Professionalization," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 40 (1966), 350-63.

91. Morris Fishbein, *The New Medical Follies* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), p. 231.

## CHAPTER 3

1. Sander Kelman describes the contradiction that technological medicine posed for private practice physicians in their attempt to control the profession in "Toward the Political Economy of Medical Care," *Inquiry*, 8 (Sept. 1971), 30-37.

2. Rosemary Stevens, *American Medicine and the Public Interest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 78, 52. On the cost of hospital construction, see C. Rufus Rorem, *The Public's Investment in Hospitals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), especially pp. 124-25.

3. Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 145.

4. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), pp. 137-38.

5. *JAMA*, 35 (1900), 1353.

6. Simon Flexner and James Thomas Flexner, *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine* (New York: Viking Press, 1941), pp. 111-17.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-34.

8. Donald Fleming, *William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1954), conveys the impression that Welch was driven by competition. See also S. Flexner and J. T. Flexner, *Welch*, p. 138.

9. Fleming, *Welch*, pp. 65-70; and Flexner and Flexner, *Welch*, pp. 136, 154, 171.

10. The account is printed in full as "Recollections of Frederick T. Gates on the Origins of the Institute," in George W. Comer's official *A History of the Rockefeller Institute—1901-1953* (New York: Rockefeller Institute Press, 1964), pp. 575-84. It is extensively relied on by Comer and by Allan Nevins, John D. Rockefeller, *The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), vol. 2, 466-70; and Flexner and Flexner, *Welch*, 269-71. I have also quoted and referred to Gates' memo in the following pages.

11. Comer, *Rockefeller Institute*, p. 30; and a letter from L. Emmett Holt, quoted in T. Mitchell Prudden's unpublished history of the Rockefeller Institute.

12. Comer, *Rockefeller Institute*, pp. 30-31.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

14. Frederick T. Gates, *Autobiography*, unpublished ms., 1928, pp. 387-88, Gates collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives; and Comer, *Rockefeller Institute*, p. 49.

15. Comer, *Rockefeller Institute*, p. 68.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

18. John D. Rockefeller to Starr J. Murphy, Dec. 29, 1916, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

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19. John D. Rockefeller to Starr J. Murphy, July 1, 1919, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

20. Starr J. Murphy to John D. Rockefeller, July 8, 1919, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

21. Frederick T. Gates to John D. Rockefeller, Jan. 20, 1911, Gates collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
22. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Starr J. Murphy, July 5, 1919, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.
23. Starr J. Murphy to John D. Rockefeller, Jan. 2, 1917, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.
24. William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 159-60, 234-39.
25. Quoted in Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr., A Portrait* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1956), pp. 111-12.
26. The McGill appeal is related in Corner, Rockefeller Institute, pp. 70-71.
27. Gates, "Philanthropy and Civilization," 1923, Gates collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
28. Gates, "Some Elements of an Effective System of Scientific Medicine in the United States" (n.d.), Gates collection. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
29. Gates, "Concerning Private Gifts to States and a Medical Policy," Memo to the General Education Board, Feb. 26, 1925, Gates collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
30. Gates, "Philanthropy and Civilization."
31. Gates, "Private Gifts."
32. Walter Fisher, "Physicians and Slavery in the Ante-bellum Southern Medical Journal," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 23 (1968), 36-49.
33. *Ibid.*, 37.
34. Quoted in George M. Frederickson, *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 102-04. My thanks to Michael Cohen for calling my attention to this chapter.
35. Carnegie quotes himself in *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), p. 231.
36. Quoted in David Brody's excellent study of working conditions, labor organizing, and employers, *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969; originally published, 1960), p. 178. See also Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
37. Frederick T. Gates to John D. Rockefeller, Dec. 12, 1910, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2. See also E. Richard Brown, "Public Health in Imperialism: Early Rockefeller Programs at Home and Abroad," *American Journal of Public Health*, 66 (1976), 897-903; Greer Williams, *The Plague Killers* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969); Mary Boccaccio, "Ground Itch and Dew Poison: The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, 1909-1914," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 11 (1972), 30-53; and James H. Cassedy, "The 'Germ of Laziness' in the South, 1900-1915: Charles Warden Stiles and the Progressive Paradox," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 45 (1971), 159-69.
38. May quoted in *Tropical Health — A Report on a Study of Needs and Resources* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, Publication no. 996, 1962). pp. vii-viii. See also Brown, "Public Health in Imperialism," and Williams, *Plague Killers*.

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39. Quoted in "Recent American Opinion in Favor of Health Insurance," *American Labor Legislation Review*, 6

(1916), 347.

40. Quoted in *ibid.*, 345.

41. On the history of European sickness insurance programs, see Matthew J. Lynch and Stanley S. Raphael, *Medicine and the State* (Springfield, 111.: Charles C. Thomas, 1963). On the social reforms of Progressivism, see James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).

42. C. W. Hopkins, "The Hospital Organization of Railway Systems," in *Medicine, An Aid to Commerce*, paper from 40th Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Medicine, San Francisco, June 25-28, 1915 (Easton, Pa.: American Academy of Medicine, 1916), pp. 149-52.

43. Charles W. Eliot, "The Qualities of the Scientific Investigator," in *Addresses Delivered at the Opening of the Laboratories in New York City*, May 11, 1906 (New York: Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, 1906), p. 49.

44. W. H. Welch, "The Benefits of the Endowment of Medical Research," in *Addresses (Rockefeller Institute)*, p. 32.

45. Gates, "Notes on Homeopathy, No. 3," written as a memo to Rockefeller, Sr., and circulated approvingly within the Rockefeller philanthropies about 1911, Gates collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives. Gates' quotes on the next few pages are taken from this memo.

46. Gates, "Address on the Tenth Anniversary of the Rockefeller Institute," 1911, Gates collection. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

47. F. T. Gates to J. D. Rockefeller, Jan. 31, 1905, Letterbook no. 350, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 1.

48. J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938; originally published 1902).

49. Described and quoted in a newsletter published for a short time by the foundation, "Hospital Ship for the Sulu Archipelago," *The Rockefeller Foundation*, Aug. 15, 1916, pp. 1, 14.

50. George E. Vincent, *The Rockefeller Foundation — A Review of Its War Work, Public Health Activities, and Medical Education Projects in 1917* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1918), pp. 31-32.

51. For a history of class conflicts over the reform of public schools, see Joel H. Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972); and Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools — The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

52. *New London (Conn.) Day*, July 10, 1914.

53. *Autobiography*, p. 281.

54. Gates, "Address." Gates had grown very ecumenical indeed: "Rev. Simon Flexner, D.D." was Jewish.

55. Speech reprinted in John B. Roberts, *The Doctor's Duty to the State: Essays on the Public Relations of Physicians* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1908), especially p. 20. Roberts was also a member of the AMA Committee on Legislation, one of the profession's powerful lobbying units.

56. Jiirgen Habermas, "Technology and Science as 'Ideology,'" in Habermas, *Toward a Rational Society — Student Protest, Science, and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 105. See also Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

57. See Samuel Haber, *Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964); and Harry Braverman's excellent study. *Labor and Monopoly Capital — The Degradation of*

Work in the Twentieth Century (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974).

58. Quoted in Haber, *Efficiency and Uplift*, p. 20.

59. A writer of the period quoted in *ibid.*, p. 62.

60. Nicholas Murray Butler, "Scientific Research and Material Progress," in *Addresses (Rockefeller Institute)*, p. 40.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

62. Quoted in George Rosen, "The Evolution of Social Medicine," in H. E. Freeman, S. Levine, and L. G. Reeder, eds. *Handbook of Medical Sociology*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 39.

63. René J. Dubos, "The Gold-Headed Cane in the Laboratory," in *Annual Lectures, 1953* (Washington, D.C.: National Institutes of Health, 1953), pp. 89-102.

64. Gates to Rockefeller, Sr., Oct. 8, 1910, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

65. Gates, "Philanthropy and Civilization."

66. Gates, *Autobiography*, p. 395.

67. See, for example. *Studies from the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, Index for Volumes I-XV* (New York: Rockefeller Institute, 1912).

68. See Corner's *Rockefeller Institute*, which describes the lines of research pursued at the institute from 1901 to 1953.

69. Shryock notes the "heavy emphasis and reliance on the basic sciences" at the new Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health in his *The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., 1953), pp. 49-50.

70. C. W. Stiles, "Soil Pollution: The Chain Gang as a Possible Disseminator of Intestinal Parasites and Infections," *Public Health Reports*, 28 (1913), 985-86.

71. Gates, "Capital and Labor," memorandum (n.d., but probably 1916), Gates collection. Rockefeller Foundation Archives. Quotes on pages 130-131 are from this memo.

72. Quotes in this paragraph taken from two similar passages in Gates' "Address," and *Autobiography*, pp. 396-97.

73. "Address."

74. *Ibid.*

75. "Philanthropy and Civilization."

76. Quotes in this paragraph are taken from similar passages in Gates, "Address," and Gates, *Autobiography*, pp. 399-400.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Quoted in Gerald E. Markowitz and David K. Rosner, "Doctors in Crisis: A Study of the Use of Medical Education Reform to Establish Modern Professional Elitism in Medicine," *American Quarterly*, 25 (1973), 88.



2. JAMA, 37 (1901), 270.
3. Richard H. Shryock, *Medical Licensing in America, 1650-1965* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 53-54.
4. Rosemary Stevens, *American Medicine and the Public Interest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 24.
5. Markowitz and Rosner, "Doctors," 87.
6. Morris Fishbein, *A History of the American Medical Association, 1847 to 1947* (Phila.: W. B. Saunders Co., 1947), pp. 206-13; William G. Rothstein,

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- American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 69-70, 317-18; Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 29; and James G. Burrow, *AM A, Voice of American Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 27-32.
7. Quoted in Fishbein, *History*, p. 211.
  8. One physician, unhappy with the new leadership, criticized the AMA for being self-proclaimed politicians of the profession, for representing only about 8 percent of the country's doctors, and for being controlled by merely "a half dozen men." See B. M. Jackson, "The Medical Profession: Its Politics and Politicians," *Pacific Medical Journal*, 41 (1904), 456-61.
  9. On the coalition of university medical school physicians and private practitioners, their interests, strategy, and effect, see the excellent article by Markowitz and Rosner, "Doctors."
  10. Arthur D. Bevan, "Cooperation in Medical Education and Medical Service," *JAMA*, 90 (1928), 1173.
  11. "Council on Medical Education of the AMA," *JAMA*, 48 (1907), 1702.
  12. Sxtvtns^*American Medicine*, pp. 65-66. Today, in half the fifty states the state medical society has a direct hand in selecting the licensing board, according to Robert C. Derbyshire, *Medical Licensure and Discipline in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 33.
  13. "Council," *JAMA*, 48 (1907), 1702-05.
  14. Bevan, "Cooperation," 1174-75; and "Medical Education in the United States," *JAMA*, 79 (1922), 629-37.
  15. See, for example, George M. Kober's presidential address in Association of American Medical Colleges, *Proceedings of the 17th Annual Meeting*, Washington, D.C., May 6, 1907, pp. 31-32.
  16. "Council," 1703.
  17. *JAMA*, 35 (1900), 1353.
  18. "Council," 1703.
  19. *JAMA*, 37 (1901), 200-01.
  20. "Council," 1703.
  21. "Council on Medical Education of the AMA," *JAMA*, 44 (1905), 1471.
  22. Abraham Flexner, Henry S. Pritchett: *A Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 108.

23. Howard J. Savage, *Fruit of an Impulse, 45 Years of the Carnegie Foundation, 1905-1950* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953), pp. 30, 54-55, 73-78; and A. Flexner, Pritchett, p. 97.
24. Information on precisely how Abraham Flexner's name was suggested to Pritchett is not readily available. But this scenario seems most consistent with available accounts and information. See Savage, *Fruit*, p. 105.
25. Abraham Flexner, *Abraham Flexner: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), pp. 45, 70-71.
26. Regarding Pritchett's views on the relationship of the medical study to the foundation's general program, see Pritchett's "Introduction," in Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin no. 4 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910), p. xi.
27. *Ibid.*, p. viii.
28. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 74.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 74; Stevens, *American Medicine*, pp. 66-67. Five medical schools had closed between the Council on Medical Education's survey in 1906 and Flexner's survey in 1909.
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31. A. Flexner, Pritchett, p. 110.
32. Pritchett, "Introduction," in A. Flexner, *Medical Education*, p. ix.
33. Henry S. Pritchett to Jerome D. Greene, Pritchett to Cyrus Adler, and Pritchett to Dr. William T. Councilman, Jan. 22, 1909; Councilman to Pritchett, Jan. 26, 1909. Pritchett papers. Library of Congress.
34. A. Flexner, *Medical Education*, pp. 24—26.
35. Pritchett, "Introduction," in *ibid.*, p. xiv,
36. Flexner, *Medical Education*, pp. 14-18 (emphasis added).
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19, 48; Pritchett, "Introduction," in *ibid.*, p. x.
40. National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1974* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 33, 76.
41. A. Flexner, *Medical Education*, pp. 180-81.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-80; and Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 207. See also Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English. *Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: The Feminist Press, 1973).
43. A. Flexner, *Medical Education*, pp. 26, 28-30.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-89.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
46. G. Frank Lydston, "Medicine as a Business Proposition," *JAMA*, 34 (1900), 1320.

47. JAMA, 37(1901), 1119.
48. "Council," JAMA, 44 (1905), 1471.
49. For further evidence of medical reformers' views on reducing output and raising the profession's class base, see Chapter 2.
50. "Council," JAMA, 44 (1905), 1471.
51. Frederick C. Shattuck and J. Lewis Bremer, "The Medical School, 1869-1929," in S. E. Morison, ed., *The Development of Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 558-62. See also Frank BilUngs, "Medical Education in the United States," *President's Address*, JAMA, 40 (1903), 1271-76, for a brief summary of the organization's position on this and other planks in the reform platform.
52. Pritchett to Bevan, Nov. 4, 1909, correspondence with AMA, Carnegie Foundation files.
53. Pritchett to Bevan, June 18, 1910, and Bevan to Pritchett, Dec. 17, 1910, correspondence with AMA, Carnegie Foundation files. The reviews of Flex-ner's report were mixed. The *New York Times* (June 12, 1910) praised the report but called it "slightly contentious and unnecessarily irritating." The *Chicago Daily Tribune* (June 6 and 7, 1910) observed that schools that were given favorable evaluations by Flexner praised his report while those that were condemned by Flexner denied the validity of his report. The same paper noted that "the recommendations lean toward depriving the poor man of an education." *American Medicine* [5 (1910), 441-42] criticized the report for saying little that was not already known in the medical profession and for disregarding "the very evident progress of the past ten to fifteen years." The journal wishfully asserted that "the day of the small, comparatively inconsequential medical college is by no means passed." The *New York State Journal of Medicine* [10 (1910), 483-84] criticized the Carnegie Foundation for meddling in the internal affairs of universities and colleges and attacked the Flexner report's "wholesale and intemperate criticisms" of American medical schools. The homeopathic medical sect, of course, joined the chorus of criticism" from

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- wounded professional interests; see the *Homeopathic Recorder*, 25 (1910), 241-43, 337-39, 413, 416; and 26 (1911), 15-16. The JAMA [54 (1910), 1949] equally predictably praised the report and voiced the leadership's fervent hope that "this report will call the attention of men of wealth to the need of endowments for medical education."
54. Pritchett to N. P. Colwell, Dec. 29, 1913, correspondence with AMA, Carnegie Foundation files.
55. Pritchett accused the council of giving greater leniency to Baylor University's medical school than to Meharry. Pritchett to Colwell, April 3, 1918, and May 2, 1921, and other letters between Pritchett and Bevan from 1918 to 1922, correspondence with AMA, Carnegie Foundation files. By 1917 Pritchett was so disenchanted with the council, and presumably ashamed of his own gullibility a decade earlier, that he rejected out of hand a request by Bevan that the foundation undertake a new study designed to discredit "medical cults." Bevan included in this term "everything that masquerades as branches or cults in the art of healing outside of regular scientific medicine." Bevan to Pritchett, March 23, 1917; Pritchett to Bevan, April 3, 1917; and Clyde Furst, secretary of the Carnegie Foundation, to N. P. Colwell, Dec. 1, 1917; all in correspondence with AMA, Carnegie Foundation files.
56. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 165; Saul Jarcho, "Medical Education in the United States, 1910-1956," *Journal of the Mount Sinai Hospital*, 26 (1959), 339<sup>o</sup>.
57. A. Flexner, *Medical Education*, pp. 10-11.
58. On the impact of the Flexner report see Stevens, *American Medicine*, pp. 68-69; Rothstein, *American Physicians*, pp. 292-94; Markowitz and Rosner, "Doctors," 101; Robert P. Hudson, "Abraham Flexner in

Perspective: American Medical Education, 1865-1910," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972), 545-61; H. David Banta, "Abraham Flexner—A Reappraisal," *Social Science and Medicine*, 5 (1971), 655-61; and Carleton B. Chapman, "'The Flexner Report by Abraham Flexner,'" *Daedalus*, 103 (Winter 1974), 105-17. For a thorough discussion of the Flexner report in its historical context, see Howard S. Berhner, "A Larger Perspective on the Flexner Report," *International Journal of Health Services*, 5 (1975), 573-92.

59. Herbert M. Morals, *The History of the Negro in Medicine* (New York: Publishers Co., for Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1967), pp. 86, 100. De facto segregation is still the reality in the North as well as in the South. Black physicians serve a nearly all-black clientele while few white doctors locate their offices in poor or racial minority areas. Cf. Lois C. Gray, "The Geographic and Functional Distribution of Black Physicians: Some Research and Policy Considerations," *American Journal of Public Health*, 67 (1977), 519-26; and Eva J. Salber et al., "Access to Health Care in a Southern Rural Community," *Medical Care*, 14 (1976), 971-«6.

60. Quoted in John F. Fulton, *Harvey Gushing, A Biography* (Springfield, 111.: Charles C. Thomas, 1946), p. 379. Bevan's memor' did not serve him well (or perhaps it served him better than it served truth). He remembered there being twenty-two homeopathic schools and twelve eclectic schools "running at the time." The council's own figures indicate that there were twenty-two homeopathic schools in 1900 and never more than nine eclectic schools at any one time (although a total of thirty-two had been started during the previous century).

61. "Medical Education in the United States," *JAMA*, 79 (1922), 629-37.

62. Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1919-1920 and 1928-1929; and Stevens, *American Medicine*, p. 69.

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64. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, pp. 109-10; R. B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving, The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 154-55; and A. Flexner to F. T. Gates, June 24, 1911, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

65. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, pp. 110-11.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13, Fosdick, *Adventure*, p. 157; A. Flexner, "From the Report on the Johns Hopkins Medical School," GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

67. See George W. Corner, *A History of the Rockefeller Institute, 1901-1953* (New York: Rockefeller Institute Press, 1964), p. 94; and S. Flexner and J. T. Flexner, *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine* (New York: Viking Press, 1941), p. 304. The policy was established before the hospital opened in 1910.

68. F. T. Gates, "Concerning Private Gifts to States and a Medical Policy," Memo to the General Education Board, Feb. 26, 1925, Gates collection, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

69. J. D. Greene to Dr. Henry A. Christian, Nov. 30, 1914, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

70. Gates, "Private Gifts."

71. For descriptive history of full-time plan's origins, see Flexner and Flexner, *Welch*, pp. 297-314, 320-28.

72. Richard H. Shryock, *The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., 1953), p. 19.

73. Donald Fleming, *William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1954), especially p. 21; S. Flexner and J. T. Flexner, *Welch*, pp. 71-72.

74. Quotes and information about Mall are from Florence R. Sabin, *Franklin Paine Mall, The Story of a Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934), especially pp. 29, 127-33, 203, 261, 264.

75. JAMA, 35 (1900), 501.
76. Victor C. Vaughan, "Reorganization of Clinical Teaching," JAMA, 64 (1915), 785-90.
77. Quoted in Sabin, Mall, p. 270.
78. Fosdick, Adventure, p. 160.
79. Stevens, American Medicine, p. 96.
80. Arthur D. Bevan, "Report of the Council on Medical Education," JAMA, 65 (1915), 110-11.
81. Benjamin Moore, "The Value of Research in the Development of National Health," Popular Science Monthly, 85 (1914), 366.
82. Quoted in Ilza Veith and Franklin C. McLean, Medicine at the University of Chicago, 1927-1952 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 22.
83. William H. Welch, "Report on the Endowment of University Medical Education," 1911, copy in GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
84. A. Flexner, Autobiography, pp. 114-15.
85. Welch's letter to GEB, quoted in Fosdick, Adventure, p. 158.
86. Ibid., p. 159.
87. William H. Welch to Simon Flexner, Dec. 5, 1915, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
88. Quoted in S. Flexner and J. T. Flexner, Welch, p. 326. Janeway's article was "Outside Professional Engagements by Members of Professional Faculties," published in Nicholas Murray Butler's journal. Educational Review, 55 (1918), 207-19.
90. A. Flexner to H. S. Pritchett, March 27, 1919, correspondence with GEB, Carnegie Foundation files.
91. Fosdick, Adventure, p. 328.
92. Ibid., p. 180.
93. Fulton, Gushing, pp. 383-84; and Fosdick, Adventure, p. 163.
94. Fosdick, Adventure, p. 163; and Fulton, Gushing, pp. 377-84.
95. A. Flexner to W. Buttrick, May 7, 1921, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
96. "Reasons Why the Harvard Medical School Offers the Best Opportunities for Surgical Scientific Work," by "Members of the Surgical Department," attached to letter from H. P. Bowditch (?) to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Oct. 31, 1900, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.
97. Eliot quoted in Fosdick, Adventure, p. 163.
98. Ibid., p. 164.
99. Los Angeles Record, May 14, 1912; quoted in Catherine Lewerth, "Source Book for a History of the Rockefeller Foundation" (tyjwritten ms., bound in 21 vols., Rockefeller Foundation Archives, c. 1949), p. 23.
100. Bird S. Coler to Starr J. Murphy, April 19, 1917, and clipping from Brooklyn Standard Union, April 12, 1917, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2. Coler had strong Progressive leanings. He believed the foundation

was driving "an artificial line of division between the more fortunate minority and the less fortunate majority of our people." In this respect he was clearly wrong since the foundation was attempting to cover up the class divisions in the society.

101. Pittsburgh (Pa.) Leader, July 10, 1914, clipping enclosed in letter from Starr J. Murphy to F. T. Gates, July 21, 1914, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

102. Commission on Industrial Relations, Final Report (Washington, D.C.: Barnard and Miller Print, 1915), pp. 116-19. See also James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 172-213.

103. G. F. Peabody to F. T. Gates, Nov. 5, 1911, Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

104. C. W. Eliot to F. T. Gates, March 27, 1914, Gates collection. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

105. F. T. Gates, memo to himself or the board (n.d., but apparently Nov. 1911), Rockefeller Family Archives, record group 2.

106. George E. Vincent, *The Rockefeller Foundation, A Review for 1917* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1918), p. 8; F. T. Gates to G. E. Vincent, March 20, 1918, and G. E. Vincent to F. T. Gates, March 25, 1918, Program and Policy File, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, record group 1.

107. Fosdick, *Adventure*, p. 164.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

109. Lewerth, "Source Book," pp. 5116, 5119-21.

110. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 5115.

111. Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1920-1921 (New York: GEB, 1922), p. 22.

112. Lewerth, "Source Book," pp. 5115-16.

113. H. S. Pritchett to Wallace Buttrick, Feb. 11 and 24, 1919, correspondence with GEB, Carnegie Foundation files.

114. Pritchett to Flexner, June 10, 1925, correspondence with GEB, Carnegie Foundation files.

115. H. S. Pritchett to Wallace Buttrick, Nov. 11, 1919, correspondence with GEB, Carnegie Foundation files.

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116. W. Buttrick to H. S. Pritchett, Nov. 21, 1919, correspondence with GEB, Carnegie Foundation files.

117. W. Buttrick to Harry Pratt Judson, president of University of Chicago, Dec. 26, 1914, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

118. Correspondence regarding Columbia University medical school, 1917-1920, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives; and W. Buttrick to H. S. Pritchett, Nov. 21, 1919, correspondence with GEB, Carnegie Foundation files.

119. C. W. Eliot to W. Buttrick, April 24, 1917, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives; and A. P. Stokes to A. Flexner, March 10, 1925, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives. Stokes was always wary of public criticism that the GEB was attempting to control educational institutions with its grants (cf. A. P. Stokes to W. Buttrick, Jan. 29, 1917, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives).

120. T. M. Debevoise to F. T. Gates, Oct. 7, 1925, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
121. Ibid.
122. Minutes of the GEB, Feb. 26, 1925, GEB files. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
123. Minutes of the GEB Executive Committee, Sept. 30, 1925, GEB files, Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
124. Commission on Medical Education, Supplement to the Third Report (New Haven: Office of the Director of the Study, May 1929), p. 58.
125. Association of American Medical Colleges, Proceedings of the 17th Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., May 6, 1907, p. 17.
126. Commission on Medical Education, Supplement, pp. 58-59.
127. Memorandum, Dec. 1919, quoted in Fosdick, Adventure, p. 166.
128. Annual Report of the GEB, 1922-1923, pp. 17-19.
129. Fosdick, Adventure, pp. 166-67.
130. F. T. Gates to A. Flexner, Dec. 2, 1922; quoted in Lewerth, "Source Book," pp. 5230-31; and Gates memo, quoted in Fosdick, Adventure, p. 167.
131. A. Hexner, Autobiography, p. 189; A. Flexner to H. S. Pritchett, Nov. 1, 1922; quoted in Fosdick, Adventure, p. 167.
132. Lewerth, "Source Book," p. 5231.
133. Gates, "Private Gifts."
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Gates, Autobiography, unpublished ms., 1928, Gates collection. Rockefeller Foundation Archives, p. 463; Gates, "Some Reflections on Questions of Policy," memo to the board, Jan. 23, 1906, Gates collection. Rockefeller Foundation Archives.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
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## CHAPTER 5

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THE LIFE OF JOHN  
D. ROCKEFELLER, SR.

**RON CHERNOW**



# TITAN

THE LIFE OF

*John D. Rockefeller, Sr.*

RON CHERNOW



VINTAGE BOOKS

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

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*To my brother, Dr. Bart Chernow,  
who pulled me back, at the last moment, from the brink,  
and to the lovely Valerie*



Two men have been supreme in creating the modern world: Rockefeller and Bismarck. One in economics, the other in politics, refuted the liberal dream of universal happiness through individual competition, substituting monopoly and the corporate state, or at least movements toward them.

—*BERTRAND RUSSELL Freedom Versus Organization, 1814 to 1914*

Something in the nature of J. D. Rockefeller had to occur in America, and it is all to the good of the world that he was tight-lipped, consistent and amazingly free from vulgar vanity, sensuality and quarrelsomeness. His cold persistence and ruthlessness may arouse something like horror, but for all that he was a forward-moving force, a constructive power.

—*H. G. WELLS The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*

When history passes its final verdict on John D. Rockefeller, it may well be that his endowment of research will be recognized as a milestone in the progress of the race. . . . Science today owes as much to the rich men of generosity and discernment as the art of the Renaissance owes to the patronage of Popes and Princes. Of these rich men, John D. Rockefeller is the supreme type.

—*WINSTON CHURCHILL St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 8, 1936*

Rockefeller, you know, is reputed the richest man in the world, and he certainly is the most powerfully suggestive personality I have ever seen. A man 10 stories deep, and to me quite unfathomable. Physionomie de Pierrot (not a speck of hair on head or face) flexible, cunning, quakerish, superficially suggestive of naught but goodness and conscientiousness, yet accused of being the greatest villain in business whom our country has produced.

—*WILLIAM JAMES in a letter to Henry James January 29, 1904*

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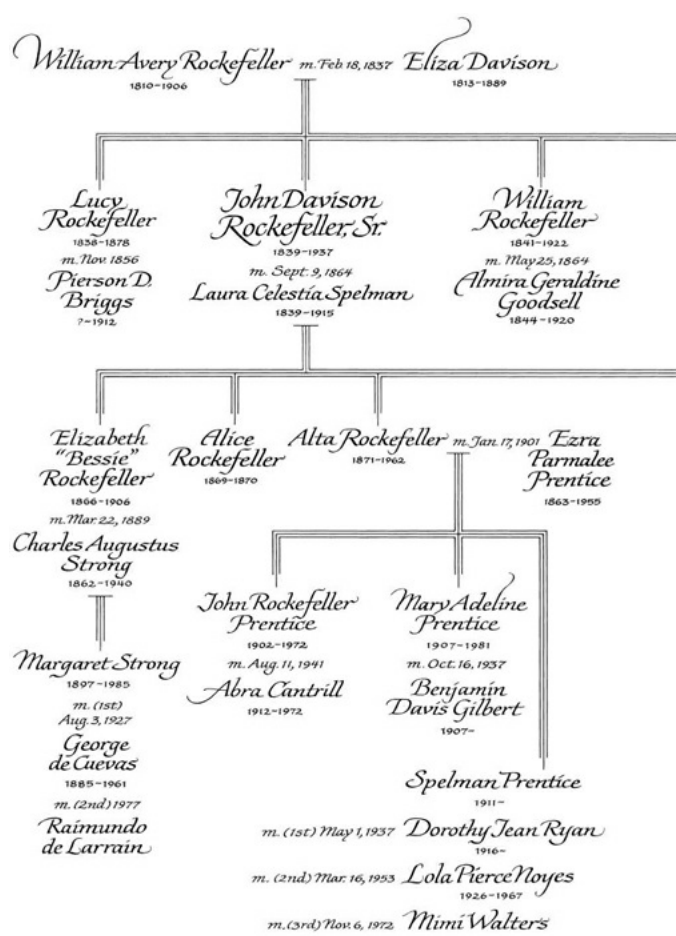
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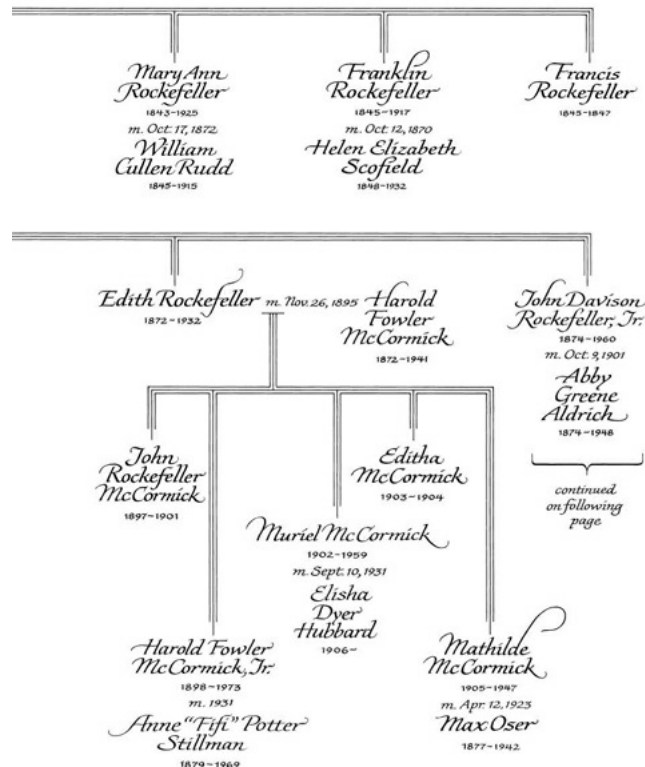
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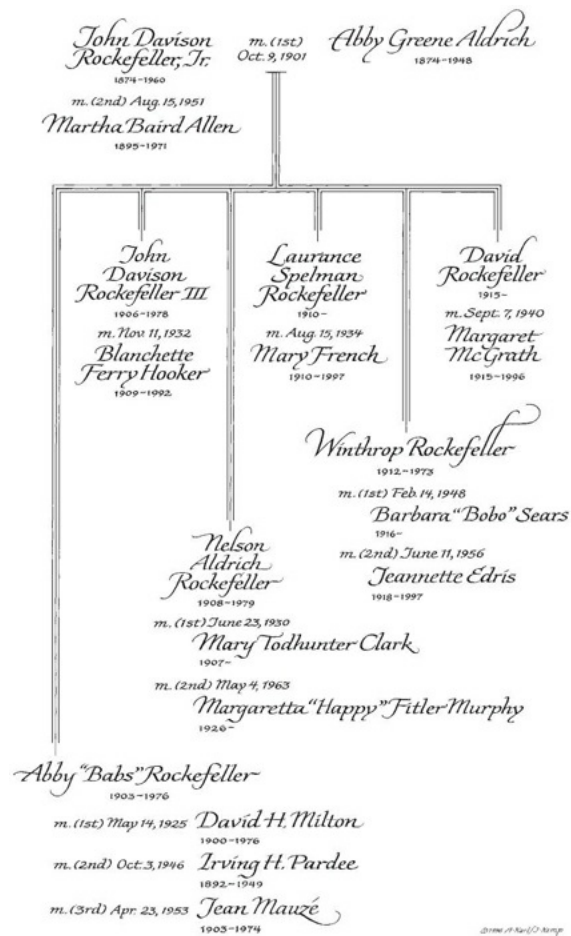
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DESCENDANTS OF  
*William & Eliza Rockefeller*





## FOREWORD

The life of John Davison Rockefeller, Sr., was marked to an exceptional degree by silence, mystery, and evasion. Even though he presided over the largest business and philanthropic enterprises of his day, he has remained an elusive figure. A master of disguises, he spent his life camouflaged behind multiple personae and shrouded beneath layers of mythology. Hence, he lingers in our national psyche as a series of disconnected images, ranging from the rapacious creator of Standard Oil, brilliant but bloodless, to the wizened old codger dispensing dimes and canned speeches for newsreel cameras. It is often hard to piece together the varied images into a coherent picture.

This has not been for lack of trying. Earlier in the century, Rockefeller inspired more prose than any other private citizen in America, with books about him tumbling forth at a rate of nearly one per year. As he was the most famous American of his day, his statements and actions were reported and analyzed minutely in the press. Yet even in his heyday of popular interest, he could seem maddeningly opaque, with much of his life unfolding behind the walls of his estates and the frosted-glass doors of his office.

Rockefeller often seems to be missing from his own biographies, flitting through them like a ghostly, disembodied figure. For the principal muckrakers, such as Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell, he served as shorthand for the Standard Oil trust, his personality submerged in its machinations. Even in the two-volume biography by Allan Nevins, who strove to vindicate Rockefeller's reputation, Rockefeller vanishes for pages at a time amid a swirl of charges and countercharges. The attention paid to the depredations of Standard Oil has tended to overshadow everything else about Rockefeller's life. H. G. Wells defended this biographical approach: "The life history of Rockefeller is the history of the trust; he made it, and equally it made him . . . so that apart from its story it seems hardly necessary to detail his personal life in chronological order."<sup>1</sup> So steadfastly have biographers clung to this dated view that we still lack an account of our foremost nineteenth-century industrialist that explores his inner and outer worlds and synthesizes them into a fully rounded portrait.

For all the ink provoked by Rockefeller, his biographies have been marred by a numbing repetition. Whatever their political slant, they have, on the whole, followed the same chronology, raked over the same disputes about his business methods, rehashed the same stale anecdotes. One has the impression of sitting through the same play over and over again, albeit from slightly different seats in the theater. Some of this derives from our shifting conception of biography. With the exception of *John D.*, a slender volume by David Freeman Hawke published in 1980, the Rockefeller biographies were all published before mid-century and betray a Victorian reticence about private matters. Whatever their merits as business reportage, they betray minimal post-Freudian curiosity. They touch only glancingly, for instance, on the story of Rockefeller's father, a bigamist and snake-oil salesman, who so indelibly shaped his son's life. Even the exhaustive Nevins showed scant interest in Rockefeller's marriage or his three daughters. The feminist concerns of our own day have recently produced two books—Bernice Kert's *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller* and Clarice Stasz's *The Rockefeller Women*—that have begun to pry open this hermetically sealed family world. Rockefeller's social life beyond the office—his friendships, hobbies, sports, et cetera—has suffered from equally conspicuous neglect. Other matters that warrant investigation include Rockefeller's political views and theory of trusts, his attitude toward public relations, his stewardship of his investments beyond Standard Oil, his transfer of money to his children and his dynastic ambitions, his persistent fascination with medicine, and the imprint he left upon the many philanthropies he endowed. There has also been a remarkable lack of curiosity about the forty-odd years that he spent in retirement, with some biographers omitting those decades altogether. Yet it was during those decades that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., both perpetuated and radically modified his father's legacy, a subject to which I devote considerable attention.

When Random House proposed that I write the first full-length biography of Rockefeller since Allan Nevins's in the 1950s, I frankly balked, convinced that the subject had been exhausted by writers too eager to capitalize on his fame. How could one write about a man who made such a fetish of secrecy? In the existing literature, he came across as a gifted automaton at best, a malevolent machine at worst. I couldn't tell whether he was a hollow man, deadened by the pursuit of money, or someone of great depth and force but with eerie self-control. If the former was true, I would respectfully decline; in the unlikely case that the latter proved true—well, then I was intrigued.

To settle the matter, I spent a day at the Rockefeller Archive Center in Sleepy Hollow, New York, the repository of millions of family documents. When I told the curators of my misgivings and explained that I couldn't write about Rockefeller unless I heard his inner voice—the "music of his mind," as I phrased it—they brought me the transcript of an interview privately conducted with Rockefeller between 1917 and 1920. It was done by William O. Inglis, a New York newspaperman who questioned Rockefeller for an authorized biography that was never published. As I pored over this seventeen-hundred-page verbatim transcript, I was astonished: Rockefeller, stereotyped as taciturn and empty, turned out to be analytic, articulate, even fiery; he was also quite funny, with a dry midwestern wit. This wasn't someone I had encountered in any biography. When I returned home, I told Ann Godoff, my editor at Random House, that I was now eager to do the book.

To delve into the voluminous Rockefeller papers is to excavate a lost continent. Yet even with such massive documentation, I had the frustrating sense, early in my research, that I was confronting a sphinx. Rockefeller trained himself to reveal as little as possible, even in private letters, which he wrote as if they might someday fall into the hands of a prosecuting attorney. With his instinctive secrecy, he excelled at employing strange euphemisms and elliptical phrasing. For this reason, the twenty thousand pages of letters that Rockefeller received from his more outspoken business associates proved a windfall of historic proportions. Written as early as 1877, seven years after Standard Oil's formation, they provide a vivid portrait of the company's byzantine dealings with oil producers, refiners, transporters, and marketers, as well as railroad chieftains, bank directors, and political bosses. This panorama of greed and guile should startle even the most jaundiced students of the Gilded Age. I was also extremely fortunate to have access to the papers of five distinguished predecessors, all of whom left behind complete research files. I combed through the abundant papers of Ida Tarbell at the Drake Well Museum in Titusville, Pennsylvania, Henry Demarest Lloyd at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Allan Nevins at Columbia University, in addition to those of William O. Inglis and Raymond B. Fosdick (the author of the official biography of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.) at the Rockefeller Archive Center. These collections contain a vast number of contemporary interviews and other materials that were only partly used by their authors.

Like many moguls of the Gilded Age, Rockefeller was either glorified by partisan biographers, who could see no wrong, or vilified by vitriolic critics, who could see no right. This one-sidedness has been especially harmful in the case of Rockefeller, who was such an implausible blend of sin and sanctity. I have tried to operate in the large space between polemics and apologetics, motivated by the belief that Rockefeller's life was of a piece and that the pious, Bible-thumping Rockefeller wasn't simply a cunning façade for the corporate pirate. The religious and acquisitive sides of his nature were intimately related. For this reason, I have stressed his evangelical Baptism as the passkey that unlocks many mysteries of his life. Those who would like to see Rockefeller either demonized or canonized in these pages will be disappointed.

This seems an auspicious time to resurrect Rockefeller's ghost. With the fall of trade barriers and the vogue for free-market economics, the world is now united by a global marketplace that touches five billion souls, with many countries just emerging from Marxist or mercantilist systems and having their first taste of capitalism. The story of John D. Rockefeller transports us back to a time when industrial capitalism was raw and new in America, and the rules of the game were unwritten. More than anyone else, Rockefeller incarnated the capitalist revolution that followed the Civil War and transformed American life. He embodied all its virtues of thrift, self-reliance, hard work, and unflagging enterprise. Yet as someone who flouted government and rode roughshod over competitors, he also personified many of its most egregious vices. As a result, his career became the focal point for a debate about the proper role of government in the economy that has lasted until the present day.

## PRELUDE:

### POISON TONGUE

“Reading this book brings back to my mind facts and situations that I had forgotten for years,” John D. Rockefeller mused. “It digs up things long past and dead, so that they stand before me once more alive. I am glad of it, very glad of it.”<sup>1</sup>

For months, Rockefeller had listened to his authorized biographer read aloud from Henry Demarest Lloyd’s *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, a savage account of his career published in 1894. Now retired and in his late seventies, the world’s richest man had reluctantly agreed to reminisce behind closed doors. Starting in 1917, for an hour each morning, Rockefeller fielded questions while slumped in an easy chair or reclining on a lounge in his bedroom at Kykuit, a Georgian mansion set amid the woodland beauty of Westchester County’s Pocantico Hills. Serene in his conscience, convinced that God had blessed his career and that the court of history would acquit him, Rockefeller had submitted to this exercise only to please his son, who wanted to cleanse the family name of all controversy. As Rockefeller reminded his appointed Boswell, the affable William O. Inglis, a newspaperman recruited from Rockefeller’s old nemesis, the *World*, but “for the urgent request of my son, who is not familiar with this history . . . I would never have taken the time and the trouble to make any refutation to these questions.”<sup>2</sup>

Despite his initial hesitation, Rockefeller couldn’t resist the invitation to relive his turbulent early years in the petroleum industry, and he warmed to the giant task of remembrance. During hundreds of hours of interviews, spanning a three-year period, he revisited the past and spoke his mind freely. At times, he evoked his life in the dulcet tones of a preacher addressing a brotherhood of kindred souls. At other moments, he was dryly sardonic or brutally funny about his critics—though all the while, as a good Christian, he tried to suppress vengeful feelings toward them.

Before Inglis’s wondering eyes, the old man was rejuvenated by the flood tide of memory, and his voice deepened from the high, breathy pitch of age to the mellow baritone of early adulthood. His step grew springy and lithe as he paced the floor, recounting the glorious struggles of his career. Far from dodging controversy, Rockefeller suggested a novel structure for this retrospective talk: Inglis would read passages from Rockefeller’s two chief antagonists, Henry Lloyd and Ida Tarbell (whose influential broadside had been published in the early 1900s), and Rockefeller would refute them, paragraph by paragraph. Having dismissed their indictments as beneath his dignity, he hadn’t deigned to read them when they first appeared. Now, in a measure of his feisty selfconfidence, he decided to tackle the toughest charges point-blank. “I was averse for eight months to say anything in response to these foolish writers,” he noted, “but now that I’ve gotten into it I find it interesting.”<sup>3</sup> And once John D. Rockefeller, Sr., set his mind to something, he brought awesome powers of concentration to bear.

As Rockefeller undertook this extended defense, he clearly believed that he had been vindicated in the time since these journalists had blackened his reputation in the early 1900s and made him America’s most hated businessman. “All of those in the business today are doing business along the modern lines, following the plans which we were the first to propose,” he said with pride.<sup>4</sup> Public bitterness toward him had waned, he believed, and opposition to his petroleum empire was “practically nil and has been for many years, and it has ceased to be popular to raid the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the American public during World War I appreciated the industrial strength conferred by the Standard Oil companies, and Rockefeller imagined, with some justice, that his compatriots now viewed him as a public benefactor, not as a corporate buccaneer. The huge philanthropies he had endowed in recent years had also mitigated public animosity toward him.

As always with Rockefeller, the pregnant silences in the interview spoke as eloquently as the words. Coached by his publicist, Ivy Lee, Rockefeller eschewed such loaded terms as *trust*, *monopoly*, *oligopoly*, or *cartel* when referring to Standard Oil and preferred to speak of “cooperation.” He expressed scorn for the textbook world of free markets evoked by Adam Smith: “What a blessing it was that the idea of cooperation, with railroads, with telegraph lines, with steel companies, with oil companies, came in and prevailed, to take the place of this chaotic condition in which the virtuous academic Know-Nothings about business were doing what they construed to be God’s service in eating each other up.”<sup>6</sup> During the three-year interview, Rockefeller never once alluded to his most stinging setback: the federal government’s 1911 dismemberment of Standard Oil into dozens of constituent companies. Annulling the Supreme Court verdict by a trick of memory, Rockefeller talked of Standard Oil as if the old monolith still stood unscathed.

Of all the poses he assumed, perhaps the hardest to maintain was that he bore no grudges against his detractors. He peppered his talk with references to his forgiving nature. “The representatives of the Standard Oil Company cherish most kindly and brotherly feelings even toward those who abused them most, and are ready to lay it to their weakness and ignorance and whatever else was controlling them.”<sup>7</sup> Furthermore: “And to those who have uttered against them harsh words, we cherish no resentment. ‘To err is human, to forgive divine.’”<sup>8</sup> And, even more conciliatory: “And I rejoice also that we are charitable and sweet-spirited to these jealous, small men who made it the business of their lives to try to pull us down because their vision did not extend beyond the ends of their noses.”

Over time, however, the sacerdotal tone began to falter. Rockefeller couldn’t conceive of a genuinely principled objection to his career and increasingly resorted to ad hominem attacks, deriding his critics as croakers, howlers, grumblers, complainers, blackmailers, pirates, spoiled children, whiners, adventurers, wolves, and freebooters. Clearly, the allegations rankled, especially those of Ida Minerva Tarbell, whose cool, clear-eyed investigative prose had turned his name into a byword for corporate greed. With golf cronies, Rockefeller had poked fun at her, calling her “Miss Tarbarrel,” but this was a transparent attempt to draw the sting from her words.

During the marathon interview, Inglis saw Rockefeller’s iron poise and self-mastery crumble only twice and both times, significantly, in responding to Tarbell. The first time came when he read aloud her charge that in 1872 the thirty-two-year-old Rockefeller had taken over the Cleveland refineries by threatening to crush rivals who refused to join his cartel. Now, 1872 had been the starting point of his relentless march toward supremacy in oil. If that year was tainted, then everything was. Inglis recorded a graphic account of Rockefeller’s reaction to Tarbell’s allegation:



“That is absolutely false!” exclaimed Mr. Rockefeller so loudly that I looked up from the notes. As he spoke he jumped up from the big chair in which he was reclining and walked over to my table. His face was flushed and his eyes were burning. It was the first time I had ever seen him show any but pleasant feeling, and there could be no doubt that he was aflame with anger and resentment. His voice rang out loud and clear. He did not beat the desk with his fist, but stood there with his hands clenched, controlling himself with evident effort. He could not immediately regain his balance. “This is absolutely false!” he cried, “and no man was told that by me or by any of our representatives. You may put that down once and for all. That statement is an absolute lie!”<sup>9</sup>

After this outburst, Rockefeller’s emotions subsided, but the insinuation stung. Later, he and Inglis roamed over the hills and golf fairways of his vast estate; “How ridiculous all that talk is!” he exclaimed. “It’s twaddle, poisonous twaddle, put out for a purpose. As a matter of fact, we were all in a sinking ship, if existing cut-throat competition continued, and we were trying to build a lifeboat to carry us all to the shore. You don’t have to threaten men to get them to leave a sinking ship in a lifeboat.”<sup>10</sup> The purchase of his competitors’ firms had not been the benevolent act that Rockefeller suggested, but he had a powerfully selective memory.

Rockefeller reserved his most bitter epithets for another passage, where Tarbell dealt with the touchiest matter in his personal life: the character of his colorful, raffish father, William Avery Rockefeller. In July 1905, she had capped off her serial history of Standard Oil with a two-part “Character Study” of Rockefeller filled with venomous portrayals of his father, an itinerant peddler of patent medicines who had led a shadowy, vagabond life. William Avery Rockefeller had been the sort of fast-talking huckster who thrived in frontier communities of early-nineteenth-century America, and Tarbell amply reported his misdemeanors. At one point in her blistering portrait, she said, “Indeed he had all the vices save one—he never drank.”<sup>11</sup>

This thrust against his dead father probed some buried pain, some still-festering wound inside Rockefeller, and he suddenly erupted with explosive fury. “What a wretched utterance from one calling herself a historian,” he jeered, speculating, quite incorrectly, that Tarbell had been embittered by the failure of her series to dent the Standard Oil empire. “So she turned to this miserable fabrication, with all the sneers, all the malice, all the sly hintings and perversions of which she is master, and with more bitterness than ever attacked my father.”<sup>12</sup> Momentarily, Rockefeller couldn’t regain his self-control: His famous granite composure had utterly broken down. And for one of the few times in his life, he let forth a torrent of intemperate abuse. Spluttering with rage, he railed against “the poison tongue of this poison woman who seeks to poison the public with every endeavor . . . to cast suspicion on everything good, bad, or indifferent appertaining to a name which has thus far not been ruined by her shafts.” Aware that he had, uncharacteristically, let down his guard, Rockefeller soon checked himself and restored the old pose of philosophic calm, reassuring Inglis in soothing tones, “After all, though, I am grateful that I do not cherish bitterness even against this ‘historian,’ but pity.”<sup>13</sup> The titan had regained his dignity, and he made sure that his tightly fitted mask never slipped again in front of his authorized biographer.



*The earliest known photographs of William Avery and Eliza Davison Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## The Flimflam Man

In the early 1900s, as Rockefeller vied with Andrew Carnegie for the title of the world's richest man, a spirited rivalry arose between France and Germany, with each claiming to be Rockefeller's ancestral land. Assorted genealogists stood ready, for a sizable fee, to manufacture a splendid royal lineage for the oilman. "I have no desire to trace myself back to the nobility," he said honestly. "I am satisfied with my good old American stock."<sup>1</sup> The most ambitious search for Rockefeller's roots traced them back to a ninth-century French family, the Roquefeuilles, who supposedly inhabited a Languedoc château—a charming story that unfortunately has been refuted by recent findings. In contrast, the Rockefellers' German lineage has been clearly established in the Rhine valley dating back to at least the early 1600s.

Around 1723, Johann Peter Rockefeller, a miller, gathered up his wife and five children, set sail for Philadelphia, and settled on a farm in Somerville and then Amwell, New Jersey, where he evidently flourished and acquired large landholdings. More than a decade later, his cousin Diell Rockefeller left southwest Germany and moved to Germantown, New York. Diell's granddaughter Christina married her distant relative William, one of Johann's grandsons. (Never particularly sentimental about his European forebears, John D. Rockefeller did erect a monument to the patriarch, Johann Peter, at his burial site in Flemington, New Jersey.) The marriage of William and Christina produced a son named Godfrey Rockefeller, who was the grandfather of the oil titan and a most unlikely progenitor of the clan. In 1806, Godfrey married Lucy Avery in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, despite the grave qualms of her family.

Establishing a pattern that would be replicated by Rockefeller's own mother, Lucy had, in her family's disparaging view, married down. Her ancestors had emigrated from Devon, England, to Salem, Massachusetts, around 1630, forming part of the Puritan tide. As they became settled and gentrified, the versatile Averys spawned ministers, soldiers, civic leaders, explorers, and traders, not to mention a bold clutch of Indian fighters. During the American Revolution, eleven Averys perished gloriously in the battle of Groton. While the Rockefellers' "noble" roots required some poetic license and liberal embellishment, Lucy could justly claim descent from Edmund Ironside, the English king, who was crowned in 1016.

Godfrey Rockefeller was sadly mismatched with his enterprising wife. He had a stunted, impoverished look and a hangdog air of perpetual defeat. Taller than her husband, a fiery Baptist of commanding presence, Lucy was rawboned and confident, with a vigorous step and alert blue eyes. A former schoolteacher, she was better educated than Godfrey. Even John D., never given to invidious comments about relatives, tactfully conceded, "My grandmother was a brave woman. Her husband was not so brave as she."<sup>2</sup> If Godfrey contributed the Rockefeller coloring—bluish gray eyes, light brown hair—Lucy introduced the rangy frame later notable among the men. Enjoying robust energy and buoyant health, Lucy had ten children, with the third, William Avery Rockefeller, born in Granger, New York, in 1810. While it is easy enough to date the birth of Rockefeller's father, teams of frazzled reporters would one day exhaust themselves trying to establish the date of his death.

As a farmer and businessman, Godfrey enjoyed checkered success, and his aborted business ventures exposed his family to an insecure, peripatetic life. They were forced to move to Granger and Ancram, New York, then to Great Barrington, before doubling back to Livingston, New York. John D. Rockefeller's upbringing would be fertile with cautionary figures of weak men gone astray. Godfrey must have been invoked frequently as a model to be avoided. By all accounts, Grandpa was a jovial, good-natured man but feckless and addicted to drink, producing in Lucy an everlasting hatred of liquor that she must have drummed into her grandson. Grandpa Godfrey was the first to establish in John D.'s mind an enduring equation between bonhomie and lax character, making the latter prefer the society of sober, tight-lipped men in full command of their emotions.

The Rockefeller records offer various scenarios of why Godfrey and Lucy packed their belongings into an overloaded Conestoga wagon and headed west between 1832 and 1834. By one account, the Rockefellers, along with several neighbors, were dispossessed of their land in a heated title dispute with some English investors. Another account has an unscrupulous businessman gulling Godfrey into swapping his farm for allegedly richer turf in Tioga County. (If this claim was in fact made, it proved a cruel hoax.) Some relatives later said that Michigan was Godfrey's real destination but that Lucy vetoed such a drastic relocation, preferring the New England culture of upstate New York to the wilds of Michigan.

Whatever the reason, the Rockefellers reenacted the primordial American rite of setting out in search of fresh opportunity. In the 1830s, many settlers from Massachusetts and Connecticut were swarming excitedly into wilderness areas of western New York, a migration that Alexis de Tocqueville described as "a game of chance" pursued for "the emotions it excites, as much as for the gain it procures."<sup>3</sup> The construction of the Erie Canal in the 1820s had lured many settlers to the area. Godfrey and Lucy heaped up their worldly possessions in a canvas-topped prairie schooner, drawn by oxen, and headed toward the sparsely settled territory. For two weeks, they traveled along the dusty Albany-Catskill turnpike, creeping through forests as darkly forbidding as the setting of a Grimms' fairy tale. With much baggage and little passenger space, the Rockefellers had to walk for much of the journey, with Lucy and the children (except William, who did not accompany them) taking turns sitting in the wagon whenever they grew weary. As they finally reached their destination, Richford, New York, the last three and a half miles were especially arduous, and the oxen negotiated the stony, rutted path with difficulty. At the end, they had to lash their exhausted team up a nearly vertical hillside to possess their virgin sixty acres. As family legend has it, Godfrey got out, tramped to the property's peak, inspected the vista, and said mournfully, "This is as close as we shall ever get to Michigan." So, in a memorial to dashed hopes, the spot would forever bear the melancholy name of Michigan Hill.

Even today scarcely more than a crossroads, Richford was then a stagecoach stop in the wooded country southeast of Ithaca and northwest of Binghamton. The area's original inhabitants, the Iroquois, had been chased out after the American Revolution and replaced by revolutionary army veterans. Still an uncouth frontier when the Rockefellers arrived, this backwater had recently attained township status, its village square dating from 1821. Civilization had taken only a tenuous hold. The dense forests on all sides teemed with game—bear, deer, panther, wild turkey, and cottontail rabbit—and people carried flaring torches at night to frighten away the roaming packs of wolves.

By the time that John D. Rockefeller was born in 1839, Richford was acquiring the amenities of a small town. It had some nascent industries—

sawmills, gristmills, and a whiskey distillery—plus a schoolhouse and a church. Most inhabitants scratched out a living from hardscrabble farming, yet these newcomers were hopeful and enterprising. Notwithstanding their frontier trappings, they had carried with them the frugal culture of Puritan New England, which John D. Rockefeller would come to exemplify.

The Rockfellers’ steep property provided a sweeping panorama of a fertile valley. The vernal slopes were spattered with wildflowers, and chestnuts and berries abounded in the fall. Amid this sylvan beauty, the Rockfellers had to struggle with a spartan life. They occupied a small, plain house, twenty-two feet deep and sixteen feet across, fashioned with hand-hewn beams and timbers. The thin soil was so rocky that it required heroic exertions just to hack a clearing through the underbrush and across thickly forested slopes of pine, hemlock, oak, and maple.

As best we can gauge from a handful of surviving anecdotes, Lucy ably managed both family and farm and never shirked heavy toil. Assisted by a pair of steers, she laid an entire stone wall by herself and had the quick-witted cunning and cool resourcefulness that would reappear in her grandson. John D. delighted in telling how she pounced upon a grain thief in their dark barn one night. Unable to discern the intruder’s face, she had the mental composure to snip a piece of fabric from his coat sleeve. When she later spotted the man’s frayed coat, she confronted the flabbergasted thief with the missing swatch; having silently made her point, she never pressed charges. One last item about Lucy deserves mention: She had great interest in herbal medicines and home-brewed remedies prepared from a “physic bush” in the backyard. Many years later, her curious grandson sent specimens of this bush to a laboratory to see whether they possessed genuine medicinal value. Perhaps it was from Lucy that he inherited the fascination with medicine that ran through his life, right up to his creation of the world’s preeminent medical-research institute.

By the time he was in his twenties, William Avery Rockefeller was already a sworn foe of conventional morality who had opted for a vagabond existence. Even as an adolescent, he disappeared on long trips in midwinter, providing no clues as to his whereabouts. Throughout his life, he expended considerable energy on tricks and schemes to avoid plain hard work. But he possessed such brash charm and rugged good looks—he was nearly six feet tall, with a broad chest, high forehead, and thick auburn beard covering a pugnacious jaw—that people were instantly beguiled by him. This appealing façade, at least for a while, lulled skeptics and disarmed critics. It wasn’t surprising that this nomad did not accompany his parents on their westward trek to Richford but instead drifted into the area around 1835 in his own inimitable fashion. When he first appeared in a neighboring hamlet, he quickly impressed the locals with his unorthodox style. Posing as a deaf-mute peddler selling cheap novelties, he kept a small slate with the words “I am deaf and dumb” chalked across it tied by a string to his buttonhole. On this slate, he conversed with the locals and later boasted how he exploited this ruse to flush out all the town secrets. To win the confidence of strangers and soften them up for the hard sell, he toted along a kaleidoscope, inviting people to peer into it.<sup>4</sup> During his long career as a confidence man, Big Bill always risked reprisals from people who might suddenly unmask his deceptions, and he narrowly escaped detection at the home of a Deacon Wells. The deacon and his daughter, a Mrs. Smith, pitied the poor peddler who knocked on their door one Saturday and sheltered him in their home that night. The next morning, when they invited him to church, Big Bill had to resort to some fancy footwork, for he always shied away from crowds where somebody might recognize him and expose his imposture. “Billy told [the deacon] in writing that he liked to go to church, but that his infirmity caused him to be stared at, so that he was abashed and would not go,” recalled a towns-man. “He really feared that he might be exposed by someone.”<sup>5</sup> Seven months later, after the deacon and Big Bill had both moved to Richford, Mrs. Smith spotted the erstwhile deaf-mute at a social gathering and marveled at his miraculous recovery of speech. “I see that you can talk better than when I saw you last,” she said. Big Bill smiled, unfazed, his bravado intact. “Yes, I’m somewhat improved.”<sup>6</sup> When he arrived in Richford, the local citizens immediately got a taste of his fakery, for he wordlessly flashed a slate with the scribbled query, “Where is the house of Godfrey Rockefeller?”<sup>7</sup>

Since he usually presented false claims about himself and his products, Bill worked a large territory to elude the law. He was roving more than thirty miles northwest of Richford, in the vicinity of Niles and Moravia, when he first met his future wife, Eliza Davison, at her father’s farmhouse. With a flair for showmanship and self-promotion, he always wore brocaded vests or other brightly colored duds that must have dazzled a sheltered farm girl like Eliza. Like many itinerant vendors in rural places, he was a smooth-talking purveyor of dreams along with tawdry trinkets, and Eliza responded to this romantic wanderer. She was sufficiently taken in by his deaf-and-dumb humbug that she involuntarily exclaimed in his presence, “I’d marry that man if he were not deaf and dumb.”<sup>8</sup> Whatever tacit doubts she might have harbored when she discovered his deceit, she soon succumbed, as did other women, to his mesmerizing charm.

A prudent, straitlaced Baptist of Scotch-Irish descent, deeply attached to his daughter, John Davison must have sensed the world of trouble that awaited Eliza if she got mixed up with Big Bill Rockefeller, and he strongly discouraged the match. In later years, Eliza Rockefeller would seem to be a dried-up, withered spinster, but in late 1836 she was a slim, spirited young woman with flaming red hair and blue eyes. Pious and self-contained, she was the antithesis of Bill and probably found him so hypnotic for just that reason. Who knows what gloom hung around her doorstep that was dispelled by Bill’s glib patter? Her mother had died when Eliza was only twelve—she had dropped dead after taking a pill dispensed by a traveling doctor—and Eliza was raised by her older sister, Mary Ann, leaving Eliza deprived of maternal counsel.

On February 18, 1837, despite the express opposition of John Davison, this most improbable couple—Bill was twenty-seven, Eliza twenty-four—were wed at the home of one of Eliza’s friends. The marriage was a favorite gossip item among the Richford townspeople, who tended to spy guile on Bill’s part. Compared to the Davisons, the Rockfellers were poor country folk, and it is very likely that Bill was entranced by reports of John Davison’s modest wealth. As early as 1801, the frugal Davison had acquired 150 acres in Cayuga County. In John D.’s words, “My grandfather was a rich man—that is, for his time he was counted rich. In those days one who had his farm paid for and had a little money beside was counted rich. Four or five or six thousand was counted rich. My grandfather had perhaps three or four times that. He had money to lend.”<sup>9</sup>

Most Richford residents believed that Big Bill’s meeting with Eliza was less a random encounter than a premeditated bid to snare her father’s money. A notorious cad who regarded every pretty young woman as a potential conquest, Bill had at least one serious romance that antedated his wooing of Eliza. As Ralph P. Smith, a longtime Richford resident, recalled, “Billy was unmarried when he came here, and it was supposed that he would marry Nancy Brown, who was his housekeeper, but he broke with her, settling a sum said to have been about \$400 on her when he concluded to win the daughter of the rich John Davison, over at Niles, on the outskirts of Moravia.”<sup>10</sup> The story is corroborated by John D.’s cousin, Mrs. John Wilcox, who said, “Nancy Brown, of Harford Mills, was a beautiful girl, remarkably beautiful. William fell in love with her. She was poor. William would have

money. Eliza Davison's father was to give her \$500 when she married; so William married her.”<sup>11</sup>

This marriage, consummated under false pretenses, fused the lives of two highly dissimilar personalities, setting the stage for all the future heartache, marital discord, and chronic instability that would so powerfully mold the contradictory personality of John D. Rockefeller.

When Bill brought his bride back to the Richford house he'd built half a mile from his parents' place, Eliza must have pondered the wisdom of her father's disapproval: Life promised to be hard and flinty in this rough-hewn homestead. Surviving photos of John D. Rockefeller's birthplace show a plain clapboard house set on a treeless slope, outlined bleakly against the sky. The rude dwelling looked like two attached boxcars, the austere simplicity broken only by a small awning over one door. However primitive the exterior, the snug house was solidly built out of timber from local forests. The main floor had two bedrooms and a living room, topped by a low sleeping loft and attic storage room; the little attached building served as a barn and woodshed. (This bucolic birth site of the future kerosene king was probably lit by sperm oil or tallow candles.) The grounds were much more ample than the house, as the fifty-acre lot included an apple orchard and a trout-filled stretch of Owego Creek, which bubbled along the bottom of the property.

Before long, Big Bill roughly disabused Eliza of any high-flown romantic notions she might have had about matrimony. Far from renouncing his girlfriend, Nancy Brown, he brought her into the cramped house as a “housekeeper” and began having children, alternately, by wife and mistress. In 1838, Eliza gave birth to their first child, Lucy, followed a few months later by Nancy's first illegitimate daughter, Clorinda. On the night of July 8, 1839, Bill and Eliza again summoned the midwife, this time to deliver a boy, who came into the world in a bare front bedroom measuring eight by ten feet. This child, born during Martin Van Buren's presidency and destined to become the country's foremost capitalist, would survive into the second term of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Like many other future magnates—Andrew Carnegie (born in 1835), Jay Gould (1836), and J. Pierpont Morgan (1837)—he was born in the late 1830s and would therefore come to maturity on the eve of the post-Civil War industrial boom. Several months after John's birth, Nancy Brown gave birth to a second daughter, Cornelia, which meant that Bill, lord of his own harem, managed to sire four children under one roof in just two years. Thus, the fiercely moralistic John Davison Rockefeller (appropriately named after Eliza's sober father) was sandwiched tightly between two illegitimate sisters, born into a situation steeped in sin.

Eliza couldn't have felt very comfortable with her in-laws. In general, the Rockefellers were a hard-drinking hillbilly clan, sociable and funny, fond of music, liquor, and uproarious good times, and adhering to a coarse frontier morality. As the strong matriarch, Lucy was the conspicuous exception, and Eliza drew close to her while frowning upon many of her more dissipated in-laws. During the Richford period, Bill's younger brother, Miles Avery Rockefeller, deserted his wife and decamped to South Dakota with Ella Brussee, a young woman who had done domestic work for Eliza. In a move that prefigured a future stratagem for Bill, Miles entered into a bigamous marriage with Ella and adopted his middle name as his new surname. Such re-created lives were common at a time when America had a vast, unmapped frontier and numerous sanctuaries from the law.

For a callow farm girl fresh from home, Eliza proved unexpectedly tolerant of Nancy Brown. Contrary to what one might expect, she pitied this intruder, perhaps considering the cramped ménage à trois fit punishment for having flouted her father's advice. As her niece observed, “Aunt Eliza loved her husband and she liked poor Nancy. But Aunt Eliza's brothers came down and made William put Nancy away.”<sup>12</sup> In this period of Eliza's marriage, Mr. Davison is conspicuous by his absence, leaving one to wonder whether he had temporarily washed his hands of his disobedient daughter or whether, cowed by guilt and embarrassment, she had hidden her troubles from him. By one account, when Nancy grew quarrelsome after Bill's marriage, he seized the chance to expel his shrewish mistress from the packed household. Heeding the pleas from the Davisons, he posted Nancy and the two daughters to live with her parents in nearby Harford Mills. Family legend claims that Bill, who had a weak but not entirely dormant conscience, secretly deposited clothing bundles on her doorstep. Fortunately, the years with Bill didn't blight Nancy's life, for she married a man named Burlingame, bore other children, and furnished her first two daughters with a respectable upbringing.<sup>13</sup> From the skimpy documentary evidence, we know that Clorinda died young while Cornelia grew up into a tall, smart, attractive schoolteacher with a telling resemblance to Big Bill. Sometimes he acceded to her demands for money, but there were strict limits to Bill's generosity, and he would rebuff her when she became too clamorous. Cornelia married a man named Sexton and remained in the Richford area, but only a few local residents and Rockefeller relatives knew that she was John D.'s half-sister.<sup>14</sup> To her credit, Cornelia never tried to cash in on her kinship with the world's richest man, perhaps because it would unavoidably have advertised her illegitimacy. It is impossible to determine whether Rockefeller ever knew of the existence of his two illegitimate half-sisters.

The Nancy Brown affair wasn't the only indignity visited upon Eliza, for she was often abandoned by Bill during her three cheerless years in Richford. He remained a restless and defiant individualist who preferred life beyond the pale of society. Early in the marriage, he stayed put for a while, operating a small sawmill on Michigan Hill and dealing in salt, fur, horses, and timber, but he soon resumed the footloose life of a peddler, his trips cloaked in unfathomable mystery. Like a fugitive, he would depart furtively under cover of night and return after dark, weeks or months later, flinging pebbles at the window to signal his return. To tide over his family in his absence, he arranged for credit at the general store. “Give my family anything they want while I'm away,” he instructed Chauncey Rich, whose father, Ezekiel, had founded Richford, “and when I come back I'll settle.”<sup>15</sup> Never knowing when this credit might be canceled, Eliza became extremely frugal and drilled her children in thrifty maxims such as “Willful waste makes woeful want.”

When Bill returned home, a sudden, smiling apparition, he would be riding new horses, wearing fine clothes, and brandishing a thick wad of crisp bills. Before going to see Eliza, he would pay off Chauncey Rich so that he could confidently tell her everything was now squared away at the store. His seductive charm melted away whatever hostility his absence had aroused; it took time before his extended absences and repeated betrayals burned the romance out of her system, leaving a residue of stoic resignation. For the moment, whatever her anxieties or loneliness, she seemed girlishly lovelorn during his trips, still smitten with her flimflam man. “Just look at that moon!” she once sighed to a cousin when Bill was on the road. “Is William, miles and miles away, perhaps looking at it, too, at this moment? I do hope he is.”<sup>16</sup>

On the road, Bill improvised ever more fanciful ways to make money. A crack shot, he made the circuit of shooting contests, often bringing home prize money. A glad-handing huckster, he sold rings and other knickknacks at fantastic markups. Mostly, though, he styled himself a “botanic physician” or “herbal doctor”—euphemisms faithfully parroted by some Rockefeller descendants. At a time when physicians still resorted to bleeding, blistering,

and violent purgatives, and many rustic areas lacked access to medical care, such traveling salesmen filled a vacuum. Nevertheless, in William Avery Rockefeller one clearly detects the blarney and easy conviviality of the mountebank. Sometimes he peddled bottles of home-brewed elixir or patent medicines bought from druggists, but he scored his greatest success with natural medicines culled from Lucy's physic bush. Though his mother had a sincere interest in herbal remedies, Bill would grossly distort or exaggerate their properties. For instance, he harvested small, purplish berries from her garden that resembled small pills and would hawk them to farmers' wives as a sovereign remedy for stomach troubles. His sales pitch went even further, for, as a Richford neighbor reported many years later, "he would warn them solemnly that they must not be given to a woman in a delicate condition, for they would surely cause abortion. Thereupon he would sell his pills at a high price. They were perfectly harmless, and he broke no law in selling them. He had remarkable imagination."<sup>17</sup>

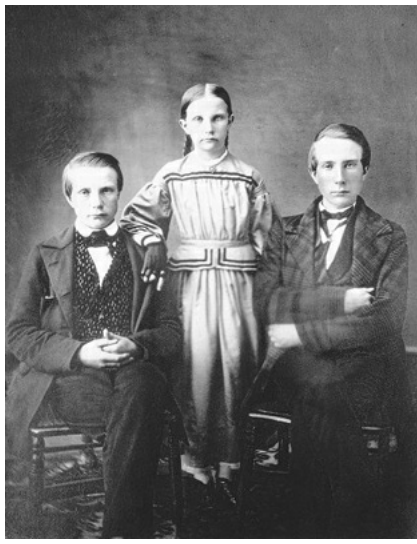
The midnight rambles and peculiar commerce of William Rockefeller mystified the Richford citizenry. He both fired and troubled the imagination, generating so much gossip and speculation that they christened him Devil Bill. Rumors raced periodically through town that he was a gambler, a horse thief, a desperado. Though he seemed to operate on the edge of the law, people were delighted by his bluff humor and tall tales, if dismayed by his treatment of his family. "When he finally succeeded as a peddler he would dress up like a prince and kept everyone wondering," said one town resident who participated in the guessing game about Bill's manifold sources of income. "He laughed a great deal and enjoyed the speculation he caused. He was not a drinking man and treated his family well when he was home, but everyone knew that he neglected the family by leaving them to shift for themselves for long months at a time."<sup>18</sup> He frustrated those neighbors who ached for his comeuppance. After one prolonged absence of several months, when Eliza's bill at Chauncey Rich's topped a thousand dollars, the scuttlebutt said that Devil Bill had been arrested. Instead, like a country squire, he came trotting into town in a magnificent carriage, seated behind a team of splendid horses, diamonds glittering in his shirtfront. At the general store, he made a point of settling the tab with large bills. After such trips, Bill gathered friends and family around the dinner table and, while wolfing down heaps of food, would regale them with picaresque tales of his adventures among the western settlers and Indians. Devil Bill had a knack for weaving his experiences into spellbinding narratives, making Eliza and the children vicarious partners in his travels. As the chief casualty of Bill's peregrinations, Eliza received sympathy from her neighbors, who felt she was being abused by her husband. Yet she remained loyal to him, declined many opportunities to denigrate him, and carried herself with considerable dignity.<sup>19</sup>

However overblown the frequent biographical claims about John D. Rockefeller's impoverished childhood have been, several people testified to the family's squalor in Richford. "I do not remember ever to have seen more pitifully neglected children," one neighbor observed. "Their clothing was old and tattered, and they looked dirty and hungry."<sup>20</sup> It was a measure of Eliza's desperation that she sought relief in the home of her brother-in-law, Jacob Rockefeller, a bawdy, jolly, not infrequently besotted man. An oft-told tale about Jacob recounted how he won a five-dollar bet by staying sober during an entire trip to town.<sup>21</sup> Jacob's kindly wife became a second mother to the two toddlers, Lucy and John, darning their clothes and knitting them mittens from woolen homespun.

In this nightmarish situation, Eliza seemed to draw strength from adversity. One Richford native praised her as "a most excellent woman, but one who bore too heavy a burden at that time properly to look after her children. Her husband was away for long periods, and she had to look after their farm of sixty acres and try to make it pay their expenses. She did not know at what time the shopkeepers of the village might shut down on her credit, and she worked very hard."<sup>22</sup>

When John D. later evoked his idyllic, sunlit boyhood in upstate New York, he blotted out Richford from these reveries. Just three when he left there, he retained only a few hazy memories of the place. "I remember very clearly the brook that ran near the front of the house and how careful I had to be to keep far away from it. I remember my mother vaguely at Richford and my grandmother, who lived half a mile or so up the hill."<sup>23</sup> One notes that Rockefeller's earliest memory was associated with caution and that he edited out the absentee father and inebriated grandfather while retaining the strong, enduring mother and grandmother. He always possessed an unusual, self-protective capacity to suppress unpleasant memories and keep alive those things that fortified his resolve.

As best we can tell, Rockefeller knew nothing of Nancy Brown and the seamy side of Richford existence, yet he carried through life a vague sense of an infernal place. "I shudder to think of what I should have been if I had remained in Richford all my life," he later confided. "There were many men who hunt a little, fish a little, and drink whiskey a little, and only attain a little success in life, and all for the lack of a little religion."<sup>24</sup> Of his family's decision to leave Richford, Rockefeller offered an economic explanation that probably served as the standard cover story of his childhood: stingy soil. "The country there is beautiful," Rockefeller would say, "but the settlers wasted their energy in trying to get the stumps out of the ground, and trying to make crops grow in the poor soil."<sup>25</sup> The true reason, of course, was Eliza's horror at the town's low moral tone, as reflected by its single church; she was probably also eager to remove the children from the influence of her boisterous, drunken Rockefeller in-laws and expose them to the steadier Davisons. By no coincidence, the Rockefellers moved to Moravia, three miles from the Davison farm, where Eliza could enjoy her father's presence during her husband's habitual absences.



*John D. Rockefeller, right, at age thirteen, with brother William, eleven, and sister Mary Ann, nine. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## CHAPTER 2

### *Fires of Revival*

When the Rockefellers moved thirty miles north from Richford to Moravia, they progressed from a backward, frontier settlement to a more sedate community with neat frame houses in the town center. Settled by the United Brethren in Christ—an evangelical denomination that later merged with the United Methodist Church—Moravia was already a stronghold of temperance and antislavery sentiment and boasted a hotel, general store, cotton mill, and Congregational church. Even today, Moravia is a quaintly authentic piece of Americana, with graceful, shady streets that have a companionable feel and houses with wide, friendly verandas.

The Rockefellers lived on the rural outskirts north of town. Around 1843, Bill put down a thousand dollars for a ninety-two-acre parcel of grassy upland that gently sloped down to Owasco Lake, one of the most picturesque of the Finger Lakes. He enlarged an existing house until it contained seven or eight rooms favored with superb views, framed by tall pines, of the bright blue lake set against a backdrop of wooded hills on the far shore. Barns stood across the road, and a smokehouse out back enabled the family to cure ham and bacon. For John D., this two-story clapboard house was a scene of enchantment and became his enduring emblem of pastoral beauty. In the summertime, he loved to pull yellow perch from the cold, clear lake, and even winters captivated him in spite of the bitter cold. The Rockefeller children slept in an unplastered upstairs room that was heated only by a stovepipe rising from the kitchen; snow flurries and sharp winter squalls pressed through cracks in the walls. “How the wind used to roar among the hemlocks by the shore of the lake!” Rockefeller remembered dreamily in his late seventies.<sup>1</sup> In the predawn dark, the children were often awakened by the sharp chopping of woodcutters or the squeal of sleds on hard-packed snow. Eliza would stand at the foot of the stairs and call up to her eldest son, “Come, my son; time to get up and milk your cow!”<sup>2</sup> To warm his feet in the dim, cold barn, John always stood on the steaming earth just vacated by the cow he was milking.

The first three Rockefeller children—Lucy, John, and William—had been born in Richford. Now, in 1843, with Big Bill again on the road during months of her pregnancy, Eliza gave birth to a second daughter, Mary Ann; two years later, twins arrived. The boy, Frank, was healthy, but Frances was sickly from birth and received some seventy visits from a local doctor before she died just short of her second birthday. Eliza tried to protect the seven-year-old John D. from this first lacerating brush with death, but it remained engraved on his memory. When he visited Moravia as an old man in his eighties, he pointed to a field and explained that “when Frances was buried I was sent over to that field to pick stones, so that I should not know.”<sup>3</sup> He later exhibited an unacknowledged dread of death, and Eliza was perhaps the first to intuit it.

In Moravia, William Avery Rockefeller acted like a strange amalgam of solid citizen and engaging ne’er-do-well. As in Richford, the townsfolk goggled as he sped by on swift horses, decked out in smart clothes, and his prodigal spending sometimes fostered the impression that he was the town’s richest man. Mary Ann later dismissed the “ridiculous” stories of their childhood poverty. “We always had plenty to eat and wear, and every reasonable kind of comfort. We were not rich, of course—far from it; but we had enough to eat and use and save—always.”<sup>4</sup> Moravia was the golden period of John’s boyhood when his father briefly aspired to gentility. One neighbor even labeled Bill “about the most notable man in the community.”<sup>5</sup> Since the region was rich in pristine pine forests, he organized a legitimate and quite successful logging business. Before dawn, guided only by starlight and lanterns, he and his work gangs carted logs to the lakeside by bobsled, then floated them up to Auburn, situated at the lake’s northern tip. In a sudden burst of civic spirit, Bill helped to select the site for the town school by counting the revolutions of his buggy wheels as he drove through town, then placing the school at the exact middle of the community; he persuaded local taxpayers to pay for it at a time when many people still thought families should educate their children at home. With the resourceful, go-getter attitude later transmitted to his son, Bill also stocked Owasco Lake with pickerel and even headed the local temperance committee. “That’s the kind of man he was,” boasted John D. “He’d get a thing done while his neighbors were beginning to talk about it.”<sup>6</sup> The Moravia period revealed an important truth about Bill: He had an underlying craving for respectability and probably didn’t plan to spend his whole life as a floating charlatan, preying on the gullible.

Bill never deigned to dirty his hands with farmwork, of course, which he considered beneath his dignity. He hired a railroad worker named Hiram Odell to work the farm and look after his family during his still-frequent wanderings. As Bill instructed him, “Their mother ain’t strong enough to manage ’em and they need some managing. Do just what you think is right for ’em.”<sup>7</sup> While Odell cultivated the garden in his spare time, Eliza assigned chores to the children. Drawing a string across the garden one day, she told the two oldest boys, “John, you take care of this side of the string, and, Will, this side is yours.”<sup>8</sup> In contrast to his father’s disdain for manual labor, John—always a self-styled son of the common people—gloried in the rigors of country life, which, he came to believe, toughened him for later industrial struggle. His frugal boyhood hardened an already stoic nature and made him proof against later adversity.

There was enough economic activity in the America of the 1840s to stimulate the fancy of any future mogul. Banks sprang up everywhere, canals crosshatched the countryside, steamboats plied the rivers, railroads and telegraphs welded together the first national markets. Territorial expansion was in the air: Texas was annexed in 1845, and war with Mexico seemed inevitable. Though only dimly aware of such distant developments, John D. Rockefeller already seemed a perfect specimen of *homo economicus*. Even as a boy, he bought candy by the pound, divided it into small portions, then sold it at a tidy profit to his siblings. By age seven, encouraged by his mother, he was dropping gold, silver, and copper coins that he earned into a blue china bowl on the mantel. John’s first business coup came at age seven when he shadowed a turkey hen as it waddled off into the woods, raided its nest, and raised the chicks for sale. To spur his enterprise, Eliza gave him milk curds to feed the turkeys, and the next year he raised an even larger brood. As an old man, Rockefeller said, “To this day, I enjoy the sight of a flock of turkeys, and never miss an opportunity of studying them.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite Rockefeller’s roseate memories, early photos of him tell a much more somber tale. His face was grim, expressionless, lacking boyish joy and animation; the skin is drawn, the eyes blank and devoid of luster. To other people, he often seemed abstracted, and they remembered him with a deadpan face trudging along country roads, lost in thought, as if unraveling deep problems. “He was a quiet boy,” said one Moravia resident. “He seemed always to be thinking.”<sup>10</sup> In many respects, John was forgettable and indistinguishable from many other boys. When he later dazzled the world, many former



neighbors and classmates struggled to summon up even a fuzzy image of him. He was a slow learner but patient and persistent and, like J. P. Morgan and Jay Gould, exhibited a terrific head for math. “I was not an easy student, and I had to apply myself diligently to prepare my lessons,” said Rockefeller, who described himself accurately as “reliable” but not “brilliant.”<sup>11</sup> For thirty weeks per year (rural children needed time off for farm chores), he attended the one-room schoolhouse established by his father, a spare white building with a pitched roof and windows adorned with dark shutters. Discipline was harsh and exacting: When students misbehaved, the teacher menacingly held a slate over their heads. If Rockefeller didn’t excel in class, it might have been in part because he lacked the bright boy’s exhibitionism, the yearning for gold stars; always inner-directed and indifferent to the approval of others, he was therefore free of a certain boyish vanity.

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that there *was* something extraordinary about the way this stolid boy pinpointed goals and doggedly pursued them without any trace of childish impulsiveness. When playing checkers or chess, he showed exceptional caution, studying each move at length, working out every possible countermove in his head. “I’ll move just as soon as I get it figured out,” he told opponents who tried to rush him. “You don’t think I’m playing to get beaten, do you?”<sup>12</sup> To ensure that he won, he submitted to games only where he could dictate the rules. Despite his slow, ponderous style, once he had thoroughly mulled over his plan of action, he had the power of quick decision.

Although he was generally grave and devoted much time to books, music, and church, he had a sly wit, the sort that curled up unexpectedly around the edges of a sentence. As his sister-in-law said, “He had a quick sense of humor, though one might say he was soberly mirthful. His appreciation was keen, but I do not recall him as ever laughing loudly. But I do remember the quick lighting up of his eyes, and the dimples that showed in his cheek when he heard or saw anything amusing.”<sup>13</sup> His sister Mary Ann remembered him as an inveterate tease. “He would plague us all with his jokes, always with a straight, solemn face.”<sup>14</sup> Rockefeller always had a droll sense of fun, but it was often obscured behind a mask of gravity.

John D. Rockefeller was drawn to the church, not as some nagging duty or obligation but as something deeply refreshing to the soul. The Baptist church of his boyhood provides many clues to the secrets of his character. As a young man, he was raised on a steady diet of maxims, grounded in evangelical Protestantism, that guided his conduct. Many of his puritanical attitudes, which may seem antiquated to a later generation, were merely the religious commonplaces of his boyhood. Indeed, the saga of his monumental business feats is inseparable from the fire-and-brimstone atmosphere that engulfed upstate New York in his childhood. Even his father, wont to flirt with the devil’s company, knew many hymns by heart and urged his children to go to church; he once offered John five dollars to read the Bible cover to cover, thus creating an early, unintentional association between God and money. Always an iconoclastic, outlaw spirit, Bill never actually joined a church—that would have been going too far—so John identified religion with his beloved mother, who found in the Bible a balm for her troubled spirit.

John attended a Sunday school a short distance from their hilltop house and remembered the teacher as a formerly profane man who had repented and become an earnest Christian. The boy saw religion less as a system of otherworldly rewards than as a means for moral reformation on earth. Since Bill was often away, Eliza coaxed a Presbyterian neighbor into dropping off her and the children at the Baptist church on Sunday mornings. As the family huddled together in a pew, Eliza encouraged the children to drop pennies into the collection plate; Rockefeller later cited his mother’s altruism as the genesis of his philanthropy. Early in life, he learned that God wanted his flock to earn money and then donate money in a never-ending process. “I was trained from the beginning to work and to save,” Rockefeller explained. “I have always regarded it as a religious duty to get all I could honorably and to give all I could. I was taught that way by the minister when I was a boy.”<sup>15</sup> The low-church Baptists didn’t prohibit the accumulation of wealth but did oppose its vain, ostentatious display, setting up a tension that would be threaded throughout Rockefeller’s life.

While the first Baptist church had been founded by Roger Williams in Rhode Island in 1639, the denomination didn’t flourish until the so-called Great Awakening that began around 1739. This upsurge of religious fervor gathered force following the tour of the eastern seaboard by the charismatic English Methodist evangelist George Whitefield. In open fields, amid much weeping, shrieking, fainting, and guilty writhing on the ground, masses of people were converted to Christianity or had their sagging faith restored. This period of rabid emotion spurred fantastic growth among Baptists, who believed in voluntary immersion and a public confession of faith from adherents. More than one hundred new Baptist churches sprang up in New England alone. With their lay leaders and autonomous congregations, the Baptists were ideally suited to frontier areas and the democratic ethos of the colonists. Recruited from the common people, often unpaid and poorly educated, Baptist ministers ventured into the hinterlands where other clergymen feared to tread. Because they opposed religious establishments and owed no allegiance to supervisory bishops or a central church hierarchy, they could start up a church in any creek or hollow. They emerged as a major religious force by the close of the eighteenth century.

A Second Great Awakening aroused New England and the mid-Atlantic states to a new pitch of religious fever from 1800 to the late 1830s. This protracted movement peaked around 1830, when the revival fires blazed so hotly that Rochester and other sections of upstate New York and Ohio were dubbed the Burned-Over District. When revivalists—of whom Charles Grandison Finney was the most celebrated—arrived in a town, they held prayer meetings that often lasted through the night. These theatrical spectacles, marked by dramatic outpourings of emotion, featured hardened sinners who sat on the “anxious bench” as townspeople publicly urged them to repent. When they saw the light, the guilty parties often burst into tears and knelt in prayer. Preachers tried to reach people through vivid appeals to hope and fear, invoking heavenly bliss and burning lakes of hellfire. One popular evangelist, Jacob Knapp, described tormented sinners crawling up the sides of burning pits while devils with pitchforks, perched on the rim, sadistically prodded them back down into the flames. The revival movement was self-perpetuating, for the saved were expected to rescue others from Satan’s clutches. They would go door-to-door, trying to flush sinners from their homes until the entire town was caught up in passionate, hysterical emotion.

Several aspects of this revival movement are worth noting because they are so strikingly reflected in Rockefeller’s life. In the late 1820s, militant evangelicals in Rochester agitated against smoking, dancing, card playing, billiards, and the theater, while boycotting stores that opened on the Sabbath. As Rockefeller said, “Going back . . . to my early business days and boyhood, the Baptists I knew listened to their consciences and their religious instructions, not only did not dance in public places but did not dance anywhere and did not even concede the reputability of dancing. . . . The theater was considered a source of depravity, to be shunned by conscientious Christians.”<sup>16</sup> Because liquor was considered a satanic brew, a believer couldn’t make it, sell it, or offer it to guests, and a temperance pledge became a standard component of accepting Christ into one’s life. In his boyhood, Rockefeller internalized an abiding sense that the professing Christian had to be a soldier armed against all secular temptation and must never stray far

from godly circles.

Departing from strict Calvinism, Baptist evangelicals clung to the egalitarian view that *all* errant souls could be saved, not just a small, predestined elect, and they actively engaged in evangelism and missionary work. Rockefeller was brought up to believe that nobody was ever irretrievably lost, that people were free agents who could be redeemed by an act of will—a self-reliant outlook that stamped his conservative political views. His Baptist upbringing also predisposed him to follow the cult of perpetual self-improvement that played so prominent a role in nineteenth-century American culture. Finney, for instance, was a Presbyterian who exhorted his listeners to pursue perfection in their earthly lives.

Rockefeller entered the Baptist Church at a fateful moment. In May 1845, in a schism over the issue of slaveholders serving as missionaries, Baptist delegates from nine southern states seceded from the national body to create the Southern Baptist Convention. Northern Baptists fervently believed that abolitionism was consistent with their opposition to ecclesiastical hierarchy, their populist spirit, and their broad-based campaign to purge sin from society. The Second Great Awakening had explicitly linked personal conversion with community reform, spawning political activism. During the colonial period, Americans had liberally consumed demon rum, but the new evangelical emphasis on social uplift helped to foster a national temperance movement in the 1820s and 1830s. For Rockefeller, an apolitical man, the church narrowed his social life but widened his vision, providing a bridge to larger social concerns and ultimately preparing him for the world of philanthropy.

If John D. believed, despite the flamboyant antics of Devil Bill, that he had enjoyed a homespun boyhood out of a Currier & Ives print, it was largely due to the compensating influence of Eliza and the church. Her hardships tapped some deep reserve of strength and wisdom in the simple country woman with the spare face, quiet ways, and steady blue-gray eyes. “Mother was wonderful,” said Mary Ann. “She managed the family and the house and did it all so easily.”<sup>17</sup> Though Eliza dutifully read the Bible, her few surviving missives reveal an extremely rudimentary education; she misspelled the most elementary words, writing *herd* for *heard*, *plesant* for *pleasant*, and *ben* for *been*. (John was a faultless speller and grammarian.) All but a stranger to grammar, she sometimes wrote letters that consisted of a single run-on sentence.

It is hard not to be stirred by Eliza’s uncomplaining bravery in steadily tending five children in the face of her husband’s erratic, irresponsible ways. When Bill was on the road, she never knew where he was, what he was doing, or when he might surface again. Though she had Hiram Odell, and her father lived just across Owasco Lake, Eliza was often alone with the children at night in a town on the fringe of a wilderness. As she thumbed her Bible and puffed on a corncob pipe, she must have worried about roving thieves. One of Rockefeller’s favorite stories reveals her coolheaded response to danger:

*Mother had whooping cough and was staying in her room so that we should not catch it. When she heard thieves trying to get at the back of the house and remembered that there was no man to protect us, she softly opened the window and began to sing some old Negro melody, just as if the family were up and about. The robbers turned away from the house, crossed the road to the carriage house, stole a set of harness and went down the hill to their boat at the shore.*<sup>18</sup>

From such early experiences, John D. took away a deep, abiding respect for women; unlike other moguls of the Gilded Age, he never saw them in purely ornamental terms.

Born in 1813, Eliza had grown up in the shadow of the Second Great Awakening and was never lax about discipline. While Devil Bill dispensed gifts to the children, Eliza, by default, meted out punishment and tried to subdue the wild Rockefeller streak in her children. A kindred spirit, John accepted her stern country justice when she drew out the birch switch, strapped him to the apple tree, and “laid on Macduff,” as she styled it. “On those occasions I made my protests, which she heard sympathetically and accepted sweetly—but [she] still laid on, explaining that I had earned the punishment and must have it,” Rockefeller recalled. “She would say, ‘I’m doing this in love.’”<sup>19</sup> She typically erred on the side of severity. Once, while punishing John for misbehavior at school, he started to plead his innocence. “Never mind,” she interrupted, “we have started in on this whipping, and it will do for the next time.”<sup>20</sup> Rockefeller told a tale of his adolescence that highlighted his mother’s grim discipline. They then lived in Owego, and she had forbidden him to ice-skate on the Susquehanna River, but the lure of a moonlit night overwhelmed the better judgment of John and his brother William. They were gliding along the river when they heard the desperate cries of a young boy who had fallen through the ice. Pushing a pole to the flailing boy, John and William fished him from the water and saved his life. When they returned home, Eliza hailed their courage, then promptly got down to business. “We thought we should be left off without punishment,” said Rockefeller, “but mother gave us a good tanning, nevertheless.”<sup>21</sup>

Where William and Frank had their father’s broad face and high forehead, John had Eliza’s narrow face, piercing eyes, and sharp chin and a personality that conformed more to the Davison pattern. He also had his mother’s slow metabolism and ability to bear a large burden for long periods in an unruffled way. Many neighbors testified that the unflappable Eliza never lost her temper, never raised her voice, never scolded anyone—a style of understated authority that John inherited. From his mother he learned economy, order, thrift, and other bourgeois virtues that figured so largely in his success at Standard Oil. Forced to pay a heavy penalty for her impetuous decision to marry Devil Bill, Eliza trained her children to reflect coolly before making decisions; her frequent admonition “We will let it simmer” was a saying John employed throughout his business career.

For a woman of Eliza’s intense pride and religiosity, it must have been hard to endure the unaccountable absences of her gallivanting husband, and she drew closer, of necessity, to her oldest son, who struck her as precocious and prematurely wise. She saw qualities in him still invisible to the world at large. Because she confided in him and gave him adult responsibilities, he matured rapidly and acquired unusual confidence; it must have flattered his pride that he served as a surrogate father and was so vital to the family’s survival. His relations with his siblings seemed more paternal than fraternal, and he often instructed them. As he put it, “I know that in my own case I have been greatly helped by the confidence imposed in me since early boyhood.”<sup>22</sup> Of course, this boyhood responsibility took its toll on John D., who experienced little of the spontaneous joy or levity of youth. Growing up as a miniature adult, burdened with duties, he developed an exaggerated sense of responsibility that would be evident throughout his life. He learned to see himself as a reluctant savior, taking charge of troubled situations that needed to be remedied.

Until he came to appraise him through more mature eyes, John idolized his father. A man capable of Paul Bunyan-esque feats, William Avery

Rockefeller possessed the dash and virility that every young boy dreams of in a father. “I come of a strong family, men of unusual strength, a family of giants,” Rockefeller stated later in life.<sup>23</sup> “What a bright smile my father had. Everybody liked him. ‘Uncle Billy,’ they called him.”<sup>24</sup> By all accounts, Bill was a man of abundant talents. He was such a superb athlete that he could stand beside a fence and jump over it backward; such an amazing ventriloquist that he could create half a dozen characters talking at once; such a legendary animal trainer that he once taught tricks to a pet bear he had won in a shooting competition; and such a skillful hypnotist that he was darkly rumored to “throw a mist” around person and beast alike.<sup>25</sup>

If the children associated Eliza with discipline, they identified Bill with laughter, plenty, and good times. He was the ideal hunting and fishing buddy, a crack shot who could bring down small birds in flight. Mesmerized by guns, he kept a splendid set of clean, well-oiled rifles (including one with a telescopic sight) in the Moravia house. Taking aim at a pine tree while standing in a meadow, he would toss off rapid shots until the bark was shredded by bullets. When selling patent medicines, his marksmanship served him extremely well, for he would use it to draw a crowd in strange towns. Setting up a manikin with a clay pipe in its mouth, he retreated to a distance of two hundred paces, shot the pipe to smithereens, then offered a ten-dollar bill to anybody in the crowd who could match his prowess.

Lively and fun-loving, Bill created infectious merriment wherever he went. As his son noted, “He always wanted something going on in the house, singing or music of some sort.”<sup>26</sup> He was nothing if not shrewd and used his talents to further his enjoyment. One day, he heard of a violin virtuoso who had been clapped in the town jail for drunkenness. The offender was given a choice: Either he could pay a hundred-dollar fine or serve a hundred days in jail, with each day served reducing the fine by a dollar. Unable to muster the hundred dollars, Bill let the musician stew for thirty-five days, then bailed him out for sixty-five dollars, taking his violin in exchange. For decades, Bill cherished this rich-toned, concert-quality instrument, which he would bow at waist level, like a country fiddler. It was undoubtedly from the Rockefeller side of the family that John inherited his lasting love of music.

With Owasco Lake always shimmering through the window, many of John D.’s dearest memories of Moravia centered upon fishing with Bill, who was prone to do outrageous things in the boat. During one lake outing, the middle brother, William, then a fat little boy unable to swim, made the mistake of grumbling about the heat. “Then cool off,” said his father, who plucked up the flabbergasted boy by the waistband and pitched him headlong into the water. When William sank straight to the bottom, Big Bill dived overboard, retrieved him, then tried to teach him to swim. As John said of the incident, looking on the bright side, “He was always training us to meet responsibilities and take care of ourselves.”<sup>27</sup>

It would be wrong (if highly tempting) to see William Avery Rockefeller as simply some blithe, hedonistic spirit, for he was moralistic in his own way. He was a militant temperance advocate—alcohol having ruined his father, Godfrey—and he fiercely reproached John and William when he caught them smoking in the barn. “When, after my brother had reached the age of 40 years my father learned that he smoked, tears came into his eyes,” said John, who liked to focus on his father’s virtuous side as a convenient way to sidestep his vices.<sup>28</sup>

In no area did Bill impress his eldest son more—or did his eldest son prove more impressionable—than in the magical realm of money. Big Bill had an almost sensual love of cash and enjoyed flashing plump rolls of bills. “John D. Rockefeller inherited his shrewdness and love of money from his father,” remarked one of Bill’s companions. “The old man had a passion for money that amounted almost to a craze. I never met a man who had such a love of money.”<sup>29</sup> Exhibiting a small-town, populist mistrust of banks—a mistrust he would pass along to John, who later kept Standard Oil free from the talons of Wall Street financiers—Bill stashed away his money at home. As one neighbor recalled, “He had money, lots of it. He kept it in a bureau drawer. There I’ve seen it, ones, twos, threes (we had three-dollar bills then), fives, tens, twenties, and fifties, all corded like wood and the bundles tied with twine, the stacks filling the drawer.”<sup>30</sup> According to legend, he also had a four-gallon pail brimming with gold pieces, though it probably concealed base metal beneath the glittering surface. Once, at a family gathering, Bill disappeared for a time, then suddenly burst forth from his room with a patchwork tablecloth crafted from banknotes of varying denominations. This was part of his obsessive need to project a big-shot image to conceal the pettiness of his accomplishments. Neither as a boy nor a man did John find anything pathological about his father’s money madness, suggesting that he shared the same blind spot. After he had made his gargantuan fortune, he said admiringly of his father, “He made a practice of never carrying less than \$1,000, and he kept it in his pocket. He was able to take care of himself, and was not afraid to carry his money.”<sup>31</sup>

The bane of John’s boyhood wasn’t poverty so much as chronic worry about money, and it is easy to see how cash came to seem like God’s bounty, the blessed stuff that relieved all of life’s cares. After the family spent anxious weeks or months running up credit bills and waiting for Father’s return, Bill would abruptly materialize, a jolly Santa Claus, swimming in lucre. He would compensate for his long absence by extravagant shows of generosity with his children. For John, money became associated with these brief but pleasurable interludes when the mercurial father was at home and the Rockefellers functioned as a true family.

During the early Moravia years, Big Bill began to train his eldest son in business matters, dispatching him at age eight or nine to evaluate and buy cord-wood for the house. “I knew what a cord of good solid beech and maple wood was,” said Rockefeller. “My father told me to select only the solid wood and the straight wood and not to put any limbs in it or any punky wood.”<sup>32</sup> Of all the lessons John absorbed from his father, perhaps none surpassed in importance that of keeping meticulous accounts. This was a matter of necessity, for Bill’s wayward life forced his family to husband their credit and closely monitor their often precarious financial situation.

When it came to business ethics, Bill was a most curious compound, extremely honorable one moment, a sharpster the next. To his son, he tacitly conveyed the message that commerce was a tough, competitive struggle and that you were entitled to outwit the other fellow by any means, fair or foul. He tutored John in a sharp, relentless bargaining style that the latter made famous. (A most unorthodox bargainer, Bill once bid a thousand dollars less for a farm than the owner was asking; to settle matters, he suggested they shoot at a target. Bill won and got his thousand-dollar discount.) As a traveling mountebank, selling dubious cures to credulous rural folk, Bill took a dim view of people’s intelligence and didn’t hesitate to exploit their naive trust.

As a boss, Bill patented his own queer style of managing people. During his respectable time in the lumber business, he paid his men well and promptly and was said by his son to be very popular. Yet he had a habit of hiring workers for a spell, informing them politely, “I don’t need you any longer,” then hiring them again a few days later—what he proudly dubbed his “policy of firing and hiring over.” If this made him sound like a less-than-

lovable boss, his son applauded the unsettling tactic. “It kept the men up on tip-toe; no stagnation among them.”<sup>33</sup> Oddly enough, John described his father as “most liberal and kindly with his employees, yet eminently practical and keen and wide-awake and resourceful.”<sup>34</sup> This was one of many areas where he seemed to embroider the truth about Big Bill. Would the people he fired and hired again have described Bill as “liberal and kindly”?

John D. Rockefeller portrayed his father as a paragon of business virtue, and if this was mostly an effort to cover up the shady side of Bill’s life, it had a grain of truth. Bill paid his debts punctually and believed implicitly in the sacredness of contracts, taking great pains in writing them up. As John observed, “He was very scrupulous to carry out his contracts, particular[ly] that they were clearly understood and carefully drawn, that is, committed to writing. And the training he gave me along those lines was very valuable, has proven so in all my life.”<sup>35</sup> In his business career, John D. Rockefeller was accused of many sins, but he took pride in paying his debts promptly and abiding strictly by contracts. He was also accused of mixing the lawless and the honorable, of ignoring ethical niceties, in a manner reminiscent of his father.

Whether John D. Rockefeller ultimately followed his father’s unscrupulous craft or his mother’s stern respectability in steering Standard Oil is the question that weighs most heavily on his historical reputation. Bertrand Russell once said of Rockefeller, “What he said, what he thought, and what he felt, came from his mother, but what he did came from his father, with the addition of a great caution generated by early unpleasantness.”<sup>36</sup> The issue is much more complicated than that, but there’s no doubt that Rockefeller’s achievement arose from the often tense interplay between the two opposing, deeply ingrained tendencies of his nature—his father’s daring and his mother’s prudence—yoked together under great pressure.

Given the paucity of hard evidence about Bill’s affairs in Moravia, one is led to rake over the rich folklore he left behind. In 1927, a carpenter turned author named Charles Brucher published a book entitled *Joshua: A Man of the Finger Lakes Region*, a thinly disguised roman à clef about William Avery Rockefeller. The privately printed 130-page book has become something of a collector’s item, with copies sometimes fetching hundreds of dollars. The protagonist is one William Rockwell, a.k.a. Big Bill, and the author brazenly mingles fact and fiction by reproducing an actual photo of Rockefeller’s father in the front. *Joshua* professes, redundantly, to be a “true story taken from life” and gathers lore about Devil Bill that was still titillating the town gossips in the 1920s. Much of its store of legend came from Melvin Rosekrans, whose father, Joshua, had locked horns with Big Bill in the 1840s. The book presents a slanted, hyperbolic portrait of Bill’s career, a compendium of his presumed misdeeds, yet enough details tally with documentary material from other sources that it merits review.

According to this potboiler, the “masterful and self-confident” Big Bill became “the terror of the Finger Lakes region,” whose “evil influence would be felt in every household for miles around.” Eliza makes a cameo appearance as “a sad-faced little woman” kept ignorant of the true reasons for her husband’s mysterious trips: “She was always opposed to ‘Big Bill’s’ roving disposition and his evil minded tendencies.”<sup>37</sup> If she suspected wrongdoing, she kept it to herself to spare the children. That the fictional Eliza earned the sympathy of the community jibes with what we know of the real Eliza’s Moravia life.

The book narrates how Rockwell fell in with a bunch of desperadoes who stole horses and delivered them to the notorious Loomis Brothers gang. (This grave, unsubstantiated charge shadowed Bill in all three New York towns he lived in.) Another equally grave charge in the book concerns Dr. William Cooper, a cousin of the novelist James Fenimore Cooper. Dr. Cooper disliked Bill and refused to deal with him. The book asserts that Rockwell once coerced at gunpoint a reluctant Dr. Cooper to treat Eliza and that somebody afterward took potshots at the doctor through the blinds of his living-room window, narrowly missing him. Rockwell is further portrayed as an unconscionable philanderer, who lures pretty girls with a secret love potion and tries to seduce a young woman working in his house. He openly squires his girlfriends around Moravia in his carriage and takes them rowing on the lake, notwithstanding Eliza’s dismay. “The poor, long suffering little woman knew the failings of her dashing mate. She was overpowered by his master mind and had long since become resigned to her fate.”<sup>38</sup> The diabolical Bill is even accused of palming off counterfeit bills.

At first, the locals were so petrified of the rough-and-tumble Rockwell that they didn’t dare to confront him. Yet *Joshua* ends as a tale of justice triumphant as Bill’s gang is disbanded by an irate citizenry. In a climactic courtroom scene, it is proved that Rockwell had paid a black man ten dollars to steal rafting chains in order to smuggle logs across Owasco Lake. His luck having run out, Bill flees the courtroom, though another gang member serves time in Auburn prison for horse theft. When last seen in the book, Big Bill has shifted operations to Owego, where horses again begin to disappear suspiciously. In a shameless bit of press agency that Bill himself would have savored, Brucher ends by promising a sequel, adding, “Negotiations are pending for the filming of this gripping story and its early appearance on the silver screen is assured.”<sup>39</sup>

In the early 1900s, when Ida Tarbell dispatched a research assistant to upstate New York, he picked up the same allegations of horse theft that flavor the pages of *Joshua*. Horses were said to have begun vanishing after Big Bill moved first to Richford and later to Moravia. “It became noised about the neighborhood that ‘Old Bill’s gang’ were the horse thieves,” reported Tarbell’s assistant.<sup>40</sup> In 1850, three of Bill’s cronies—Caleb Palmer, Charles Tidd, and a man named Bates—were arrested for stealing mares. After Tidd turned state’s evidence, he provided the testimony that was used to incarcerate Palmer and Bates. It must be stressed that no court records actually connect Bill with the crime and that biographer Allan Nevins, after much examination, branded the horse-thieving charges “ridiculous.”<sup>41</sup> Yet the anecdotal evidence can’t be so easily dismissed. Tarbell’s assistant noted, “Everyone I talked with in Moravia declares that ‘Old Bill’ was the head of the gang.” John Monroe Palmer, son of one of the jailed culprits, fingered Bill as the mastermind of the “underground horse railroad.” “Rockefeller was too smart to be caught,” he griped. “He ruined my father, and then left him in the lurch.”<sup>42</sup>

Another tale circulating in upstate New York at the turn of the century contended that Bill had corrupted the village youth by teaching them how to gamble. One ancient resident, Hiram Alley, recalled that the village boys would pay Bill five dollars to instruct them in card tricks so they could then fleece other boys. John D. never commented on allegations against his father but, having never touched cards in his life, scoffed at this particular libel. “If my father had been a gambler, I would have known something about cards, wouldn’t I?”<sup>43</sup>

Clearly, Devil Bill had a suggestive personality that made imaginations run riot, and some of the stories about him were likely embellished. Yet one charge left behind a more convincing paper trail. Beginning with Nancy Brown in Richford, Eliza had always employed a young woman to assist with

the housework, and in Moravia she had a tall, pretty young woman helper named Anne Vanderbeak. On July 26, 1849, according to papers filed at the Auburn Court House, William Avery Rockefeller was indicted for assaulting Anne Vanderbeak on May 1, 1848, and “then and there violently against her will feloniously did ravish and carnally know” her.<sup>44</sup> The rape indictment deepens suspicions that Bill was more than just a charming, flirtatious rogue.

The aftermath of the indictment was inconclusive, and the whole affair has been obscured by a heavy fog of speculation. Bill never appeared in court, never went to trial, and was never arrested. Everybody who has examined the case has tripped over the same set of questions. Why was the indictment handed down more than a year after the supposed rape? (One feminist scholar has helpfully noted the formidable obstacles placed in the way of women pressing rape charges in those days.)<sup>45</sup> Why did the prosecuting attorney never endorse the indictment? Why didn’t anybody set off in hot pursuit of Bill when he fled from Cayuga County? And why did Anne Vanderbeak let the matter lapse? Once again, a handful of oral histories suggest a tangled skein of local intrigue. Bill had seduced a young woman named Charlotte Hewitt, whose brothers, Earl and Lew, loathed him for it. One Hewitt brother sat on the jury that indicted Big Bill, leading some to see it as a trumped-up charge, a vendetta by the brothers. Ida Tarbell’s assistant devised another theory: “I believe the indictment was quashed, possibly on the understanding that he was to leave the county. This was not unusual procedure in those days.”<sup>46</sup>

The scandal ended whatever tentative truce Bill had struck with John Davison, who had long rued the day when Bill Rockefeller first bewitched his sensible daughter. During the Moravia period, Davison had patched up relations with Bill and lent him almost \$1,000 in two installments, one in August 1845, the other in October 1846. Now the rape indictment shattered their still tenuous relationship—lending greater credence to the charge. When Bill informed Davison of the accusation and asked him to post bail, Davison gruffly replied that he was “too old a man to go bail for anyone.” Taken aback, Bill replied bitterly that he would leave the county and never see him again. Worried about his two outstanding loans, Davison went straight to court, claimed his son-in-law planned to defraud his creditors, and sued him for \$1,210.75.<sup>47</sup> For Eliza and her offspring, it must have been a thoroughly humiliating moment when the sheriff and two neighbors came to appraise their property and attached all their movable goods in the name of John Davison. Davison also modified his will, placing Eliza’s inheritance in the hands of trustees, in all likelihood to keep it safely beyond the eager grasp of his son-in-law.

During the second half of 1849, Bill abandoned his family and gadded about the countryside to reconnoiter new towns. In the spring of 1850, the same year Nathaniel Hawthorne published *The Scarlet Letter*, Bill resettled his family in Owego, near the Pennsylvania border. As a fugitive from justice, he might have wanted to be near the state line whenever trouble loomed. Though only ten at the time and probably ignorant of what had happened—it’s hard to imagine Eliza confiding such scandalous things to a young boy—John later ridiculed the rape charge and mocked the idea of his father fleeing justice. “If [my father] left ‘under compulsion’ . . . I should have known something about it. There was nothing of the sort. We moved over to Owego, and if he were fleeing from justice that wasn’t very far away.”<sup>48</sup> John’s later tendency to minimize the disgrace probably had several causes, ranging from filial piety to shrewd public relations; he knew people bent upon proving his own immorality wanted to buttress their case by first tarnishing his father. One must also note his penchant for denial, his potent capacity to filter out uncomfortable thoughts, especially about his father, just as he later deflected criticism of his questionable business behavior. John D. Rockefeller drew strength by simplifying reality and strongly believed that excessive reflection upon unpleasant but unalterable events only weakened one’s resolve in the face of enemies.

At some point in his boyhood, however, possibly after the flight from Moravia, John’s reverence for his father did begin to be intermingled with more hostile, unexpressed feelings. (One writer of a wildly psychoanalytic bent has even suggested that Rockefeller’s icy self-control was a reaction to repressed fantasies of murdering his father.)<sup>49</sup> In later years, scores of John D.’s friends and associates noted that Big Bill was a taboo topic that they broached at their peril, one on which John maintained a thoroughgoing silence. As one early biographer remarked, “From the beginning to the end of his career, he has made secrecy respecting his father and stealth respecting paternal visits a matter of religious observance.”<sup>50</sup>

We cannot tell when Rockefeller first felt shame about his father, but this emotion was so consequential for his entire development that we must pause briefly to consider it. In the towns of John’s boyhood, Bill was an engaging but notorious character who prompted interminable speculation about his travels and sources of income. A boy with such a father needed to screen out malicious gossip and cultivate a brazen indifference to community opinion. This bred in him a reflexive habit of secrecy, a fear of the crowd, a deep contempt for idle chatter and loose tongues that lasted a lifetime. He learned to cultivate a secretive style and a defiant attitude toward strangers. Perhaps out of a self-protective instinct, Bill taught his children to be wary of strangers and even of himself. When John was a child, Bill would urge him to leap from his high chair into his waiting arms. One day, he dropped his arms, letting his astonished son crash to the floor. “Remember,” Bill lectured him, “never trust anyone completely, not even me.” Somewhat later, walking with his boys through Cleveland, he warned them to ignore the pell-mell rush of people to fires and parades. “Never mind the crowd,” he told them. “Keep away from it. Attend to your own business.”<sup>51</sup> Eliza also must have inoculated the children’s minds against talebearers and told them not to discuss family matters with other people. The boy who faced down the vicious talk of neighbors would be extremely well prepared to walk unscathed and even defiant through the turbulent controversies that later surrounded his life.

For all the uncertainty of their lives, the Rockefellers, in their restless, driven odyssey across the southern tier of New York, enjoyed a sense of upward mobility as they journeyed from Richford to Moravia to Owego, with each town larger, more prosperous, and more hopeful than its predecessor. The county seat of Tioga County, located south of Richford and west of Binghamton, Owego sits astride a broad, beautiful bend of the Susquehanna River. Decidedly more cosmopolitan than anything young John D. had experienced before, it was a refined village with genteel homes along Front Street that vouchsafed glimpses of a finer life. The incorporated village of Owego had an imposing courthouse, a well-stocked library, a renowned school, and other nascent hints of culture. For a country town of seventy-two hundred people, it also boasted a disproportionate number of resident writers and artists.

Perhaps because his sojourn there was shorter, Rockefeller never developed quite the same fond attachment to Owego as to Moravia, but he retained pleasing associations with it. “What a beautiful place Owego is!” he once exclaimed. “How fortunate we were to grow up there, in a beautiful country, with good neighbors, people of culture and refinement, kind friends.”<sup>52</sup> With amusement, he recalled how Owego had exploded his provincial boyhood. “Down at the railroad station one day I saw a Frenchman! Think of that—a real, live Frenchman. And he wore a mustache—the first I ever saw.”<sup>53</sup> On

June 1, 1849, shortly before the Rockefellers arrived, the Erie Railroad had first puffed into Owego, thousands of spectators packing the hillsides to cheer the train as it slid into the station amid a burst of ceremonial cannonades and pealing church bells. “Railroad trains were known even when I was a boy but they were few, short and sooty,” Rockefeller said of the conveyances that would figure so largely in his own exploits.<sup>54</sup> In small towns like Owego, the railroad ended isolated, self-contained economies, absorbing them into regional and national markets while also sharpening their inhabitants’ appetites for material goods and inviting them to seek their fortunes in distant cities.

The Rockefellers lived three miles east of town in an area of soft, bucolic meadows and riverine groves. Of the two frame houses they occupied during their time in Owego, the second was smaller, suggesting that Bill and Eliza needed to retrench as they grappled with financial problems. The second house—more a cottage than a farm—had a fine view of the winding, muddy Susquehanna, with the wooded silhouette of Big Island (later Hiawatha Island) in the foreground, ringed by a curtain of blue hills in the distance. In these snug quarters, John shared a bed with brother William. “It was a small house,” John reminisced years later, “but a dear good house.”<sup>55</sup>

Bill might have chosen Owego because it had signal business advantages for someone who dabbled in the lumber business. During freshets, log rafts were easily floated down the Susquehanna River, and several lumber mills, in consequence, had sprung up in the town. It might also be significant that on September 27, 1849, right before the Rockefellers moved to Owego, an appalling conflagration had consumed 104 downtown buildings, the blaze sparing only three stores, a disaster that presaged a booming lumber business as the town was rebuilt. Finally, the town had a reputation as a mecca for self-styled doctors. As one Owego resident recalled, “After the Civil War, there were a dozen of them living here.”<sup>56</sup>

During the three Owego years, Bill’s escapades seemed even more bizarrely unpredictable than before. His appearances in town were brief and infrequent, however memorable to the gaping natives. “He was the best-dressed man for miles around,” said a close neighbor. “You never saw him without his fine silk hat.”<sup>57</sup> Now in her late thirties, Eliza was losing her youthful bloom and developing the hard, thin face that told of her many trials. Many townsfolk recalled her as a sweet, fine, dignified lady who called on neighbors in the afternoon, always clad in a black silk dress that looked like widow’s weeds. Everybody commended her unsparing discipline, neat appearance, and commanding presence. For all her travails, she didn’t seem as forlorn as she had in Richford and Moravia, as if growing more accustomed to the burden that she bore and more reconciled to Bill’s absences.

Once the swaggering, autocratic husband, Bill had now been irredeemably exposed as a scoundrel and was demoted in Eliza’s esteem. Her disillusionment with her handsome husband might have simplified matters in the household. “It was she who brought up the family,” said one observer, “for even when he was at home the father did not interfere with her discipline. And it was discipline.”<sup>58</sup> Another neighbor termed her “an unusually clear-minded and capable Christian mother. Perhaps her discipline might seem very strict or even severe today, but, although she made them obey her and kept them all busily employed, the children all loved her as she loved them.”<sup>59</sup> She wasn’t a mother to be trifled with. Once, while sick in bed, she discovered that John had neglected to perform a task for her, and judgment was swift: She sent him to the Susquehanna to select a willow switch. With the quiet cunning that would become a pronounced trait of his nature, he nicked the switch in several places with his knife, so it would bend and crack after the initial blows. Eliza wasn’t deceived. “Go and get another switch,” she instructed him, “and see that it is not slashed this time.”<sup>60</sup>

Eliza must have found the religious atmosphere in Owego suitably wholesome. One of John’s imperishable images of Owego was of standing behind the house and hearing the dutiful Eliza praying aloud in an upstairs bedroom. The local Baptists were enterprising evangelists, and every winter they marched scores of reformed sinners down to the frozen Susquehanna, carved out openings in the ice, and baptized them. Every Sunday, neighbors picked up Eliza and the children and drove them to a Baptist church in the village. Inspired by a Sunday-school class on forgiveness, the children initiated a custom that suggests how religion permeated their lives. Each night, when they got into bed, they turned to their siblings and said, “Do you forgive me all I have done to you today?”<sup>61</sup> By the time they fell asleep, the air had been cleared of all recriminations or festering anger.

In Owego, Eliza increased her dependence on John, as if training him to be everything Bill wasn’t. Like his mother, John seemed stronger without Bill, able to escape his shadow and forge a separate identity. His manifold duties habituated him to a heavy workload. When not attending school, he cut wood, milked the cow, drew well water, tended the garden, and went on shopping expeditions while also supervising his younger siblings in their mother’s absence. “I was taught to do as much business at the age of ten or eleven as it was possible for me to do,” he later noted.<sup>62</sup>

As the stand-in for Bill, he kept a tight rein on the family budget and learned to appraise the world shrewdly. Once he spent three days helping a local farmer dig potatoes for 37

Throughout his life, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., reacted in a vitriolic manner to accusations that he had lusted after money as a child and yearned to be fabulously rich. Doubtless embarrassed, he contested insinuations that he was motivated by greed instead of a humble desire to serve God or humanity. He preferred to portray his fortune as a pleasant accident, the unsought by-product of hard work. Yet stories surface of Rockefeller daydreaming about money in Owego when he was only in his early teens. One day, strolling by the Susquehanna with a friend, he blurted out: “Some day, sometime, when I am a man, I want to be worth a-hundred-thousand-dollars. And I’m going to be, too—some day.”<sup>64</sup> Nearly identical accounts come from so many sources that one is forced to conclude he had conveniently expunged such memories. Given his father’s panting ardor for money, it would have been strange had he *not* been bewitched by gold.

There was nothing unusual about Rockefeller’s boyhood dreams, for the times were feeding avaricious fantasies in millions of susceptible schoolboys. Antebellum America was a place of high adventure and unbounded opportunity for industrious young men. Following the war with Mexico, huge chunks of land—Texas, New Mexico, and upper California—were annexed to the country in early 1848. That same year, gold was discovered at John Sutter’s sawmill in California, triggering a mad westward rush of ninety thousand prospectors. Just as the Rockefellers were moving from Moravia to Owego, hordes of frantic men swarmed across the continent, sailed around South America, or slogged across the Isthmus of Panama, hell-bent to reach California. The pandemonium foreshadowed the petroleum craze in western Pennsylvania a decade later. Though the gold rush proved a snare and

a delusion for most miners, the occasional success stories nonetheless inflamed the popular imagination. Mark Twain singled out the California gold rush as the watershed event that sanctified a new money worship and debased the country's founding ideals.

Before he left Owego, John secured a first-rate education, then a rarity in rural America, where few children attended secondary school. At first, the Rockefeller children went to a schoolhouse a short walk from their house; due to the family's straitened circumstances, a friendly neighbor purchased their textbooks. In August 1852, John and William entered Owego Academy, which had been founded in 1827 and was unquestionably the finest secondary school in that part of New York. Topped by a tall steeple, fenced in by lovely parkland, the three-story brick school building must have awed the still-rustic Rockefeller boys. Presiding over the academy was an able Scot, Dr. William Smythe, who made the students hone their verbal skills by writing fortnightly essays and delivering speeches on assigned themes; the linguistic skills mastered at Owego became evident in Rockefeller's concise business letters. The school produced many eminent graduates, including Thomas C. Platt, later the "Easy Boss" who ran the New York Republican machine, and Washington Gladden, the preacher who issued some of the most scorching screeds directed against Standard Oil.

Many of the 350 pupils came from affluent urban families, and John later lauded this exposure to city boys, saying it was "bound to benefit country boys."<sup>65</sup> The school charged a steep tuition of three dollars per term, suggesting that Bill's medical road show was finally prospering after two years in Owego. John never expressed resentment at being, by academy standards, a poor boy. When a photographer came to shoot class pictures, John and William were excluded because their suits were too shabby. Other boys might have smarted, but John always prized his daguerreotypes of his fellow scholars, later insisting, "I would not part with this collection for any money."<sup>66</sup> In Eliza Rockefeller's household, one didn't morbidly dwell on slights but kept one's sights fixed on the practical goals ahead. John never aspired to popularity at the school. It was as if, after the inordinate attention that his father attracted, John wanted to be quiet and inconspicuous and blend into the crowd.

While many well-to-do students boarded at the school, the Rockefeller boys undertook a three-mile hike to school every morning and, like many students, wandered barefoot down the dusty lanes in warm weather. This long trek led John past fine, imposing homes with well-trimmed lawns facing the Susquehanna River. With his slow, deliberate pace, he often set out early and reflected in an unhurried manner as he walked, his eyes always fixed on the ground ahead. Not averse to taking shortcuts, however, he sometimes sat by the roadside and asked passing teamsters for a lift.

John was a plodding, lackluster student, with no discernible trace of brilliance, and only one aspect of school life truly seemed to intrigue him. Every Saturday, the principal demonstrated the newfangled devices then revolutionizing American business, and John was riveted by displays of a telegraph instrument (invented by Samuel F. B. Morse in 1837), galvanic batteries, and other modern contrivances. Such things captured his mind more than the rousing social issues raised by Harriet Beecher Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was published in 1852 in horrified response to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

To the extent that the Rockefeller children had difficulties with schoolwork, it stemmed from the chaotic situation at home. For five growing, energetic children, their small cottage was noisy and cramped. Each evening, Eliza packed her brood off to a teenage neighbor named Susan La Monte, who tutored them and ensured that they completed their homework. She remembered William and Frank as typically mischievous boys, kicking and teasing each other, while John was oddly self-possessed, already a boy-man, a model of adult decorum. "I have no recollection of John excelling at anything. I do remember he worked hard at everything; not talking much, and studying with great industry. . . . There was nothing about him to make anybody pay especial attention to him or speculate about his future."<sup>67</sup>

An 1852 photo of the Rockefeller children shows John, age thirteen, William, eleven, and Mary Ann, nine, sitting in the inky gloom of a photo studio. They are a cheerless trio as they stare blankly into the camera. Wearing a plaid suit, and with his hair neatly brushed back from a wide forehead, John has a long, impassive face, and his expression is inscrutable. William has a softer, rounder face, and his garments—including a polka-dotted vest and a watch chain—suggest his father's more outgoing personality. Mary Ann wears the plain dress of a farm girl, her hair in pigtailed and parted down the middle. Although the group portrait suggests middle-class respectability, its somber mood—which also must owe something to the slower photography of the day—discloses something less than the idyllic boyhood John liked to evoke.

The drudgery of daily life was often leavened by play as John had his first chances to flirt with young ladies, and he exhibited flashes of droll wit. One afternoon, at a Sunday picnic—he was perhaps twelve—he passed a group of young ladies seated before heaps of food and observed, "Remember, girls, if you eat slowly, you can eat more!"<sup>68</sup> Rockefeller was intensely aware of the opposite sex yet, knowing of his father's history, kept his impulses under tight control. Susan La Monte saw a sensitivity in the boy that escaped casual observers; she was struck by "his great admiration of beauty. There was a little girl going to school near our home, a pretty little thing named Freer, with red cheeks and bright eyes and a sweet face. In after years Mr. Rockefeller would ask for her, and when she was left a widow in distress he aided her with a modest pension."<sup>69</sup> Susan La Monte saw that the boy's eerie self-discipline concealed a deep fund of emotion, and she remembered the ceremony of grief he went through when one of her sisters died. "On the day she died John came to our house and stretched out on the ground and would not go away. He was so sorry that he would not go away, but lay there all day."<sup>70</sup> Such stories reveal a sensitivity in Rockefeller that would always be there but that would later be studiously concealed behind the polished façade of the hard-driving businessman.



*Margaret Allen, who first met William Avery Rockefeller in the early 1850s, while she was still in her teens. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*



## Bound to Be Rich

As a roving salesman, William Avery Rockefeller was fast becoming a relic of an earlier America when markets were extended not by new methods of communication or transportation but by the salesman simply covering more ground. A magnetic pull lured Big Bill even farther west, away from the burgeoning cities and industries of the eastern seaboard and toward remote hamlets on the American frontier. In early 1853, the Rockefellers were again uprooted and swept along in the whirlwind of Bill's life when he took them by train to a prairie town in Ohio called Strongsville, about a dozen miles southwest of Cleveland. At this juncture, Bill quietly began to distance himself from his dazed family, having formed a new romantic attachment that proved far deeper than earlier infidelities and that finally severed his familial ties.

Where Eliza and the children had at least enjoyed their own homes in Richford, Moravia, and Owego, retaining some modicum of dignity, Bill now dumped them at the home of his sister and brother-in-law, Sara Ann and William Humiston, paying his relatives three hundred dollars a year to board his clan. To his hapless family, this must have seemed, after all their wanderings, terribly unfair. Their lives had always been uncommonly restless, but now they were castoffs, pariahs in a strange new Ohio town, tumbling back down the social ladder they had so arduously climbed.

The six Rockefellers were squashed into a small house with six or seven Humistons, even though Bill seems to have been flush with cash at the time. Years later, Billy Humiston insisted that Devil Bill was considered rich, that he gave out loans at hefty rates, kept three or four fine guns, stocked a rich wardrobe, and sported diamond rings and a gold watch—all of which suggested that the abrupt move to Ohio was less a matter of financial stringency than of personal convenience.<sup>1</sup> The Humistons greatly admired Eliza for her excellent business head and thrifty money management, but enormous tension was bottled up in the overcrowded Humiston household. Billy junior later portrayed his cousins William and Frank as very rowdy and John as a prig. "John was just such a boy as he is a man—sanctimonious and precise."<sup>2</sup> Fortunately for all concerned, the Rockefellers soon moved out and took up residence on a small farm at the edge of Strongsville.

By now Big Bill had relinquished all interest in lumber and other settled trades and had permanently assumed the persona of the rambling doctor or "botanic physician," as he was soon listed in the Cleveland directory. In the first year after he deposited his family in Strongsville, Bill returned only three or four times, but, by a curious fluke, the townspeople learned a good deal about his fraudulent activities on the road. One day, a Strongsville resident, Joe Webster, checked into a hotel in Richfield, Ohio, and was stunned to see a sign in the lobby trumpeting the news, "Dr. William A. Rockefeller, the Celebrated Cancer Specialist, Here for One Day Only. All cases of cancer cured unless too far gone and then can be greatly benefited." Soon after, with the smooth vaudevillian patter employed by so many patent-medicine vendors, Bill collected a crowd outside the hotel. Standing up in his buggy, his sign propped against the wheels, a showman in a silk hat, black frock coat, and dark red beard, he presented himself as Doc Rockefeller and offered full-fledged cancer cures for the extremely steep price of twenty-five dollars; those strapped for cash could purchase cheaper bottles of medicine. When Webster approached him afterward, Bill wasn't abashed and bragged that he had lately been "doctoring" as far afield as Iowa and was buying up land there. After Webster returned to Strongsville and told of his startling discovery, word quickly got around town and everybody thereafter referred to their shadowy, footloose neighbor as Doc Rockefeller—doubtless with some mirth. The moniker stuck.

In the fall of 1853, after eight months in Strongsville, Big Bill decided that the time had come for John and William to resume their educations, so he drove them into Cleveland and settled them as boarders with a Mrs. Woodin on Erie Street, where they paid a dollar a week for room and board. John was penalized by the Cleveland schools because his family had moved around so much. In the sole extant reference to the matter, he wrote in 1923, "I had just come from New York State and recall my humiliation in being obliged to remain one term in the old Clinton Street School—I had been for several years in the Owego Academy . . . and supposed I should go at once into the High School instead of the Grammar School."<sup>3</sup> For this proud boy, the demotion must have been one of many small but wounding indignities suffered during these anxious years.

When John finally entered high school (later called Central High School) in 1854 at the age of fifteen, it was still a modest, one-story affair, shaded by trees and standing behind a clean white picket fence; it would receive a much fancier new building in 1856. Operating on the progressive theory of free education for boys and girls, the school enjoyed a superb reputation. Since it stressed composition, John had to submit essays on four topics to advance to the next grade: "Education," "Freedom," "The Character of St. Patrick," and "Recollections of the Past." At a time when America was deeply split over the question of extending slavery to new territories—the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed in May 1854—these writings exhibit Rockefeller as a young democrat and confirmed abolitionist. In "Freedom," he branded it a "violation of the laws of our country and the laws of our God that man should hold his fellow man in bondage." Unless slavery was curbed speedily, he prophesied, it "will end in the ruin of our country."<sup>4</sup> America would only progress, he believed, with an educated citizenry. "In former times when learning was confined to the monks and priests, then it was that the world stood still, and it was not until the people were educated and began to think for themselves that it progressed."<sup>5</sup> Such views on abolitionism and universal literacy echoed those of northern Baptist evangelicals who scorned political no less than ecclesiastical despotism. As a self-made man, Rockefeller would always deplore aristocracies and priesthoods as effete, reactionary foes of true progress, defenders of privilege against enterprising commoners.

Rockefeller expressed himself with great clarity and precision. (Schoolmates called him "John D." because he signed his essays this way.) He also excelled as a debater, demonstrating that beneath his reserved manner he could articulate his thoughts forcefully. He began one speech with the line "I'm pleased although I'm sad," and this gambit so tickled his fellow students that they nicknamed him "Old Pleased-Although-I'm-Sad."<sup>6</sup> He bore another, equally doleful nickname, "the Deacon," and it says much about his preferences that he actually *liked* this sobriquet. As his future sister-in-law, Lucy Spelman, said, "He was a studious boy, grave, reserved, never noisy or given to boisterous play."<sup>7</sup> Rockefeller frequently hugged his slate to his chest, a pose that hinted at his guarded nature.

However private or solitary, John D. always had his quota of friends. One close chum was Mark Hanna, the descendant of well-to-do grocers and commodity brokers and later a U.S. senator and Republican Party boss. Another friend, Darwin Jones, who formed a boyhood triumvirate with them,

recalled the sharply etched contrast between Hanna and Rockefeller. “Mark was of the virile type, always active and took part in almost all forms of athletics, while John Rockefeller was reserved, studious, though always pleasant. No matter what the excitement, John retained his quietude and smiled on all occasions.”<sup>8</sup> In future years, Rockefeller cringed when Mark Hanna was quoted posthumously as describing him as “sane in every respect save one—he is money mad!”<sup>9</sup> As at Owego Academy, classmates in Cleveland remembered Rockefeller voicing the fervent wish to be worth a hundred thousand dollars someday.

John’s boyhood gravity pleased many adults but unsettled others, who found something queer and unnatural about him. One high-school teacher described him, with patent distaste, as “the coldest blooded, the quietest and most deliberate chap.”<sup>10</sup> Even as a teenager, Rockefeller demanded to be treated with adult dignity. In recollecting the school principal, Dr. Emerson E. White, Rockefeller mentioned only his behavior toward him: “Mr. White was a gentleman. He treated me like a gentleman—and treated all the boys so.”<sup>11</sup> Rockefeller was sensitive about adults who behaved in a high-handed fashion toward him. Having assumed so much responsibility at home, he now thought of himself as a mature person. Bill had set him up with his own bank account, and his life was far more independent than those of his classmates.

This tough, self-possessed boy had no tincture of rebellion in his makeup. Seeing his education solely in utilitarian terms, he studied hard but showed no intellectual playfulness. “I was very sedate and earnest,” he said, “preparing to meet the responsibilities of life.”<sup>12</sup> Once again, he displayed a fantastic mind for numbers. “Arithmetical problems most attracted him,” said Lucy Spelman, “for he had been taught at home to keep accurate account of his gains and losses.”<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps the most surprising dimension of John D.’s early adolescence was his deep absorption in music. He even briefly aspired to be a musician and practiced the piano for up to six hours a day, driving Eliza mad with the racket while they still lived in Owego. The piano was then the symbol of a decorous middle-class home and his playing might have hinted at his genteel aspirations. For a man who would distrust other art forms as vaguely subversive, encouraging ungovernable emotions and pagan sensuality, music provided him with an artistic medium that he could wholeheartedly enjoy with church approval.

For the teenage boy, Mrs. Woodin’s boardinghouse was an education in itself. Her daughter, Martha, was several years older than John and William, and they engaged in lively, heated discussions on many topics, with the bright, outspoken Mrs. Woodin often joining in. The most controversial topic was lending money at interest. In an extremely peculiar arrangement, John, age fifteen, was already lending small sums to his father at interest; never sentimental when it came to business, he simply charged his father what the traffic would bear—a practice Bill probably applauded enthusiastically. According to Rockefeller, Mrs. Woodin was “violently opposed to loaners obtaining high rates of interest, and we had frequent and earnest arguments on the subject.”<sup>14</sup> It was typical of Rockefeller that this question of business method and morality occupied his attention far more than the esoteric matters found in schoolbooks.

As if embarrassed by his peripatetic family life, Rockefeller tended to oversimplify the chronology of his early years, especially when speaking of his adolescence. After a year in Strongsville, John claimed, his family moved to Parma, about seven miles south of Cleveland, then into their own house in Cleveland proper. In fact, he omitted a critical two-step Cleveland detour before the shift to Parma, as can be gleaned from a revealing anecdote told by his school principal, Dr. White: “One day in 1854 a tall, angular boy came to me and said that his widowed mother and two sisters were coming to Cleveland to live and he wished my help in finding a temporary home for them.” The good-natured White invited the Rockefellers to move in with him and his new bride, and John “liked the idea and always insisted that it was a happy time for his mother.”<sup>15</sup>

Two words leap from the story—*widowed mother*. It seems of some psychological significance that the first recorded instance of Rockefeller’s capacity to lie came in an effort to hush up his father’s existence—in fact, to bury him alive. Since Bill popped up in Cleveland three or four times a year, it took a certain cheek for his son to invent this story. The small episode acquires added interest when one notes that more than thirty years later, when Eliza died before Bill did, John instructed the preacher to describe her as a widow at the funeral. Further, despite the principal’s gracious response, it must have been perfectly dreadful for John, as a teenager, to go on a begging mission to find temporary lodgings for his family.

When Bill reappeared, he moved his family to a house on Perry Street in downtown Cleveland, rented from a Mr. O. J. Hodge, who remembered John as “an unassuming youth who showed none of the hilarity often seen in boys of that age. Usually he sat quietly in his chair listening to what was being said.”<sup>16</sup> As had been true since the Richford days, Bill was scrupulous about making timely rent payments. “Never was rent—\$200 for a year—paid more promptly, nor did I have in all respects a better tenant,” said the landlord.<sup>17</sup> Before the year was out, Bill had resettled his family on a ten-acre, creek-side farm in Parma while John returned to Mrs. Woodin, who had relocated first to Saint Clair Street and then to Hamilton Street.

A contemporary photo of John with his two sisters and two brothers, all of them unsmiling, is again drenched in a mortuary gloom. Now a tall, thin boy who weighed about 140 pounds, John had tidily brushed light brown hair and clothes that were always clean and presentable. He later laughed at his solemn boyhood demeanor: “From fourteen years of age to twenty-five I was much more dignified than I am now,” he said with truth in his seventies.<sup>18</sup> In Strongsville and Parma, Eliza fretted about the ubiquitous taverns in town and worked hard to shield her children from illicit entertainments. She must have been especially alarmed as her eldest son approached that perilous rite of passage, first love. Interestingly, John D. reenacted his father’s penchant for dalliances with the domestic help. In Strongsville, Eliza hired a household assistant, a pretty young farmer’s daughter named Melinda Miller, who did chores for the family and shared their meals. When the Rockefellers moved to Parma, Melinda resumed working for them, and John, a year younger than she, often came out from Cleveland to take walks with her. Rumors soon drifted about town that John had taken away the girl’s virginity. Whatever the truth, the Millers raised an unholy ruckus about the romance. In one of the less prophetic judgments in parental history, they argued that they didn’t want their daughter to throw herself away on a young man with such poor prospects. According to legend, one of Melinda’s parents came to fetch her by buggy to break up the liaison. Eventually, she married young Joe Webster, whose father had discovered Big Bill’s doctor act.<sup>19</sup> From the standpoint of Rockefeller’s career, the failure of this relationship was fortunate, for he ended up with a woman of much greater social standing and intellectual attainment, who would provide him with the strong, stable home life and religious certitude that he craved.

At this point, we need to sketch in some events in William Avery Rockefeller's life in the early 1850s, for his behavior began to shade over from the eccentric to the quasi-pathological. A man of multiple disguises, he had always been fond of assuming names; even when he first arrived in Richford, he had told some people that his name was Rockafellow. During the Owego years, Bill occasionally appeared in surrounding towns and presented himself as an eye-and-ear specialist named Dr. William Levingston. We know now that by the time he transplanted his family to Ohio, he was leading a full-blown double life as both Dr. William A. Rockefeller and Dr. William Levingston, the latter name appropriated from the town of his father's birth, Livingston, New York. While this second name probably began as a simple alias to shield his family from his shady practices, it hardened in the early 1850s into a separate identity away from home. Bill's traveling partner in his later years attributed Bill's use of the pseudonym to the fact that he was practicing medicine without a license or diploma and always feared retribution from indignant local doctors, who instigated legal proceedings against him on several occasions.<sup>20</sup>

In the last gasp of his lumber career, Bill had ventured north into Canada in the early 1850s, buying up fine walnut and ash and selling it at a handsome profit to timber mills. After he moved to the town of Niagara, Ontario (almost certainly without his family's knowledge), he began to canvass the surrounding countryside as a traveling doctor. "Dr. Levingston" was a blatant quack, but he partially believed his own bombast and had enough success stories to deceive his patients and perhaps even himself. As his future partner said, "He had not studied medicine in any college. But he was a natural healer and had great skill. He had great fame in Canada and northern New York."<sup>21</sup>

Devil Bill had an unerring instinct for spotting those pretty, docile, long-suffering women who would patiently endure his escapades. Around 1852, with his oblivious family still in Owego, he met a lovely, gentle teenage girl in Norwich, Ontario, named Margaret Allen. Bill was then forty-two and Margaret about seventeen, or only four years older than John D. By a small oversight, Dr. Levingston neglected to mention his other life as Doc Rockefeller, to say nothing of his wife and five children, and he wooed Margaret like a lusty bachelor. Bill was an expert confidence man, and Margaret's trusting family was totally fooled. "He was a steady, temperate man of good habits, kind hearted, sociable and well liked by everybody," said Margaret's sister of this jolly wooer. "He was a famous marksman and loved to hunt. He was fond of a good story."<sup>22</sup> Doc Levingston was clearly more popular with the Allens than Doc Rockefeller had been with the Davisons, and Bill was tempted to start afresh with an adoring, innocent young woman, supported by a friendly family. On June 12, 1855, he married Margaret Allen in Nichols, New York, just south of Owego, and started a clandestine life as a bigamist that would persist for the rest of his days.

One can plausibly argue that every time Bill moved his family to another town, it related to his secret philandering, and that he probably relocated his family in Cleveland because Ontario lay just across Lake Erie. True to his earlier behavior, Bill didn't take up permanent residence with Margaret at first. To initiate her into his capricious ways, he started out by visiting her in Ontario once a year and staying with her credulous family. He didn't plan, at the outset, to desert his original family, and for a time in the 1850s Bill continued to tread a tightrope between his old and new wives, neither of whom knew of the existence of the other.

It seems likely that Bill's second marriage had immediate repercussions in the life of his oldest son. All along John had planned to attend college, with Eliza fortifying his resolve in the hope that he would someday become a Baptist minister. Then he received a letter from his father that dispelled his dreams. As he recalled, "My father . . . conveyed an intimation that I was not to go [to college]. I felt at once that I must get to work, find a situation somewhere."<sup>23</sup> Rockefeller never clarified why he dropped out of high school around May 1855, just two months shy of commencement exercises on July 16, but Bill's second marriage on June 12 supplies the missing piece of the puzzle. About to enter into his second marriage, Bill must have been drastically scaling back on firstfamily expenditures, albeit without disclosing the reason for the sudden urgency. As John said, "There were younger brothers and sisters to educate and it seemed wise for me to go into business."<sup>24</sup> Bill was eager to groom his eldest son as the surrogate father who would care for Eliza during his longer absences.

Never a great believer in book learning, Bill probably derided a college degree as a costly indulgence at a time when people didn't equate it with enhanced income. Young men on the make were more likely to attend so-called business colleges or to take correspondence courses to supplement their education. Following his father's suggestion, John paid forty dollars for a three-month course of study at E. G. Folsom's Commercial College, a chain college with branches in seven cities. The Cleveland branch occupied the top floor of the Rouse Building, the town's premier office building, which overlooked the Public Square. It taught double-entry bookkeeping, clear penmanship, and the essentials of banking, exchange, and commercial law—the sort of purposeful courses that appealed to John. By the time his studies ended in the summer of 1855, he had turned sixteen and was ready to flee the traumas of his family life by focusing his energies on a promising business situation.

Perhaps no job search in American history has been so mythologized as that begun by sixteen-year-old John D. Rockefeller in the sweltering Cleveland of August 1855. Although he was a rural boy, his family hadn't been full-time farmers, and this must have made it easier for him to escape from his small-town, agricultural past and enter the new market economy. Though times were tough, the boy set out with no modest ambition as he pored over the city directory, identifying those establishments with high credit ratings. Already endowed with instinctive respect for big business, he knew exactly what he wanted. "I went to the railroads, to the banks, to the wholesale merchants," he later said. "I did not go to any small establishments. I did not guess what it would be, but I was after something big."<sup>25</sup> Most of the businesses he visited lay in a bustling area known as the Flats, where the Cuyahoga River twisted through a clanging, roaring landscape of lumber mills, iron foundries, warehouses, and shipyards before emptying into Lake Erie, which was crowded with side-wheel steamboats and schooners. His quest had a touch of callow grandiosity. At each firm, he asked to speak to the top man—who was usually unavailable—then got straight to the point with an assistant: "I understand bookkeeping, and I'd like to get work."<sup>26</sup>

Despite incessant disappointment, he doggedly pursued a position. Each morning, he left his boardinghouse at eight o'clock, clothed in a dark suit with a high collar and black tie, to make his rounds of appointed firms. This grimly determined trek went on each day—six days a week for six consecutive weeks—until late in the afternoon. The streets were so hot and hard that he grew footsore from pacing them. His perseverance surely owed something to his desire to end his reliance upon his fickle father. At one point, Bill suggested that if John didn't find work he might have to return to the country; the thought of such dependence upon his father made "a cold chill" run down his spine, Rockefeller later said.<sup>27</sup> Because he approached his job hunt devoid of any doubt or self-pity, he could stare down all discouragement. "I was working every day at my business—the business of looking for

work. I put in my full time at this every day.”<sup>28</sup> He was a confirmed exponent of positive thinking.

With almost thirty thousand inhabitants, Cleveland was a boomtown that would have thrilled any young man avid for business experience. It had drawn many transplants from New England who had brought along the Puritan mores and Yankee trading culture of their old hometowns. While the streets were largely unpaved and the town lacked a sewage system, Cleveland was expanding rapidly, with immigrants pouring in from Germany and England as well as the eastern seaboard. The plenty of the Midwest passed through this commercial crossroads of the Western Reserve: coal from Pennsylvania and West Virginia, iron ore from around Lake Superior, salt from Michigan, grain and corn from the plains states. As a port on Lake Erie and the Ohio Canal, Cleveland was a natural hub for transportation networks. When the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati Railroad arrived in 1851, it created excellent opportunities for transport by both water and rail, and nobody would more brilliantly exploit these options than John D. Rockefeller.

For all the thriving waterfront commerce, the job prospects were momentarily bleak. “No one wanted a boy, and very few showed any overwhelming anxiety to talk with me on the subject,” said Rockefeller.<sup>29</sup> When he exhausted his list, he simply started over from the top and visited several firms two or three times. Another boy might have been crestfallen, but Rockefeller was the sort of stubborn person who only grew more determined with rejection.

Then, on the morning of September 26, 1855, he walked into the offices of Hewitt and Tuttle, commission merchants and produce shippers on Merwin Street. He was interviewed by Henry B. Tuttle, the junior partner, who needed help with the books and asked him to return after lunch. Ecstatic, Rockefeller walked with restraint from the office, but when he got downstairs and rounded the corner, he skipped down the street with pure joy. Even as an elderly man, he saw the moment as endowed with high drama: “All my future seemed to hinge on that day; and I often tremble when I ask myself the question: ‘What if I had not got the job?’”<sup>30</sup> In a “fever of anxiety,” Rockefeller waited until the noon-day meal was over, then returned to the office, where he was interviewed by senior partner Isaac L. Hewitt. Owner of a good deal of Cleveland real estate and a founder of the Cleveland Iron Mining Company, Hewitt must have seemed a mighty capitalist indeed. After scrutinizing the boy’s penmanship, he declared, “We’ll give you a chance.”<sup>31</sup> They were evidently in urgent need of an assistant bookkeeper, since they told Rockefeller to hang up his coat and go straight to work, without any mention of wages. In those days, it wasn’t unusual for an adolescent to serve an unpaid apprenticeship, and it was three months before John received his first humble, retroactive pay. For the rest of his life, he would honor September 26 as “Job Day” and celebrate it with more genuine brio than his birthday. One is tempted to say that his real life began on that day, that he was born again in business as he would be in the Erie Street Baptist Mission Church. All the latent dynamism that had been dormant during his country youth would now quicken into robust, startling life in the business world. He was finally liberated from Big Bill, the endless flight from town to town, the whole crazy upside-down world of his boyhood.

Poised on a high stool, bent over musty ledger books at Hewitt and Tuttle, the new clerk could gaze from the window and watch the busy wharves or canal barges drifting by on the Cuyahoga River a block away. Though his day began at dawn, in an office lit dimly by whale-oil lamps, this mercantile world never struck him as arid or boring but “was delightful to me—all the method and system of the office.”<sup>32</sup> Work enchanted him, work liberated him, work supplied him with a new identity. “My duties were vastly more interesting than those of an office boy in a large house today,” he later said.<sup>33</sup> The mature Rockefeller liked to dub himself “just a man of figures,” and he found nothing dry or soporific about the tall ledgers.<sup>34</sup> Having helped Eliza keep the books, he enjoyed a head start. “As I began my life as a bookkeeper, I learned to have great respect for figures and facts, no matter how small they were. . . . I had a passion for detail which afterward I was forced to strive to modify.”<sup>35</sup>

Business historians and sociologists have stressed the centrality of accounting to capitalist enterprise. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Max Weber identified “rational bookkeeping” as integral to capitalism’s spirit and organization.<sup>36</sup> For Joseph Schumpeter, capitalism “turns the unit of money into a tool of rational cost-profit calculations, of which the towering monument is double-entry bookkeeping.”<sup>37</sup> It thus seems fitting that John D. Rockefeller, the archetypal capitalist, betrayed a special affinity for accounting and an almost mystic faith in numbers. For Rockefeller, ledgers were sacred books that guided decisions and saved one from fallible emotion. They gauged performance, exposed fraud, and ferreted out hidden inefficiencies. In an imprecise world, they rooted things in a solid empirical reality. As he chided slipshod rivals, “Many of the brightest kept their books in such a way that they did not actually know when they were making money on a certain operation and when they were losing.”

When Hewitt and Tuttle assigned Rockefeller to pay the bills, he went at this task with an undisguised zeal, a precocious virtuosity, and “attended [to it] with more responsibility than the spending of my own funds.”<sup>38</sup> He closely reviewed the bills, confirming the validity of each item and carefully adding up the totals. He pounced on errors of even a few cents and reacted with scornful amazement when the boss next door handed his clerk a lengthy, unexamined plumbing bill and blithely said, “Please pay this bill.”<sup>39</sup> Rockefeller was appalled by such cavalier indifference, having just caught the same firm in an overcharge of several cents. One suspects that this stickler for detail taught Hewitt and Tuttle a thing or two about economy. “I recall that there was one captain who was always putting in claims for damages to shipments and I decided to investigate. I examined all the invoices, bills of lading and other documents and found this captain had presented entirely unwarranted claims. He never did it again.”<sup>40</sup> In all probability, the boy’s orderly nature reflected a need to govern potentially unruly emotions, an exaggerated reaction to his disorderly father and helter-skelter childhood.

Besides writing letters, keeping books, and paying bills, young Rockefeller also served as a one-man collection agency for Hewitt’s rental properties. Although patient and polite, he displayed a bulldog tenacity that took people by surprise. Sitting outside in his buggy, pale and patient as an undertaker, he would wait until the debtor capitulated. He dunned people as if his life depended upon it, an experience apparently laced with considerable anxiety. “How many times I have dreamed now and then up to recent years that I was trying to collect those bills!” he marveled fifty years later. “I would wake up exclaiming: ‘I can’t collect So-and-So’s account!’”<sup>41</sup> One explanation for his anxiety is that his flight from his distressing family life was still tenuous, and failure at work would mean reverting to reliance on his father. Another explanation is that while he was persistent, he was also extremely slow; as at school, some people thought him a rather dim-witted dolt who would never rise in the world, and he had to prove himself to naysayers.

However modest an operation, Hewitt and Tuttle was an excellent training ground for an aspiring young businessman, for it exposed Rockefeller to a broad commercial universe. Before the Civil War, most businesses still confined themselves to a single service or product. Hewitt and Tuttle, in contrast, traded a wide array of commodities on commission. Though it had started out dealing in foodstuffs, it had pioneered in importing iron ore from Lake Superior three years before Rockefeller was hired. The firm relied upon the railroad and the telegraph, the two technologies then revolutionizing

the American economy. As Rockefeller remarked, “My eyes were opened to the business of transportation”—no small thing, given Standard Oil’s subsequent controversial relations with the railroads.<sup>42</sup> Even a simple consignment of Vermont marble to Cleveland required complex calculations of the relative costs of railroad, canal, and lake transportation. “The cost of losses or damage had to be somehow fixed between these three different carriers, and it taxed all the ingenuity of a boy of 17 to work out this problem to the satisfaction of all concerned, including my employers.”<sup>43</sup> No business experience was ever wasted upon Rockefeller.

On the last day of 1855, Hewitt handed Rockefeller \$50 for three months of work, or slightly more than 50 cents a day. Effective immediately, Hewitt announced, the assistant bookkeeper would have his wages boosted sharply to \$25 a month or \$300 per year. Oddly, Rockefeller felt guilty about the raise: “I felt like a criminal.”<sup>44</sup> Again, one has a hunch that he was jubilant but feared, out of religious scruples, his own greed. Accumulating money was one thing, Rockefeller knew, but outwardly coveting it was another.

In many ways, John D. Rockefeller exemplified the enterprising young businessman of his era. Thrifty, punctual, industrious, he was a fervent adherent of the gospel of success. He could have been the hero of any of the 119 inspirational tracts soon to be penned by Horatio Alger, Jr., books that bore such sonorous titles as *Strive and Succeed*, *Luck and Pluck*, *Brave and Bold*, and *Bound to Rise*. This last title, in fact, echoed Rockefeller’s ecstatic boast to an older businessman one day: “I am bound to be rich—bound to be rich—BOUND TO BE RICH!” He was said to have punctuated this refrain by several smart, emphatic whacks on his companion’s knee.<sup>45</sup> And John D. didn’t become demonstrative about too many topics.

Though Rockefeller steadfastly denied these stories of his boyhood obsession with money, he related the following story of his time at Hewitt and Tuttle:

*I was a young man when I got my first look at a banknote of any size. I was clerking at the time down on the Flats here. One day my employer received a note from a down-State bank for \$4,000. He showed it to me in the course of the day’s business, and then put it in the safe. As soon as he was gone I unlocked the safe, and taking out that note, stared at it with open eyes and mouth, and then replaced it and double-locked the safe. It seemed like an awfully large sum to me, an unheard of amount, and many times during the day did I open that safe to gaze longingly at the note.*<sup>46</sup>

In this story, one can almost feel the erotic charge that the banknote aroused in the boy, the way it cast a hypnotic trance over him. One is reminded of how Big Bill bundled his bills, stored them away, then enjoyed peeking at his hidden treasure. This lusting after money is the more striking in a phlegmatic young man who claimed never to struggle with disruptive impulses. “I never had a craving for tobacco, or tea and coffee,” he once stated flatly. “I never had a craving for anything.”<sup>47</sup>

If motivated by greed more than he ever cared to admit, Rockefeller also derived a glandular pleasure from work and never found it cheerless drudgery. In fact, the business world entranced him as a fount of inexhaustible wonders. “It is by no means for money alone that these active-minded men labor—they are engaged in a fascinating occupation,” he wrote in his memoirs, published in 1908–1909. “The zest of the work is maintained by something better than the mere accumulation of money.”<sup>48</sup>

Because American culture encouraged—nay, glorified—acquisitive behavior, there was always the possibility that it might be taken to extremes and people would end up enslaved by their greed. As a result, children were taught to monitor and supervise their behavior. In his posthumously published *Autobiography*, Benjamin Franklin describes how he drew up a little moral ledger that allowed him, at a glance, to track his virtues and vices every day. Many people in the mid-nineteenth century kept such journals to enforce thrift and also objectify their moral performance. Adolescents kept diaries larded with pep talks, exhortations, inspirations, and warnings. Andrew Carnegie wrote hortatory memos to himself, while William C. Whitney kept a small notebook of little homilies. A contradictory impulse was at work: People were spurring themselves to excel but also trying to curb their insatiable appetites in the new competitive economy.

John D. Rockefeller took such internal monitoring to an advanced stage. Like a good Puritan, he scrutinized his daily activities and regulated his desires, hoping to banish spontaneity and unpredictability from his life. Whenever his ambition was about to devour him, his conscience urged restraint. Since he worked a long day at Hewitt and Tuttle, business threatened to become an overwhelming compulsion. Starting work each day at 6:30 A.M., he brought a box lunch to the office and often returned after dinner, staying late. One day he decided to throttle this obsession. “I have this day covenanted with myself not to be seen in [the office] after 10 o’clock P.M. within 30 days,” he wrote to himself.<sup>49</sup> It is telling that the young man made such a pledge to himself and equally revealing that he found it impossible to obey.

No less than his business life, Rockefeller’s private life was ruled by bookkeeping entries. Since he found numbers so clean and soothing in their simplicity, he applied the business principles of Hewitt and Tuttle to his own personal economy. When he started working in September 1855, he paid a dime for a small red book, anointed Ledger A, in which he minutely recorded his receipts and expenditures. Many of his young contemporaries kept such record books but seldom with such exacting care. For the remainder of his life, Rockefeller treated Ledger A as his most sacred relic. Producing it before Bible classes more than fifty years later, he became almost tearful and trembled as he thumbed its pages, so potent were the emotions it evoked. At a Bible class of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church in 1897, a deeply moved Rockefeller held the book aloft and intoned, “I haven’t seen this book for twenty-five years. You couldn’t get it from me for all the modern ledgers in New York and what they all would bring in.”<sup>50</sup> The book rested in a safety-deposit vault, like some priceless heirloom.

As Ledger A confirms, Rockefeller was now self-supporting and entirely free of his father, spending half his income for his lodging with Mrs. Woodin and for a washerwoman. He took pride in memories of this threadbare adolescence. “I could not secure the most fashionable cut of clothing. I remember I bought mine then from a cheap clothier. He sold me clothing cheap such as I could pay for and it was a great deal better than buying clothes I could not pay for.”<sup>51</sup> He was long puzzled by one lapse from strict economy: He bought a pair of fur gloves for \$2.50 to replace his customary woolen mittens and, at age ninety, was still clucking his tongue over this shocking extravagance. “No, I can’t say to this day what caused me to waste that \$2.50 on regular gloves.”<sup>52</sup> Another expense pregnant with interest for the mature Rockefeller was his purchase of an illuminant called camphene for eighty-eight cents per gallon. Thanks to massive economies of scale, Standard Oil eventually sold a superior illuminant, kerosene, for five cents a gallon—

something Rockefeller was wont to recall when people later accused him of gouging the populace.

In one critical respect, Rockefeller didn't exaggerate the value of Ledger A, for it spoke authoritatively to the question of whether he was a rapacious man who later misused charity to cleanse a "tainted" fortune. Here Ledger A speaks with a firm and unequivocal voice: Rockefeller was fantastically charitable from boyhood. During his first year on the job, the young clerk donated about 6 percent of his wages to charity, some weeks much more. "I have my earliest ledger and when I was only making a dollar a day I was giving five, ten, or twenty-five cents to all these objects," he observed.<sup>53</sup> He gave to the Five Points Mission in a notorious lower Manhattan slum, as well as to "a poor man in church" and "a poor woman in church."<sup>54</sup> By 1859, when he was twenty, his charitable giving surpassed the 10 percent mark. Despite a pronounced tilt toward Baptist causes, he gave early hints of an ecumenical bent, contributing money to a black man in Cincinnati in 1859 so he could buy his wife out of slavery. The next year, he gave to a black church, a Methodist church, and a Catholic orphanage.

The clerk's philanthropic gifts were as salient as his business talents. It testifies to Rockefeller's deeply paradoxical nature that he was smitten by a \$4,000 banknote but equally entranced by an 1855 book entitled *Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of the Late Amos Lawrence*. A wealthy New England textile manufacturer, Lawrence gave away more than \$100,000 in a planned, thoughtful fashion. "I remember how fascinated I was with his letters," said Rockefeller, who might have gotten from Lawrence his later habit of handing out freshly minted money to people. "Crisp bills! I could see and hear them. I made up my mind that, if I could manage it, some day I would give away crisp bills, too."<sup>55</sup> However rare and admirable such thoughts are in a teenage boy, we must note that it was again a case of money exerting a magical effect upon his mind. He saw that money could bring majesty in the moral as well as secular sphere, which excited him more than fancy estates or clothes.

As if he knew he would someday be rich and had to prepare for the appointed hour, the assistant bookkeeper became a perceptive observer of the businessmen around the port and noted their avoidance of ostentation. For instance, he tremendously admired a shipping merchant named L. R. Morris and was struck "by the way he walked, the way he looked, quite unaffected by his great riches. I saw other wealthy men, and I was glad to see that they went about their business without any display of power or money. Later I saw some who wore rich jewels and luxurious clothes. It seemed unfortunate that they were led into such lavish style." If Rockefeller kept to a Quakerish sobriety of dress and later resisted the vulgar display of the Vanderbilts and other Gilded Age moguls, with their elaborate mansions and yachts, it had something to do with his Baptist beliefs, but also with the plain, understated style of the wealthy Cleveland businessmen he studied so attentively at a formative stage of his life.

Like innumerable young people before him, Rockefeller turned to the church for all-encompassing answers to intractable family problems. He possessed a sense of calling in both religion and business, with Christianity and capitalism forming the twin pillars of his life. While Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* began to chip away at many people's faith after it was published in 1859, Rockefeller's religion remained of the simple, undeviating sort. When challenges to orthodoxy arose in later decades, he stuck by the spiritual certainties of his boyhood. Because of his father's often unscrupulous behavior, the young clerk was ripe for fiery denunciations of sin and the talk of personal salvation and moral reformation that were then staples of Baptist discourse. From the beginning, his Baptist faith served as a powerful instrument to control forbidden feelings and check his father's unruly nature within him. After the constant flux of his childhood, he yearned to be rooted in a church that would act as his substitute family but without the shameful aspects of his real one.

While John and William boarded with Mrs. Woodin and her daughter, Martha, the four of them began to attend a poor, struggling church nearby called the Erie Street Baptist Mission Church. Organized three years earlier by the well-heeled First Baptist Church, the mission church was a spare white building with a belfry and tall narrow windows, standing in a flat, treeless space. Several religious revivals had rolled through Cleveland in the 1850s, and the Erie Street Baptist Mission Church was created in the aftermath of a revival meeting that lasted 150 consecutive nights.

The church gave Rockefeller the community of friends he craved and the respect and affection he needed. Having studied in Deacon Alexander Sked's Bible class, Rockefeller was recruited to the church by Sked, a florist by trade, a poetical Scot who loved to spout psalms and prophecies and seemed to know the whole Bible by heart. Born in Scotland in 1780, Sked arrived in America in 1831 and moved to Cleveland four years later. During services, he would lift his hands in supplication to God, his face shining with fervor. This pious, elderly man served as a mentor to Rockefeller, who sought him out to report the good news when he got his job at Hewitt and Tuttle, an encounter that produced an unexpected snub that Rockefeller never forgot. "Before I went away, he remarked that he liked me pretty well, but that he had always liked my brother William better. I could never think why he said that. I did not hold it against him, but it puzzled me."<sup>56</sup>

In the fall of 1854, after making a personal confession of faith, John was immersed in the baptismal basin by Deacon Sked and became a full-fledged church member. Never a snob, Rockefeller was proud of being "brought up in a mission church."<sup>57</sup> Notwithstanding his worldly ambition, he didn't seek social shortcuts to success by joining a prosperous congregation or a high-church denomination. As a loner and outsider, he was drawn by the warm fellowship of the faithful and liked the egalitarian atmosphere of the Erie Street church, which gave him the opportunity to associate, as he put it, with "people in the most humble of circumstances."<sup>58</sup> A central tenet of Baptism is the autonomy of individual congregations, and the mission churches, which weren't dominated by established families, were the most democratic of all. The Erie Street church was populated by salesmen, shop assistants, railroad conductors, factory workers, clerks, artisans, and others of extremely modest means. Even in its later, fancier incarnation as the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, the membership remained more plebeian than patrician. In his later years, Rockefeller declared, with heartfelt warmth, "How grateful I am that these associations were given to me in my early boyhood, that I was contented and happy with . . . the work in the church, with the work in the Sunday school, with the work with good people—that was my environment, and I thank God for it!"<sup>59</sup>

Instead of merely attending services, Rockefeller performed numberless tasks in the church. While still in his teens, he became a Sunday-school teacher, a trustee, and an unpaid clerk who kept the board minutes in his own hand. Free of false pride, he delighted even in menial chores, and one woman in the congregation left this vivid vignette of his ubiquitous presence:

*In those years . . . Rockefeller might have been found there any Sunday sweeping out the halls, building a fire, lighting the lamps, cleaning the walks, ushering the people to their seats, studying the bible, praying, singing, performing all the duties of an unselfish and thorough going church*

*member. . . . He was nothing but a clerk, and had little money, and yet he gave something to every organization in the little, old church. He was always very precise about it. If he said that he would give fifteen cents, not a living soul could move him to give a penny more, or a penny less. . . . He studied his Bible regularly and diligently, and he knew what was in it.* <sup>60</sup>

One notes his proprietary feeling about the church, how lovingly he tended it. In some respects, he acted as a volunteer janitor, sweeping the austere chapel, washing the windows, replenishing the candles in wall sconces or stoking the corner base burner with wood. On Sundays, he rang the bell to summon people to prayer and kindled the fire and then, to economize, snuffed out all the candles save one as people filed from the service. “Save when you can and not when you have to,” he instructed others and urged them to wear their good Sunday clothing to work as a sign of their Christian pride.<sup>61</sup> Besides Friday evening prayer meetings, he went to services twice on Sunday and was always a conspicuous figure in a straight-backed pew, kneeling and leading the congregation in prayer. He prized the special intensity of feeling that Baptists brought to their faith, which provided an emotional release lacking elsewhere in his life. With a ripe baritone voice, refined by singing lessons at church, he boomed out hymns with deep joy. His favorite, “I’ve Found a Friend,” portrayed Jesus in tenderly familiar terms: “I’ve found a Friend; oh, such a Friend! / He bled, he died to save me.”<sup>62</sup>

In a world full of snares to entrap the unsuspecting pilgrim, Rockefeller tried hard to insulate himself from all temptation. As he later saw it, “a boy must ever be careful to avoid the temptations which beset him, to select carefully his associates and give attention as well to his spiritual and . . . mental and material interests.”<sup>63</sup> Since evangelicals abstained from dancing, cards, and theater, Rockefeller restricted his private life to church socials and picnics, where he could play blindman’s buff and engage in other innocent pastimes. As a model Baptist, he was sought after by the young ladies. “The girls all liked John immensely,” said one congregant. “Some of them came dangerously near to being in love with him. He was not especially attractive in his person and his clothes were strenuously plain and well worn. He was thought much of by these spiritual minded young women because of his goodness, his religious fervor, his earnestness and willingness in the church, and his apparent sincerity and honesty of purpose.”<sup>64</sup>

Over lemonade and cake at church socials, Rockefeller developed a close attachment to a pretty young woman named Emma Saunders, who chafed that John wouldn’t broaden his social activities and insisted upon confining their dating to the church. For Rockefeller, the church was more than a set of theological positions: It was a fellowship of virtuous, like-minded people, and he always hesitated to stray too far from its protective embrace.

Though generally reserved, Rockefeller developed convivial habits in church that lingered for life, and it bothered him when people marched off right after the Sunday service. “There ought to be something that makes the church homelike,” he insisted. “Friends should be glad to see each other and to greet strangers.”<sup>65</sup> Even in later years, when huge swarms of people congregated at the church door to glimpse the world’s richest man, he would still clasp people’s hands and bask in the glow of familial warmth. The handshake acquired symbolic meaning for him, for it was “the friendly hand extended to the man who doesn’t know that he is wanted [that] brings many a one into the church. This early feeling about handshaking has stayed with me. All my life, I have enjoyed this thing that says: ‘I am your friend.’”<sup>66</sup>

Just as Rockefeller was sensitive to condescending treatment in the business world, he couldn’t stand it in the religious realm either. Since mission churches weren’t self-financing, Rockefeller and other trustees had to submit to patronizing advice from the mother church. “This strengthened our resolve to show them that we could paddle our own canoe.” <sup>67</sup> While Rockefeller’s religious faith ran strong, he was most involved in the temporal affairs of the church, which he thought should be run like a tidy business. He soon had a chance to defend the church’s solvency when it fell behind on interest payments on a \$2,000 mortgage held by a deacon. One Sunday, the pastor announced from the pulpit that this creditor threatened to foreclose on the church and that they had to raise \$2,000 very fast to survive. As the stunned congregation filed out, they found Rockefeller stationed at the door, buttonholing people and asking them to pledge specific amounts. “I pleaded, urged, and almost threatened. As each one promised, I put his name and the amount down in my little book, and continued to solicit from every possible subscriber.”<sup>68</sup> Perhaps nothing in his early life so foreshadowed his unswerving pursuit of business goals. “The plan absorbed me,” he admitted. “I contributed what I could, and my first ambition to earn money was aroused by this and similar undertakings in which I was constantly engaged.”<sup>69</sup> In a matter of months, he had raised \$2,000 and saved the church. By age twenty, he had emerged as the second most important member of the congregation, surpassed only by the preacher.

With a mostly spartan country education and scant exposure to big-city culture, John D. Rockefeller’s mind was largely furnished with precepts and phrases from his Baptist fundamentalist church. Throughout his life, he extracted from Christianity practical lessons for living and emphasized the utility of religion as a guide in mundane affairs. Over time, the American public would wonder how he squared his predatory bent with his religion, yet much that was preached in the church of his youth—at least as Rockefeller saw it—encouraged his moneymaking predilections. Far from placing obstacles in his path, the religion he encountered seemed to applaud him in his course, and he very much embodied the sometimes uneasy symbiosis between church and business that defined the emerging ethos of the post-Civil War American economy.

Rockefeller never wavered in his belief that his career was divinely favored and asserted bluntly, “God gave me my money.”<sup>70</sup> During the decades that he taught Sunday-school classes, he found plenty of scriptural evidence to buttress this claim. (Of course, his critics would cite many contrary quotations, warning of the pernicious influence of wealth.) When Benjamin Franklin was a boy, his father had pounded into his head the proverb “Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings,” and Rockefeller often presented this text to his class. Martin Luther had exhorted his congregation, “Even though [your work] seems very trivial and contemptible, make sure you regard it as great and precious, not on account of your worthiness, but because it has its place within that jewel and holy treasure, the Word and Commandment of God.”<sup>71</sup> Many eminent nineteenth-century theologians took the Calvinist view that wealth was a sign of God’s grace and poverty a telltale sign of heavenly disfavor. Henry Ward Beecher, calling poverty the fault of the poor, proclaimed in a sermon that “generally the proposition is true, that where you find the most religion you find the most worldly prosperity.”<sup>72</sup>

As to why God had singled out John D. Rockefeller for such spectacular bounty, Rockefeller always adverted to his own adherence to the doctrine of stewardship—the notion of the wealthy man as a mere instrument of God, a temporary trustee of his money, who devoted it to good causes. “It has seemed as if I was favored and got increase because the Lord knew that I was going to turn around and give it back.”<sup>73</sup> Rockefeller said this in his late seventies, and one wonders whether the equation between moneymaking and money giving only entered his mind later. Yet even as a teenager, he took

palpable pleasure in distributing money for charitable purposes, and he insisted that from an early date he discerned the intimate spiritual link between earning and dispensing money. “I remember clearly when the financial plan—if I may call it so—of my life was formed. It was out in Ohio, under the ministration of a dear old minister, who preached, ‘Get money; get it honestly and then give it wisely.’ I wrote that down in a little book.”<sup>74</sup> This echoed John Wesley’s dictum, “If those who ‘gain all they can’ and ‘save all they can,’ will likewise ‘give all they can,’ then the more they will grow in grace.”<sup>75</sup> Rockefeller operated by such spiritual double-entry bookkeeping, with his charity serving, in time, as incontestable proof of his fortune’s purity. It might well be that his early commitment to charity gave him some inner license needed to pursue wealth with unparalleled—and at times unprincipled—vigor.

As Max Weber observed, ascetic Christianity was a matchless breeding ground for would-be businessmen. The practice of tithing, for instance, instilled habits of thrift, self-denial, and careful budgeting that were invaluable assets for any aspiring capitalist. John D. Rockefeller was the Protestant work ethic in its purest form, leading a life so consistent with Weber’s classic essay that it reads like his spiritual biography. It might be useful to note some of Weber’s aperçus that apply with especial force to Rockefeller. Weber argued that the Puritans had produced a religion that validated worldly activity, with “the making of money by acquisition as the ultimate purpose” of life.<sup>76</sup> They approached business in a rational, methodical manner, banishing magic from the marketplace and reducing everything to method. Because prosperity was a sign of future salvation, the elect worked with special diligence to reassure themselves of God’s favor. Even those who amassed great wealth continued to labor, since they worked, ostensibly, for God’s glory, not for their own aggrandizement. The church didn’t want to be in the position of promoting greed, so it circumvented this problem by legitimating the pursuit of money if channeled into a calling—that is, the steady dedication to a productive task. Once a person discovered his calling, he was supposed to apply himself with all-consuming devotion, the money thus acquired being deemed a sign of God’s blessing.

One by-product of the emphasis on a calling was that Puritans relegated activities outside the religious and economic sphere to a lesser order of importance. The believer wasn’t supposed to search for pleasure beyond the sheltered confines of family, church, and business, and the gravest sins were wasting time, indulging in idle chatter, and wallowing in luxurious diversions. Bent on making money, the good Puritan had to restrain his impulses instead of gratifying them. As Weber remarked, “Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less in spirit. Capitalism *may* even be identical with the restraint, or at least a rational tempering, of this irrational impulse.”<sup>77</sup> That is, the man who would be rich must be thrifty. People had to regulate their lives, Weber argued, so that self-abnegation could bring forth plenty. A fateful contradiction lay at the heart of this Puritan culture, for the virtues of godly people made them rich, and these riches, in turn, threatened to undermine that godliness. As Cotton Mather declared of the Plymouth colony in the 1690s, “Religion begot prosperity, and the daughters devoured the mother.”<sup>78</sup> This contradiction posed a central dilemma for John D. Rockefeller and his descendants, who would struggle tirelessly against the baneful effects of wealth.

Of the four principal groups of ascetic Protestants analyzed by Weber, we should note, the Baptists alone rejected predestination and therefore couldn’t construe wealth as an infallible sign of God’s favor. On the other hand, as Weber pointed out, certain Baptist tenets prepared its adherents to prosper in the marketplace. Abhorring religious idolatry, demoting sacraments as a means to salvation, Baptism fostered a rational outlook that was well suited to advancement in capitalist society. Rockefeller was convinced that he had a God-given talent for making money, was obligated to develop it, and was liberally rewarded by God—all compatible with Baptist doctrine. For this reason, he found religion far more of a spur than a hindrance to his ambitions. Where others saw him as an anomaly in a denomination that always welcomed working people and harbored a faint distrust of the rich, he never saw any such contradiction.

Before leaving Rockefeller’s early Baptist indoctrination, we should note that the economic climate of his adolescence must have deepened his religious convictions. In 1857, while he was still at Hewitt and Tuttle, America fell into an economic slump. The proximate cause was the end of the Crimean War in 1856, which dealt a blow to American farmers who had profited from the war. On a more profound level, the crisis capped a decade of frantic speculation in railroad securities and land, stoked by heavy borrowing. As five thousand businesses failed and hundreds of thousands of workers were idled, the exuberant boosterism of the 1850s was suddenly and dramatically quelled.

As happened in the Great Depression of the 1930s, people were shocked that an effervescent economy could stall so woefully. As one contemporary observer put it, “It seems indeed strange that in the very midst of apparent health and strength . . . the whole country . . . should suddenly come to a dead stop and be unable to move forward—and that we should suddenly wake up from our dreams of wealth and happiness, and find ourselves poor and bankrupt.”<sup>79</sup> A wave of hysterical breast-beating ensued, with President James Buchanan insisting that the crisis came “solely from our extravagant and vicious system of paper currency and bank credits, exciting the people to wild speculations and gambling in stocks.”<sup>80</sup>

Rather than blaming the business cycle, many evangelical Christians interpreted the downturn as divine punishment for a society grown lax, worldly, and dissolute. One Boston reformer descried redeeming features in the slump, hoping it would “teach good and much needed lessons . . . and will reduce all things here to a more sober, sound, and healthy condition.”<sup>81</sup> The mood of national self-flagellation prompted a religious upsurge known as the Businessmen’s Revival. In 1857, businessmen gathered in many cities for lunchtime prayer meetings where they publicly swore off drink and other indulgences. During this massive outpouring of repentance, evangelical churches recruited tens of thousands of new members. The shift from euphoria to depression in the business sphere—mirrored by a shift from sin to salvation in the religious sphere—probably strengthened Rockefeller’s innate conservatism as a fledgling businessman while bolstering his already deep-seated Baptist inclinations. As he said, “What a school—the school of adversity and stress—to train a boy in!”<sup>82</sup>

Whatever the general misery caused by the 1857 panic, William Avery Rockefeller’s medical road show thrived that year, and he briefly managed to support and juggle two marriages. In the spring of 1856, Bill had surfaced again in Cleveland, rooming with John and William at Mrs. Woodin’s while scouting out a permanent home for his family. He was residing intermittently with Margaret Allen’s family in Ontario, posing as Dr. William Livingston, and now had to make some final disposition before he deserted his first wife and children for good. When he found a roomy brick house for rent at 35 Cedar Street, equipped with such luxuries as indoor toilet and bathroom, he brought Eliza and the children in from Parma. John and William moved out of Mrs. Woodin’s place and were reunited with their family. At this point, Bill decided that John should contribute to the family upkeep and pay him the same rent he had given to Mrs. Woodin.



In 1857, Bill decided to build for his family a substantial brick house on Cheshire Street in downtown Cleveland, a farewell gift that would enable him to abscond with a clear conscience. “In 1857 my father told me to build a house,” said John D., giving the story a positive gloss. “It was a lesson in self-reliance. He handed me the money, told me the sort of house he wanted and left all the details of the business to me. I drew plans, got the material, found a builder, and built the house.”<sup>83</sup> Did Bill regard this as some final test, a crash course in business for John, before he abandoned his family to the tender mercies of chance? As he warned his son, “I shall be away and must rely on your judgment.”<sup>84</sup> Or perhaps Bill just wanted to be spared the inconvenience of doing it himself.

Rockefeller was justifiably proud of his feat of superintending this house, a bravura performance for a boy of eighteen with an already demanding schedule at Hewitt and Tuttle. As if he had been doing nothing but construction work all his life, he solicited estimates from eight contractors and selected the lowest bidder. He reviewed the plans, negotiated the contracts, and settled the bills with implicit confidence in his judgment. In fact, so closely did he supervise the contractors, so zealously did he outbargain them, that they lost money on the project. If Bill was testing his son’s ability, he passed with flying colors.

By one account, a dispute arose as to whether John would pay rent at the new house. He presumably felt that, having built the structure, he had earned the right to occupy it free of rent, but Devil Bill laid down his own arbitrary rules and overrode Eliza’s protests. “You bought your time, didn’t you?” he told John. “What you’re getting now is your own, ain’t it? Well, you have to pay me board.”<sup>85</sup> Once again, one marvels at Bill’s barefaced cheek no less than his son’s fortitude in the face of repeated provocations.

Now that the Rockefellers were reconstituted in Cleveland, John was deputized as the new paterfamilias, as Bill again exited from the scene, setting up house in Philadelphia with Margaret Allen sometime in the late 1850s. For several more years, Bill was weirdly enmeshed in John’s affairs and for five decades continued to materialize, like a burly, smiling genie, at odd intervals. But from this point forward, the gap between Bill’s two lives and two wives began to widen into an unbridgeable chasm. By an exquisite (and, for Bill, surely excruciating) irony, this scheming, selfish, money-mad charlatan turned his back on his family just as his eldest son began to amass the largest fortune in history. John D. Rockefeller inhabited a stoic universe in which it was considered a sign of strength and mental health to banish your cares and forge ahead instead of morbidly dwelling on your parents’ failings. But if John nursed vengeful feelings toward Bill, it must have been secretly gratifying to him that his father left at the very dawn of his triumph and forfeited any claim to his wealth.

Eliza probably never knew that after she’d raised his five children, Bill had traded her in for a much younger woman, but she was now better equipped to withstand his loss than she had been a few years earlier. When John Davison died on June 1, 1858, he left her an annuity that lasted through 1865, when she inherited the principal. With two sons drawing income—William was now working under John as a bookkeeper at Hewitt and Tuttle—and with occasional assistance from Bill, Eliza could muddle through on her own. She especially relied upon her eldest son, the wunderkind who seemed capable of anything and who was as steady and trustworthy as her husband had been feckless and mercurial. Eliza was now in her mid-forties, and photos show a prim, sad, gaunt woman. Divorce wasn’t an option for a devout nineteenth-century woman, and her giddy fling with the handsome young peddler had left her imprisoned in a premature widowhood. Bill had been her sole chance, her crazily squandered bid to escape from rural tedium, and the misbegotten marriage left both her and her eldest son with a lifelong suspicion of volatile people and rash actions.

In his trilogy of Frank Cowperwood novels, his fictionalized version of the life of the Chicago traction magnate Charles Yerkes, Theodore Dreiser described the uncanny perspicacity about his bosses that distinguished the adolescent Cowperwood in his first job as a clerk in a grain-commission business. “He could see their weaknesses and their shortcomings as a much older man might have viewed a boy’s.”<sup>86</sup> The remark aptly captures the coolly critical eye with which Rockefeller sized up his elders at Hewitt and Tuttle. He was respectful toward his superiors but never awed by them and was always aware of their shortcomings. For the record, he professed great respect for Isaac Hewitt, twenty-five years his senior, but he was much more caustic in private, referring to him as a “disgruntled” man, forever entangled in litigation.

Despite his youth, Rockefeller soon came to feel that he was being underpaid. When Tuttle quit in January 1857, Rockefeller was elevated to chief bookkeeper, performing, at the age of seventeen, all the tasks formerly discharged by the departed partner. Where Tuttle had earned \$2,000 a year as partner, Rockefeller was given only \$500, and this vexing inequity was only slightly mitigated when Hewitt raised him to \$600 a year by 1858. With the same preternatural confidence evident in his campaign to pay off the church mortgage or oversee the Cheshire Street house, the boy began to trade for his own account, making small but successful forays into flour, ham, and pork. Soon, this adolescent businessman was cutting something of a figure on the Cleveland docks, where he was always addressed as Mr. Rockefeller.

A variety of factors conspired to bring about his departure from Hewitt’s firm. Though his salary grated on him, he waited until the economy snapped back from the 1857 downturn before making his move. In charge of the books, he could see that the firm had nearly been bankrupted by the slump and faced a bleak future—a suspicion confirmed by the fact that Hewitt shrewdly kept his extensive real-estate holdings segregated from his stake in the commission house. Big Bill, who always liked to play the freelance banker, had given a thousand-dollar loan to Hewitt, and when John informed him of the concern’s precarious state, he barged into the office and demanded (and got) immediate repayment from Hewitt.

John D. Rockefeller wasn’t one to dawdle in an unprofitable concern. His career had few wasted steps, and he never vacillated when the moment ripened for advancement. When he asked Hewitt for an \$800 salary, his cash-strapped boss dithered for weeks before deciding he could go no higher than \$700. Later, Rockefeller claimed he would have stayed if Hewitt had matched his demand, but added, “even then I was preparing, getting ready for something big.”<sup>87</sup> While he and Hewitt were bickering in early 1858, an attractive opportunity arose that settled the issue. Rockefeller had befriended a young Englishman, twenty-eight-year-old Maurice B. Clark, who worked down the street at a produce house called Otis, Brownell. They had been classmates at E. G. Folsom’s Commercial College and were also neighbors on Cheshire Street. According to Clark, Rockefeller already had “the reputation of being a young bookkeeper of more than ordinary ability and reliability,” and Clark proposed that they form a new partnership for buying and selling produce, with each partner investing an initial \$2,000—an amount equal to \$36,000 in 1996 dollars.<sup>88</sup> Amazingly enough, Rockefeller had saved \$800, equivalent to a year’s salary, in less than three years on the job, but he still fell considerably short of Clark’s figure.

As he brooded over how to raise the money, he was informed by his father that he had always intended to give each of his children \$1,000 at age twenty-one, and he now offered to advance John the money. “But, John,” he added, lest his son expect miracles, “the rate is ten.”<sup>89</sup> Having just retrieved a thousand dollars from Hewitt, Bill might have been looking for a high return on these idle funds. John knew his father far too well to plead for a gift and accepted the 10 percent loan, which was higher than the prevailing rate. So on April 1, 1858, backed up by this borrowed money, John D. Rockefeller left Isaac Hewitt and joined the new partnership of Clark and Rockefeller at 32 River Street. At eighteen, he was catapulted to a partner’s rank in a commission house. “It was a great thing to be my own employer,” said Rockefeller. “Mentally I swelled with pride—a partner in a firm with \$4,000 capital!”<sup>90</sup> The moment was fraught with meaning for him, and after his first day at work he went back to the Cheshire Street house, fell to his knees, and implored the Lord to bless his new enterprise.

Rockefeller never regretted his apprenticeship at Hewitt and Tuttle and, like many self-made men, lavished a retrospective tenderness on his early years. If anything, he drenched the whole experience in a sentimental syrup that only grew thicker and sweeter with time. Even in 1934, at age ninety-five, Rockefeller tried to rally one grandson with tales of his heroic initiation at Hewitt and Tuttle, his stirring baptism in business. “Oh how blessed the young men are who have to struggle for a foundation and a beginning in life. I shall never cease to be grateful for the three and a half years of apprenticeship and the difficulties to be overcome, all the way along.”



***John D. Rockefeller in his early twenties. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)***

*Baptism in Business*

When the sign reading “Clark and Rockefeller” was hoisted atop the warehouse at 32 River Street, the local business community warmly greeted the new arrivals. The Cleveland Leader wrote, “As experienced, responsible and prompt businessmen, we recommend their house to the favorable consideration of our readers.”<sup>1</sup> In this first partnership, success seemed to come quickly and easily to Rockefeller. With a booming traffic in meat, grain, and other foodstuffs circulating through the Great Lakes, he and Clark nimbly bought and sold carloads of produce. As the firm’s ambitious circular stated, they were prepared to deal in “grain, fish, water, lime, plaster, coarse fine solar and dairy salt.”<sup>2</sup> The fledgling firm weathered just enough perils to lend, retrospectively, nostalgic charm to this maiden period. Two months after opening for business, the partners had to cope with a severe frost that damaged midwestern crops. Having contracted to buy a large shipment of beans, they wound up with a big, semispoiled batch, strewn with dirt and rubbish. “When we were not needed in the office we used to go out to the warehouse, my partner and I, and sort out those beans.”<sup>3</sup> This setback didn’t detract from the firm’s overall performance, for by year’s end it had netted a highly respectable \$4,400, tripling the income that John had made during his last year at Hewitt and Tuttle.

But because of the bean fiasco, John had to turn again, however grudgingly, to Big Bill for a rescue loan. To excel in commodities, it was imperative to offer generous financing, and Clark and Rockefeller advertisements trumpeted to prospective clients that they were “prepared to make liberal advances and consignments of produce, etc.”<sup>4</sup> With his son, Bill often liked to play sadistic money games and then defended his knavish behavior by citing some warped, pedagogical purpose. As he bragged to a Strongsville neighbor, “I trade with the boys and skin ’em and I just beat ’em every time I can. I want to make ’em sharp.”<sup>5</sup> John was by now resigned to the bizarrely commercial character of his dealings with his father, and in his memoirs he even idealized Bill’s lending maneuvers as teaching him valuable lessons. “To my father I owe a great debt in that he himself trained me to practical ways. He was engaged in different enterprises; he used to tell me about these things, explaining their significance; and he taught me the principles and methods of business.”<sup>6</sup>

As John knew, his father’s style as a banker followed a grimly manic pattern of conviviality giving way to Scrooge-like severity. “Our relations on finances were a source of some anxiety to me, and were not quite so humorous as they seem now as I look back on them,” Rockefeller allowed, permitting a smidgen of anger to show.<sup>7</sup> When Bill offered a 10 percent loan, the real motive was something other than altruism, for he had an infuriating habit of calling in loans at the least opportune time. “Just at the moment when I required the money most he was apt to say, ‘My son, I find I have got to have that money,’ ” John D. recalled in his memoirs. “ ‘Of course, you shall have it at once,’ I would answer, but I knew that he was testing me, and that when I paid him, he would hold the money without its earning anything for a little time and then offer it back later.”<sup>8</sup> About this continuing psychodrama, Rockefeller later said, in another fleeting moment of candor, “he would never know how angry I felt beneath the surface.”<sup>9</sup>

An intimate, critical perspective on the perverse relations between Rockefeller and his father comes from George W. Gardner, who joined Clark and Rockefeller as a partner on April 1, 1859. Having worked with Clark at Otis, Brownell, he was evidently invited into the firm to shore up its capital. Scion of an elite Cleveland family, cut from a different cloth than the self-made men of Rockefeller’s early years, Gardner later served as mayor of Cleveland and commodore of the Cleveland Yacht Club. With Gardner’s arrival, Rockefeller’s name was dropped from the firm’s title, and the new partnership was styled Clark, Gardner and Company, the ostensible and quite cogent reason being that Gardner’s name would entice more clients. Rockefeller always felt uneasy about venting anger or making an egotistical show of protest, and he pretended to accept this demotion with equanimity. “Maurice Clark was very pleasant about it,” he later insisted. “And he said, ‘Never mind. It won’t be very long—before many years you’ll be doing better than any of us.’ Yes, he was very nice about it. I made no objection.”<sup>10</sup> Yet this stinging blow rankled, as he later admitted. “I considered this a great injustice to me as I was an equal partner and Gardner brought in only his share of the capital, but I thought it best to submit.”<sup>11</sup> It says much about Rockefeller that he thought it unseemly and unchristian to confess to such understandable feelings of injured pride.

Rockefeller was bound to clash with Gardner and Clark, for he was a Roundhead among Cavaliers and approached his work with unflagging, humorless energy. “Your future hangs on every day that passes,” he admonished himself.<sup>12</sup> “Long before I was twenty-one men called me, ‘Mr Rockefeller,’ ” he recalled. “Life was a serious business to me when I was young.”<sup>13</sup> The only time he showed any youthful gaiety was when sealing a lucrative deal. Like the resident moral overseer, he felt contempt for Clark and Gardner’s easygoing ways and irreverent spirit, and they found this young killjoy both a welcome and grating presence in the office.

Afraid that any levity would diminish their chances of getting loans, the twenty-year-old sought to stifle the excesses of his older partners. When Gardner and three friends purchased a \$2,000 yacht, Rockefeller roundly condemned this extravagance. One Saturday afternoon, Gardner was about to escape from the office for an afternoon sail when he saw Rockefeller hunched glumly over his ledgers. “John,” he said agreeably, “a little crowd of us are going to take a sail over to Put-in-Bay and I’d like to have you go along. I think it would do you good to get away from the office and get your mind off business for a while.” Gardner had touched an exposed nerve and, as he recounted years later to a reporter, his young partner wheeled on him savagely. “George Gardner,” he sputtered, “you’re the most extravagant young man I ever knew! The idea of a young man like you, just getting a start in life, owning an interest in a yacht! You’re injuring your credit at the banks—your credit and mine. . . . No, I won’t go on your yacht. I don’t even want to see it!” With that, Rockefeller leaned back over his account books. “John,” said Gardner, “I see that there are certain things on which you and I probably will never agree. I think you like money better than anything else in the whole world, and I do not. I like to have a little fun along with business as I go through life.”<sup>14</sup>

Later on, Rockefeller learned to camouflage his business anxiety behind a studied calm, but during these years it was often graphically displayed. Clark remembered one daring venture when the firm wagered its entire capital on a large grain shipment to Buffalo. With foolish, atypical imprudence, Rockefeller suggested that they skip the insurance and pocket the \$150 premium; Gardner and Clark reluctantly acquiesced. That night, a terrible storm blew across Lake Erie, and when Gardner came to the office the next morning, a frightfully pale Rockefeller paced the floor in agitation. “Let’s take out

insurance right away,” he said. “We still have time—if the boat hasn’t been wrecked by now.” Gardner ran off to pay the premium. By the time he got back, Rockefeller was waving a telegram announcing the ship’s safe arrival in Buffalo. Whether unnerved by the episode or upset at having paid the unnecessary premium, Rockefeller went home ill that afternoon.<sup>15</sup>

One suspects that Rockefeller associated the bon vivant Gardner with his father, much to Gardner’s detriment. Indeed, Gardner felt an affinity with Bill, relishing his bonhomie and outlandish humor and calling him “one of the most companionable and most likeable old men I ever knew. He would crack jokes and have more to say in one conversation than John would utter in a week.”<sup>16</sup> Gardner was the first of many Rockefeller associates to note the unanswered questions about Bill, who returned to Cleveland at irregular intervals, invariably depositing or withdrawing huge amounts of cash from Clark, Gardner. “I wondered what business a man could be in that he would have \$1,000 to spare one month and need it the next,” said Gardner.<sup>17</sup>

Thanks to Gardner, we can date the earliest moment at which we can say with some certainty that John knew of his father’s scandalous relationship, if not of his bigamy. The firm was starting to cultivate business contacts in Philadelphia, and it occurred to Gardner that on his next trip there, he might solicit information from Bill. “So I asked John for his father’s address. He hesitated and finally said he couldn’t remember.” This immediately puzzled Gardner, who knew Rockefeller had a phenomenal memory, and he asked if he could secure the address from Eliza at lunchtime. After lunch, John never alluded to the matter, and as they prepared to leave that evening, Gardner again inquired after the address. “He flushed up and said he’d forgotten to ask for it when he went home. I pressed him no further, and never found out where his father lived.”<sup>18</sup> When John began to fathom the depth of his father’s duplicity toward his mother, he must have inwardly reeled, and he reacted with the same repressed emotion and steadfast evasion that had served him as a boy. Already Rockefeller was treating his father as the supreme taboo subject, setting a pattern for the unremitting secrecy that would pervade Standard Oil.

Photos of Rockefeller from the Clark, Gardner period show a tall young man with a vigorous air and alert, penetrating eyes. His tightly compressed lips expressed a fierce determination and a guarded nature. Big and broad-shouldered, he had an incipient stoop that gave him a wary air. Despite his occasional, priggish blowups with Gardner, he had that sublime self-confidence that speaks with quiet authority. Neatly dressed and well groomed, Rockefeller was the first to arrive at and the last to leave work each day. In a natural division of labor, Clark took charge of buying and selling while Rockefeller tended the books. Rockefeller seemed destined to succeed as much from his fastidious work habits as from innate intelligence. With the avidity of a zealous auditor, he liked to smoke out wrongdoing and uncover errors. Maurice Clark thought John congenial but “too exact. He was methodical to an extreme, careful as to details and exacting to a fraction. If there was a cent due us, he wanted it. If there was a cent due a customer, he wanted the customer to have it.”<sup>19</sup> The portrait, if slightly chilling, also underscores Rockefeller’s prudish honesty during this phase of his career.

From the outset, Rockefeller had to wrestle with the demons of pride and greed. When rebuffed by a bank officer for a loan, he shot back in anger, “Some day I’ll be the richest man in the world.”<sup>20</sup> He went through the week cautioning himself with proverbs taught by Eliza, such as “Pride goeth before a fall,” and this spiritual self-scrutiny intensified with his growing wealth.<sup>21</sup> When he rested his head on the pillow at night, he warned himself, “Because you have got a start, you think you are quite a merchant; look out, or you will lose your head—go steady. Are you going to let this money puff you up? Keep your eyes open. Don’t lose your balance.”<sup>22</sup> Had Rockefeller not feared his own capacity for excess, he wouldn’t have engaged in such strenuous introspection. As he said, “These intimate conversations with myself, I’m sure, had a great influence on my life. I was afraid I could not stand my prosperity, and tried to teach myself not to get puffed up with any foolish notions.”<sup>23</sup> It’s easy to suppose that Rockefeller’s typically sententious style was borrowed from church and first polished by these nightly sermons that he preached to himself.

That Rockefeller led an unblemished Christian life played no small role in his business accomplishments, for he appealed to the older citizens in town. During his first year with Clark, he hired someone to look after the books while he took to the open road to drum up business, traveling widely in Ohio and Indiana. Contrary to what one might expect, Rockefeller was a smoothly persuasive salesman. Instead of brashly trying to poach clients from rivals, he modestly outlined his firm’s services. “I would go into an office and present my card and say to the man that I supposed his business connections were satisfactory, and that I did not wish to intrude upon him, but that I had a proposition that I myself believed in and believed it would be to his advantage, that I did not expect him to decide off hand but asked him to think it over and I would see him again about it.”<sup>24</sup> Orders to handle commodity trades poured in almost faster than he could handle them. “I found that old men had confidence in me right away, and after I stayed a few weeks in the country, I returned home and the consignments came in and our business was increased and it opened up a new world for me.”<sup>25</sup>

Rockefeller handled people adroitly and wasn’t the cold curmudgeon of later myth. However, he *was* persistent, which pleased or displeased people according to taste. Previewing a problem that bedeviled the oil business, the commodity business was chronically short of railroad cars to transport flour, grain, and pork, and Rockefeller badgered one railroad official so much that the older man finally wagged a finger at him and snapped, “Young man, I want you to understand you can’t make a shuttlecock of me.”<sup>26</sup> Rockefeller often related how the firm’s best customer once pressed him to violate conservative business practice and advance him money before the produce or bill of lading was in hand. Though Rockefeller refused him, he still tried to keep the customer. “But he stormed about, and in the end I had the further humiliation of confessing to my partner that I had failed.”<sup>27</sup> Only afterward did Rockefeller learn that the customer’s intransigence was a cunning trap set by a local banker to see whether these young men could withstand temptation and hew to their conservative principles.

For all his populist mistrust of bankers, Rockefeller owed much of his incandescent rise to their assistance. “The hardest problem all through my business career was to obtain enough capital to do all the business I wanted to do and could do, given the necessary amount of money.”<sup>28</sup> The banking system was then weak and atomized. Many Main Street banks were thinly capitalized, and they inspired so little trust that Rockefeller’s firm kept spare cash in the safe. Rockefeller got his first extrafamilial loan from a kindly, benevolent old banker named Truman P. Handy, who agreed to take warehouse receipts as collateral. After getting this \$2,000 loan, John almost floated down the sidewalk. “Just think of it,” he mused, “a bank had trusted me for \$2,000! I felt that I was now a man of importance in the community.”<sup>29</sup> Handy made Rockefeller swear that he would never speculate with the \$2,000, and the young man must have sensed that he had won the first of many influential mentors in Cleveland’s financial community. Besides being a bank president, the gravely proper Handy was a Sunday-school superintendent and had sounded out Isaac Hewitt on the young man’s character and habits. As Rockefeller realized, his credit rating depended upon reports of his sterling character—just as he had lectured George Gardner—and his status as a

mainstay of the Erie Street Baptist Mission Church guaranteed him a friendly reception at banks. Thus, Rockefeller's initial loan shows the close mesh of Christianity and capitalism in his early career.

Famously averse to borrowing in later years, Rockefeller was extraordinarily adept at it when he needed the capital. As Clark said, "Oh, John was the greatest borrower you ever saw!"<sup>30</sup> In bargaining with banks, Rockefeller gave evidence of his father's wiliness and mastery of crowd psychology. If he wanted to borrow \$5,000, he let it be bruited about town that he wished to invest \$10,000. This rumor would certify his firm's rock-solid credit while also giving bankers an added incentive to extend him a loan. Rockefeller's need for money only grew during the Civil War, which was a bonanza for the commodity business. As a partner in a Cleveland produce house, John D. Rockefeller was strategically positioned to profit from the war, and for the rest of the century his career seemed to march in perfect lockstep with the progress of American business history.

For Rockefeller, the Civil War was principally an opportunity to pile up riches, yet he betrayed intense sympathy for the Union cause and fervently advocated abolishing slavery. As early as his 1854 high-school essay on freedom, he had railed against "cruel masters" who worked their slaves "beneath the scorching suns of the South. How under such circumstances can America call herself free?"<sup>31</sup> As a teenager, he had contributed to several charities that aided blacks. At the time, his antislavery views were representative of the prevailing views in Cleveland, which had many relocated New Englanders and was a hotbed of abolitionist sentiment. With its favorable political climate and position as a big Lake Erie port, Cleveland was a stop on the Underground Railroad that transported fugitive slaves to freedom in Canada, and many of them surreptitiously boarded ships just blocks from Rockefeller's office. When slave hunters invaded the town, abolitionist sympathizers rushed to the Stone Church on the Public Square and tolled the bell to alert the populace. In 1860, Rockefeller cast his first presidential vote for Abraham Lincoln, and on the eve of the war he attended meetings that resounded with thunderous denunciations of slavery. Abolitionist fervor was especially widespread among evangelical Christians who deplored slavery and Catholicism as twin tyrannies, and northern Baptist congregations warmly received black preachers and lecturers who spoke for the abolitionist cause.

So why didn't Rockefeller act on his keenly felt sympathies when Lincoln appealed for 75,000 volunteers after Fort Sumter's fall in April 1861? Why did he turn a deaf ear to the torchlight rallies and street-corner recruiters swarming through Cleveland that spring? "I wanted to go in the army and do my part," Rockefeller said. "But it was simply out of the question. We were in a new business, and if I had not stayed it must have stopped—and with so many dependent on it."<sup>32</sup> This last sentence hinted gingerly at what must have been the main reason behind his failure to serve: his father's desertion of the family and his own need to sustain it. Though the Union government offered no occupational exemptions from the draft, men were excused if they were the sole means of support for siblings, children, or parents. Though only twenty-one at the outbreak of the war, John D. was effectively in the position of a middle-aged father responsible for a family of six.

Like J. P. Morgan, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., and other well-heeled young men, Rockefeller hired a substitute for \$300 and ended up outfitting a small army. One morning, Levi Scofield, a captain in the Union army and a friend of Rockefeller's, marched thirty raw recruits into his River Street office. They evidently passed muster, for Rockefeller dug into his safe and handed a ten-dollar bill to each of them. "God, but he must be rich," gasped one young man, causing another to reply, "Yes, they say he is a rich man—that he is worth as much as \$ 10,000!"<sup>33</sup> For the first time, Rockefeller had triggered fantasies of riches. Allan Nevins has suggested that Rockefeller exaggerated when he claimed to have financed between twenty and thirty soldiers, noting that Rockefeller's ledger itemizes only \$138.09 for war purposes. Yet a historian of Rockefeller's Cleveland years, Grace Goulder, pointed out that by 1864, Rockefeller was giving about \$300 per year to substitutes and their families besides his general donations to wartime charities.

Since Rockefeller's commodity business depended upon market intelligence and a rapid flow of telegrams from various sections of the country, his office became a clubhouse for the latest battlefield bulletins. He and Maurice Clark tacked up two large, detailed maps and tracked the war's progress with rapt attention. "Our office became a great rallying-place," said Rockefeller. "We were all deeply interested. Men used to drop in often, and we followed the war keenly, reading the latest dispatches and studying the maps."

While Rockefeller's brother William also managed to duck service and keep on working, the youngest brother, Frank, was both physically and psychologically wounded during the war. Not yet sixteen when the war started, Frank was hot-blooded and temperamental. With a wide face, broad forehead, and handlebar mustache, he was very much in his father's mold. Where John had a tidy, inner-directed nature, Frank was quick to yield to impulses both base and noble. A much better mixer than John, an outgoing backslapper, he could be kindhearted and generous toward friends.

Frank had an adolescent yearning for battlefield glory but was initially thwarted in this storybook aspiration by his family. George Gardner, who always took a jaundiced view of John, claimed that John had coldly declined his brother's request for \$75 to enlist in the Union army. In Gardner's telling, John gave his brother a tongue-lashing: "You would be a wild, foolish boy to go away and waste youthful years that you might utilize in getting a start and making money."<sup>34</sup> When John remained adamant, Gardner advanced Frank the \$75—the first of innumerable loans that Frank, professing good intentions all the while, incurred but never repaid. This altercation was the first of many rancorous feuds that poisoned relations between John and Frank through the years.

While Gardner might have accurately reported John's words, he omitted some important mitigating circumstances. Frank had already tried to slip off and furtively enlist and had been reprimanded by his father for his secrecy. "Young man," said Bill, "when you go to war you will say goodbye to the family and go out the front door in broad daylight."<sup>35</sup> (It took a certain gall for Bill to get on his high horse on the subject of secrecy and family responsibility.) Another factor probably swaying John was that Frank had already been rejected as underage and would need to resort to deception to join the army. To aid his memory, Frank now chalked the number eighteen on his soles, and when the recruiting station sergeant asked for his age, he piped up, "I'm over eighteen, sir."<sup>36</sup> In the end, John relented and paid for his brother's clothing, rifle, and accessories during his three years of military service.

As a private in the Seventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Frank was wounded twice during the war, at Chancellorsville and Cedar Mountain, which didn't help his already strained relations with John. It must have seemed terribly unjust to Frank that while he waded through bloody battlefields, his eldest

brother was raking in the money at home. He always felt that he had paid a severe price for heroism while John was rewarded for his self-aggrandizement. Ineffectual and full of self-pity, feeling cursed by bad luck, Frank envied his remarkable older brother, who seemed to succeed at every assignment and moved through his charmed business life with icily inexorable efficiency.

The Civil War accelerated the North's economic development, setting the stage for its postwar industrial prowess. It greatly enlarged its industrial capacity, broadening the infrastructure of railroads and telegraphs, coal mines and iron mills as the economy became more mechanized to meet the unprecedented demand for materials. Sewing machines stitched uniforms for soldiers while reapers harvested grain to feed them. As both sides swiftly conveyed huge armies from one theater of battle to the next, the railroad network had to be modernized and expanded accordingly. To encourage further development, the federal government began to provide land grants, with a dozen railroads ultimately taking title to a staggering 158 million acres. This pell-mell growth played a pivotal role in Rockefeller's career, for the proliferation of railroads enabled him to extract discounts from them by playing one off against the other.

The war's psychological impact was equally consequential as it afforded opportunities for commercial gain on a scale never seen before. The outsize profits garnered from government contracts contributed to a money delirium that long outlasted the war. The Civil War not only generated new fortunes but bred in countless people an insatiable appetite for riches. As farm boys in uniform were exposed to cities and given titillating glimpses of luxury goods and urban sophistication, consumerism received a huge impetus. Even many men who didn't enter the army abandoned farms and villages during the war and flocked to populated areas with flourishing munition plants.

The war enhanced Cleveland's strategic importance for a simple logistical reason: As North-South fighting severed freight routes on the Mississippi River, the east-west routes through the rivers and Great Lakes gained a corresponding amount of traffic. Though Rockefeller and his associates secured no lucrative government contracts, they profited from the enormous inflation in commodity prices and the general business surge. Selling mostly on commission, they dealt in numerous foodstuffs and farm implements. By 1862, their annual profits had soared to \$17,000, or almost four times what they had earned during their only prewar year. One of their 1863 advertisements listed the bountiful produce now heaped in their bulging warehouse: 1,300 barrels of salt, 500 bushels of clover seed, 800 bushels of timothy seed, and 200 barrels of pork.

At the end of 1862, Rockefeller eliminated a major irritant when he banished George Gardner from the firm. He later obliterated all traces of Gardner from the oral and written accounts of his life, burying him forever with silence. On December 1, 1862, the *Cleveland Herald* ran the following item: "M. B. Clark and John D. Rockefeller, late of Clark, Gardner and Company, will continue the produce business under style and firm of Clark and Rockefeller, at warehouse recently occupied by Clark, Gardner and Company, Nos. 39, 41, 43, and 45 River Street." That the firm had now swelled to occupy four separate numbers on River Street attests to its runaway success. While he was still in his twenties, the Civil War had converted Rockefeller into a wealthy man, giving him the funds to capitalize on a new industry then flowering in the northwest corner of Pennsylvania. For all the substantial profits booked by Rockefeller during the war, they would prove mere pocket change compared to the profits flowing from the rivers of black gold now gushing from wells around Titusville.

## CHAPTER 5

### The Auction

Long before oil was struck in western Pennsylvania by Colonel Edwin Drake, it had oozed from subterranean springs into Oil Creek (the name dated from the eighteenth century), mantling the surface with an iridescent scum. The slimy liquid was so ubiquitous that it tainted well water and plagued local contractors drilling for salt. Already in the eighteenth century, the Seneca and Cornplanter Indians devised manifold uses for it, employing it for soothing skin liniment, medicine, and even war paint. To extract oil from the creek, they floated blankets or flannel rags on the water, then wrung the oil from the saturated material. Even before Drake's find, Seneca Oil had become known as a sovereign remedy for stiff joints, headaches, and other ailments. Around 1850, Samuel Kier gathered unwanted oil from his father's salt wells, bottled it in little half-pint bottles, and marketed it as Kier's Rock Oil. With a touch of the charlatan, Kier touted the all-purpose medicinal properties of this elixir, contending it would cure liver complaints, bronchitis, and consumption—and that was just for starters. One wonders whether Doc Rockefeller flogged Kier's Rock Oil from the back of his buggy.

In the 1850s, the whale fisheries had failed to keep pace with the mounting need for illuminating oil, forcing up the price of whale oil and making illumination costly for ordinary Americans. Only the affluent could afford to light their parlors every evening. There were many other lighting options—including lard oil, tallow oil, cottonseed oil, coal oil refined from shale, and wicks dipped in fat—but no cheap illuminant that burned in a bright, clean, safe manner. Both urbanization and industrialization sped the search for an illuminant that would extend day into night, breaking the timeless rhythm of rural hours that still governed the lives of farmers and city folk alike.

The petroleum industry was hatched in a very modern symbiosis of business acumen and scientific ingenuity. In the 1850s, George Bissell, a Dartmouth College graduate in his early thirties who had enjoyed a checkered career as a reporter, Greek professor, school principal, and lawyer, had the inspired intuition that the rock oil plentiful in western Pennsylvania was more likely than coal oil to yield a first-rate illuminant. To test this novel proposition, he organized the Pennsylvania Rock-Oil Company, leasing land along Oil Creek, a tributary of the Allegheny River, and sending a specimen of local oil to be analyzed by one of the most renowned chemists of the day, Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., of Yale. In his landmark 1855 report, Silliman vindicated Bissell's hunch that this oil could be distilled to produce a fine illuminant, plus a host of other useful products. Now the Pennsylvania Rock-Oil Company faced a single, seemingly insurmountable obstacle: how to find sizable quantities of petroleum to turn Professor Silliman's findings into spendable cash.

It took nearly three years for Bissell's company (which soon evolved into the Seneca Oil Company) to dispatch someone to Pennsylvania to hunt for large, marketable pools of oil. To this end, an investor in the project, a New Haven banker named Townsend, enlisted a boarder in his rooming house, Edwin Drake, to travel to Titusville in December 1857. A former conductor on the New Haven Railroad, Drake was a thirty-eight-year-old widower who was solemn, rather courtly, and disabled by neuralgia of the spine. Photos present a dashing figure with a full beard, broad forehead, and bright, heavy-lidded eyes. Though he made only a nominal investment in the venture, he was dressed up with the fancy title of president to dazzle the gullible yokels and was conveniently endowed (and permanently entered the history books) with the honorific title of colonel.

When Drake arrived in Titusville, Oil Creek Valley was still an idyllic place of dense pine and hemlock forest, rich in game. In his stovepipe hat and somber black clothes, the pallid Drake formed a picturesque contrast with this wilderness setting. Despite the enticing traces of oil that stained the creek's surface, the search for significant oil deposits, without geological knowledge of underground oil structures, proved a long and frustrating one. While the locals found Drake charming and sociable and supplied with a good repertoire of stories, they also mocked him as a harebrained dreamer, seized by a wild obsession. When he tried to dig for oil, the walls caved in. Then, borrowing a method used for salt wells, he started to drill for oil. In this inhospitable setting, choked with underbrush, it was a feat just to assemble the necessary machinery and erect a strange, tall, wooden structure known as a derrick. On Sunday, August 28, 1859, Drake's folly was rewarded when oil bubbled up from a well drilled a day earlier. It was less a matter of Drake discovering oil—its existence was scarcely a secret—than of his figuring out a way to tap commercial quantities in a controlled process so that it could be pumped from the earth in systematic fashion.



*Laura Celestia Spelman, always known to friends as "Cettie." (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

Drake's feat touched off pandemonium as bands of fortune seekers streamed into Titusville and its pastoral surroundings. Speculators scrambled over the greasy slopes of the creek, leasing acreage from unsophisticated, often unlettered, owners; one farmer turned down an offer of a one-quarter royalty and stubbornly held out for a one-eighth share. Pretty soon derricks sprouted everywhere along the dark, narrow valley, the drilling scarring and denuding the once lush forest slopes. Drilling was the first step in an extended production chain. Within a year of Drake's discovery, a dozen ramshackle

refineries sprang up along the creek's steep, secluded banks. Inevitably, this tumultuous activity attracted notice in Cleveland, which had the advantage of proximity to northwest Pennsylvania. Even in those days of slow transport, one could travel from Titusville to Cleveland in a day. Several Cleveland businessmen were already refining illuminating oil from bituminous coal and were naturally interested in a rival method. On November 18, 1859, nearly three months after Drake's find, the *Cleveland Leader* reported on the mad hubbub around Titusville, saying that "the oil springs of northern Pennsylvania were attracting considerable speculation" and that there was "quite a rush to the oleaginous locations." Among the first Clevelanders descending upon the area was a produce merchant named James G. Hussey, who was a former boss of Rockefeller's partner, Maurice B. Clark, and he came home with ecstatic stories about the riches to be made.

We don't know what Rockefeller thought of Drake's breakthrough at the time, but years later, having harvested his unparalleled fortune from oil, John D. Rockefeller saw a large and providential design in the discovery of Pennsylvania oil, stating that "these vast stores of wealth were the gifts of the great Creator, the bountiful gifts of the great Creator." He expressed his gratitude that "Colonel Drake and the Standard Oil Company and all others connected with this industry had the opportunity for useful work in preparing and distributing this valuable product to supply the wants of the world."<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, Rockefeller always viewed the industry through this rose-tinted spiritual lens, and it materially aided his success, for his conviction that God had given kerosene to suffering mankind gave him unswerving faith in the industry's future, enabling him to persist where less confident men stumbled and faltered.

For all his later evangelical fervor about oil, John D. Rockefeller didn't behold its potential in a sudden revelatory flash but made an incremental transition from produce to oil. Clark and Rockefeller might have taken on consignment some of the first crude-oil shipments that reached Cleveland in early 1860, but it was the friendship between Maurice Clark and Samuel Andrews, an Englishman from Clark's hometown in Wiltshire, that drew Rockefeller into the business. A hearty, rubicund man with a broad face and genial manner, Andrews was a self-taught chemist, a born tinkerer, and an enterprising mechanic. Arriving in Cleveland in the 1850s, he worked in a lard-oil refinery owned by yet another Englishman, C. A. Dean, and acquired extensive experience in making tallow, candles, and coal oil. Then, in 1860, Dean got a ten-barrel shipment of Pennsylvania crude from which Andrews distilled the first oil-based kerosene manufactured in Cleveland. The secret of "cleansing" oil with sulfuric acid—what we now term refining—was then a high mystery, zealously guarded by a local priesthood of practical chemists, and many curious businessmen beat a path to Andrews's door.

An expert on illuminants enthralled by the unique properties of kerosene, Andrews was convinced it would outshine and outsell other sources of light. Finances were tight in the Andrews household—his wife took in sewing to supplement his income—but by 1862, Sam was plotting to leave Dean and strike out on his own. On the lookout for backers, he frequently dropped by the offices of Clark and Rockefeller. In another instance of the worldly advantages of his religious affiliations, Rockefeller knew Andrews and his wife from the Erie Street Baptist Mission Church. When Andrews started talking about oil refining, the dubious Clark cut short his perfervid talk: "I told him there was no chance, that John and I together did not have more than \$250 we could spare out of our business; we simply had enough working capital, together with our credit at the banks, to enable us to make advances to consignors, paying insurance and rent."<sup>2</sup> Stymied by one partner, Andrews barged into Rockefeller's office and resumed his sales pitch. Already so flush that he had invested in his first railroad stock, with cash to spare for the firm, Rockefeller was far more receptive. After one chat with Rockefeller, Andrews went back into the warehouse to badger Clark. "I started to shut him off," recalled Clark, "but when he said, 'Mr. Rockefeller thinks well of it,' I impulsively replied, 'Well, if John will go in I will.'<sup>3</sup> With becoming modesty, Rockefeller later interpreted his own role as more passive, even skeptical toward the fateful oil venture and said that Maurice Clark's two brothers, James and Richard, were such oil enthusiasts that he had been railroaded into refining by the combined pressure of the three Clarks and Sam Andrews.

Whatever the truth, Rockefeller and Maurice Clark pledged \$4,000 for half the working capital of the new refining venture, Andrews, Clark and Co., placing the twenty-four-year-old Rockefeller squarely in the oil business in 1863, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation and the stunning Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Of the initial \$4,000 investment, he said dryly, "It seemed very large to us, very large."<sup>4</sup> Scarcely dreaming that oil would ever supersede their main commodity business, they considered it "a little side issue, we retaining our interest in our business as produce commission merchants."<sup>5</sup> As a commission agent distant from the oil wells, stationed at the commercial crossroads of Cleveland, Rockefeller naturally entered the industry as a refiner. As a middleman, he belonged to a new breed of people in the emerging industrial economy who traded, refined, or distributed products in the widening chasm that separated raw-material producers in the countryside from their urban consumers.

The spot chosen for the new refinery tells much in miniature about Rockefeller's approach to business. He exercised an option on a three-acre parcel on the sloping, red-clay banks of a narrow waterway called Kingsbury Run, which flowed into the Cuyahoga River and thus provided passage to Lake Erie. A mile and a half from downtown Cleveland, it seemed at first glance an inauspicious site for the new refinery, christened the Excelsior Works. In these bucolic outskirts beyond the city limits, cows browsed peacefully, and trees still shaded the waterway. But for Rockefeller, the inconvenience was outweighed by the fact that it would soon adjoin new railroad tracks. On November 3, 1863, proudly flying the Union colors, a gleaming locomotive of the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad pulled into a Cleveland station decked with bunting and launched a new era, giving the town access to New York City via the Erie Railroad and to a valuable direct route to the Pennsylvania oil fields. Able to ship by water or over land, Rockefeller gained the critical leverage he needed to secure preferential rates on transportation—which was why he agonized over plant locations throughout his career.

Before long, a string of other refineries had sprouted along Kingsbury Run. With a population of about 44,000, Cleveland was full of dynamic young men struggling to get ahead, and oil refining presented a rare chance to parlay a small investment into a huge fortune. It cost a pittance—as little as \$1,000, or less than the cost of opening a well-stocked store—to construct a small refinery and hire hands to run it. By mid-1863, twenty refineries operated in the Cleveland area and shipped a quarter of their kerosene abroad. At first, the profits came in so thick and fast that everybody—big and small, clever and inept—made handsome profits without the fierce winnowing of adversity, the stern lash of marketplace discipline. Rockefeller sarcastically alluded to these palmy days as "the harvest time in which such large profits were reaped by the saloon-keepers and preachers and tailors and men from all the walks of life who were fortunate enough to find an oil still."<sup>6</sup> Oil was put to myriad uses during the Civil War, treating the wounds of Union soldiers and serving as a substitute for turpentine formerly supplied by the South. Even on the battlefield, the use of kerosene refined from crude oil spread, and Ulysses S. Grant often sat in his tent, drafting dispatches by the flicker of a kerosene lamp.



Later on, Rockefeller became so embittered toward Sam Andrews that he denigrated him, quite unjustly, as the expendable figure in the Standard Oil saga. “Samuel Andrews was taken into the business as a poor workingman with little or nothing in the early stages when it was difficult to find men to cleanse the oil. . . . He had too much conceit, too much bull-headed English obstinacy and so little self-control. Was his own worst enemy.”<sup>7</sup> This verdict, rendered much later, was darkly tinged by intervening events, but in the beginning Andrews enjoyed cordial relations with Rockefeller. Andrews knew nothing of business but was content to let Maurice Clark and Rockefeller mind the office while he acted as refinery boss. Reversing Rockefeller’s harsh judgment, Ida Tarbell went so far as to label Andrews “a mechanical genius” who had improved the quality of the kerosene and the percentage of it yielded by each barrel of crude oil.<sup>8</sup>

In the early days, Rockefeller wasn’t so detached from the practical side of refining as when his empire later grew and he withdrew into the impregnable fortress of his office. Devoid of superior airs, he was often seen at Kingsbury Run at 6:30 A.M., going into the cooper shop to roll out barrels, stack hoops, or cart out shavings, reflecting the thrift inculcated by his mother and his puritanical religious upbringing. Since a residue of sulfuric acid remained after refining, Rockefeller drew up plans to convert it to fertilizer—the first of many worthwhile and extremely profitable attempts to create by-products from waste materials. Shaped by a childhood of uncertainty, he aspired to be self-sufficient in business no less than in life and reacted to a perpetual shortage of barrels by deciding to build his own. Disgusted by a suspicious error in a plumber’s bill, he told Sam Andrews, “Hire a plumber by the month. Let us buy our own pipes, joints, and all other plumbing material.”<sup>9</sup> The refinery also did its own hauling and loading. Such was Rockefeller’s ingenuity, his ceaseless search for even minor improvements, that within a year refining had overtaken produce as the most profitable side of the business. Despite the unceasing vicissitudes of the oil industry, prone to cataclysmic booms and busts, he would never experience a single year of loss.

If Rockefeller entered the refining business with some reservations, he soon embraced it as the big, bold opportunity he had craved. Never one to do things halfway, he plunged headlong into the business, and his enthusiasm overflowed into his home life. Sharing a room with brother William, he often nudged him awake in the dead of night. “I’ve been thinking out a plan to do so and so,” he would ask. “Now, what do you think of this scheme?”<sup>10</sup> “Keep your ideas till morning,” Will would sleepily protest. “I want to sleep.”<sup>11</sup> In the predawn dark, John usually chatted with Maurice Clark and Sam Andrews at Cheshire Street, where they talked interminably of oil. As John’s sister Mary Ann observed, the older men deferred to him instinctively. “They did not seem to want to go without him. They would . . . walk in and visit in the dining room while John was at breakfast.” She found the infatuation with oil repugnant, screening out the dreadful carnage of the Civil War. “I got sick of it and wished morning after morning that they would talk of something else.”<sup>12</sup>

Rockefeller leaped into oil with a zest reminiscent of his absorption in the Baptist Church. He lovingly tended his refinery much as he had swept the chapel floor, a parallel not lost on contemporaries. Said Maurice Clark: “John had abiding faith in two things—the Baptist creed and oil.”<sup>13</sup> This very old, very young man found boyish pleasure in doing business, and when he captured a large contract, he strutted and whooped with a buoyant step or cut a small comic caper. As one early associate remarked, “The only time I ever saw John Rockefeller enthusiastic was when a report came in from the creek that his buyer had secured a cargo of oil at a figure much below the market price. He bounded from his chair with a shout of joy, danced up and down, hugged me, threw up his hat, acted so like a madman that I have never forgotten it.”<sup>14</sup> These isolated joyful outbursts only underscored the usual constriction of his personality.

Rockefeller’s overwhelming influence on the oil industry stemmed from the conflict between his overmastering need for order and the turbulent, unruly nature of the infant industry. In the overheated memories of his enemies, Rockefeller became an omnipresent bogeyman who first appeared in the Oil Regions—the name given to the area along Oil Creek that encompassed Titusville, Oil City, and Franklin—not long after Drake’s discovery. One legend, rehashed by several early biographers, was that Rockefeller went to Titusville in 1860 to represent a group of Cleveland capitalists and advised them to refrain from the business, citing the uncertain flow of oil. In truth, Rockefeller testified, “I was engaged in the business when I took the trip; that was why I took the trip, to see about a supply of oil for my refinery.”<sup>15</sup>

To reach his destination, he had to travel first by rail and then by stagecoach to penetrate the dark forests and wooded hills along Oil Creek. Despite the spot’s isolation—news of Fort Sumter’s fall took four days to arrive—so many adventurers descended upon the area that train aisles were jammed with newcomers while others squatted on the roof. It was no place for the squeamish. To reach the railroad, oil had to be carted in barrels across more than twenty miles of rough backcountry, a trade serviced by thousands of brawling, swearing teamsters with shaggy beards and slouch hats who charged extortionate rates. (The Pennsylvania barrel, equal to forty-two gallons, remains the industry standard to this day.) Sometimes oil-laden wagons stretched in interminable caravans along the rutted roads. Many barrels tipped over and smashed, making the hills treacherous. During wet seasons, the mud grew so thick that teamsters often took two horses, one to pull the other out when it invariably got stuck. Horses were routinely lashed to death with heavy black whips as they pulled enormous loads through the black muck. Left to die by the roadside, their hides and hair were eaten away by petroleum chemicals, leaving ghastly, corroded carcasses strewn across the landscape. Transport by water was no less revolting. Oil Creek flowed into the Allegheny River, where hundreds of flatboats and steamers handled the cargo traffic. Sometimes oil barrels were loaded on barges and floated down to Pittsburgh on man-made freshets produced by suddenly releasing water stored behind floodgates. “Lots of oil was lost by the capsizing of barges and smashing of barrels in the confusion and crush of the rafts,” said Rockefeller.<sup>16</sup> By 1863, the Allegheny, befouled with oil, actually caught fire and burned a bridge in Franklin.

Tramping the banks, Rockefeller beheld the satanic new world bequeathed by the oil boom, an idyllic valley blackened with derricks and tanks, engine houses and ramshackle huts, thickly crowded together in a crazy-quilt pattern. Boomtowns appeared briefly, witnessed frantic activity, then vanished as abruptly as they had appeared. Rockefeller saw something slapdash about the industry. “You will remember that the business in its early years was a sort of gold-field rush,” he reminisced. “Great fortunes were made by some of the first adventurers, and everything was carried on in a sort of helter-skelter way.”<sup>17</sup> Rockefeller represented the second, more rational stage of capitalist development, when the colorful daredevils and pioneering speculators give way, as Max Weber wrote, to the “men who had grown up in the hard school of life, calculating and daring at the same time, above all temperate and reliable, shrewd and completely devoted to their business, with strictly bourgeois opinions and principles.”<sup>18</sup>

By the time Rockefeller arrived in the Oil Regions, it looked as if the oil would be more than a transient phenomenon. In September 1861, two Clevelanders brought in the Empire Well, the first mighty gusher, which rose “higher than steeples,” in the evocative words of one observer, yielding three thousand barrels of oil per day.<sup>19</sup> To onlookers, there was something uncanny about this towering jet of oil. So fast did the Empire Well flow that its owners could scarcely find barrels to carry it off, and people came running with pails, dippers, cups, and buckets to scoop up the black gold. A sudden oil glut sent prices skidding to ten cents a barrel even as teamsters continued to charge \$3 or \$4 per barrel to ship it to the railroads. From its first days, the industry tended to oscillate between extremes: gluts so dire that prices plummeted below production costs, or shortages that sent prices skyward but raised the even more troubling specter of the oil running dry.

Among the many tales of Rockefeller’s first trip to the oil fields, one told by Franklin Breed, a Titusville producer, has a ring of authenticity. He and Rockefeller rode on horseback through the valley to reach Breed’s well, then negotiated the final half mile on foot. As Breed later wrote:

*It was necessary to cross a bayou of five or six feet in width and probably four feet deep. This bayou contained sediment which the oil men took from the bottom of the tanks. This, with mud in the bayou, resembled tar. Spanning the bayou was a six inch log. . . . I was used to crossing on it but Rockefeller declared he could not walk on it. He did, however, and he fell off. . . . He looked up at me with a smile and said, “Well, Breed, you have got me into the oil business head and ears.”*<sup>20</sup>

In talking to the hard-bitten wildcatters, Rockefeller must have seemed standoffish and self-possessed, but he professed to enjoy their company, calling them “pleasant fellows, the same type we meet in the mining regions, jolly, good-natured, happy-go-lucky.”<sup>21</sup> The description is not without a note of condescension. But he listened closely to what people said and filed away as much information as he could, repeating valuable information to himself until it was memorized. There was humility in this eagerness to learn. As he said, “It is very important to remember what other people tell you, not so much what you yourself already know.”<sup>22</sup>

However stimulated by the money to be made, Rockefeller was appalled by the loose morals of a place infested with cardsharps and prostitutes and already dubbed “Sodden Gomorrah.”<sup>23</sup> The wildcatters were so rowdy, said a visitor, that throughout the area you could hear “the slap of cards on whiskey-stained tables of groggeries.”<sup>24</sup> Another visitor marveled at the universal dissipation and reported, “The orgies in Petroleum Centre sometimes eclipsed Monte Carlo and the Latin Quarter combined.”<sup>25</sup> For a sober, pious Christian such as Rockefeller, this world of brawny men addicted to vice must have seemed infernal. The oilmen walked around in tall boots, leaving black footprints in the brothels, taverns, and gambling houses of Titusville and Oil City. Many flaunted their nouveau-riche excesses, wearing high silk hats, diamond stickpins, and gold watch chains. In travelers’ reports, it is striking how frequently people resorted to hellish imagery to capture the mood. Rockefeller’s trips to the Oil Regions must have strengthened his belief that he stood foursquare for virtue in a godforsaken place. As an ardent temperance advocate, he was extremely uncomfortable around drinkers—perhaps one reason why he seldom visited the oil fields.

Two stories, both of uncertain authenticity, convey Rockefeller’s disdain for the morals prevalent among many producers. One night in Rouseville, a local committee of vigilantes crept up to a flatboat moored to a bank and filled with ladies of easy virtue and whiskey salesmen; at the height of a bacchanal, they cut the boat loose and sent the sinners twenty miles downriver. It is said that Rockefeller “thoroughly approved” of the action.<sup>26</sup> Another story tells of the time he stayed in Franklin, where he boarded at the Exchange Hotel and liked to have bread and milk for supper. Occasionally, he donned a dingy old suit to help his men load barrels. One Sunday, an employee came rushing in to tell Rockefeller that the river was rising dangerously and might sweep away their barrels. Rockefeller, preparing for church, put on his hat with aplomb, said he had to go to prayer, and refused to attend to business. Perhaps Rockefeller really did have God on his side, for his barrels survived the flooding intact.<sup>27</sup>

Drilling for oil often seemed less an industry than a lottery: Nobody knew if oil would prove a lasting benefit to mankind or an evanescent wonder. If the Oil Regions created many millionaires, they left many more paupers. Instead of building up an industry, most producers preferred to drain their wells as quickly as possible in this harum-scarum atmosphere. Under the so-called rule of capture, people could drill diagonally and siphon off a neighbor’s oil, adding to their haste to pump. Rockefeller succeeded because he believed in the long-term prospects of the business and never treated it as a mirage that would soon fade. Rockefeller’s first visit to Pennsylvania must also have persuaded him that he had picked the right entry point to the business. Searching for oil was wildly unpredictable, whereas refining seemed safe and methodical by comparison. Before too long, he realized that refining was the critical point where he could exert maximum leverage over the industry.

John D. Rockefeller had an unfailing knack for knowing who would help or hinder him in his career, an instinct only sharpened by time. Sensitive to patronizing behavior, he bridled when anyone tried to lord it over him, and he wanted to be dealt with as a peer even by senior men. Recoiling at what he saw as the Clark brothers’ pomposity, he eventually grew as censorious of them as he had been of George Gardner. The Clarks were the first of many business partners to underrate the audacity of the quietly calculating Rockefeller, who bided his time as he figured out how to get rid of them.

All along, crosscurrents had ruffled his relationship with Maurice B. Clark, whom he dismissed as “an ignorant, conceited Englishman.”<sup>28</sup> A tall, bluff man with a fiery temper and shadowy past, Clark had started out as a gardener in his native Wiltshire, chafing under a tyrannical boss. One day in 1847, he reared up and flattened the man. Fearing arrest, he fled to Boston as a penniless, uneducated fugitive from justice. He migrated west to Cleveland and worked as a woodchopper and teamster before entering the produce business. More of a free spirit than Rockefeller, Clark smoked, drank, and swore freely in the warehouse and showed scant religious interest. The personality profile didn’t appeal to Rockefeller, who bristled at Clark’s profanity, but he praised him as a smart, hustling businessman.

Because Rockefeller had such respect for ledgers, Clark, nearly ten years older, looked down on him as a mere clerk, a rigid, blinkered man without vision. “He did not think I could do anything but keep accounts and look after the finances,” said Rockefeller.<sup>29</sup> “You see, it took him a long time to feel that I was no longer a boy.”<sup>30</sup> He thought Clark envious of his success in soliciting business on the road, perhaps because this undercut Clark’s image of him as an expendable clerk. At first, Rockefeller swallowed his anger and stoically endured this injustice. “He tried almost from the beginning of our partnership to dominate and override me,” he said of Clark. “A question he asked several times in our discussion of business matters was, ‘What in the

world would you have done without *me*?" I bore it in silence. It does no good to dispute with such a man."<sup>31</sup> Rockefeller had no doubt who was contributing the lion's share of business. "I was the one who made the firm's success. I kept the books, looked out for the money."<sup>32</sup> As part of Rockefeller's silent craft and habit of extended premeditation, he never tipped off his adversaries to his plans for revenge, preferring to spring his reprisals on them.

The investment in oil refining had brought Maurice's brother James into the office, and Rockefeller came to detest him. An ex-prizefighter, James Clark was a powerful, bullying young man, and he tried to intimidate Rockefeller, who responded with great sangfroid and courage. One morning, James burst into his office and started swearing violently at Rockefeller, who put his feet up on the desk with imperturbable poise and showed no sign of upset; a fine actor, he always had masterful control of his facial muscles. When James finished, Rockefeller said evenly, "Now James, you can knock my head off but you might as well understand that you can't scare me."<sup>33</sup> This fearless young man couldn't be intimidated. After that confrontation, James Clark didn't rant and bluster as much around Rockefeller, but it was clear that they were incompatible colleagues.

As with Maurice, Rockefeller quarreled with James about business methods and was dismayed by his devious side deals in oil. When James boasted about swindling a former boss or cheating people on buying trips to Pennsylvania, it must have aroused Rockefeller's innermost suspicions, for he closely audited his partner's expenses. Like Maurice, James smarted at Rockefeller's self-righteousness and branded him the "Sunday-school superintendent."<sup>34</sup> Already contemplating the future, Rockefeller wanted to be surrounded by trustworthy people who could inspire confidence in customers and bankers alike. He drew a characteristic conclusion: The weak, immoral man was also destined to be a poor businessman. "We were beginning to prosper and I felt very uneasy at my name being linked up with these speculators."<sup>35</sup> Later on, the Clarks fully reciprocated this contempt, with James describing Rockefeller's sole contribution to Andrews, Clark as that of a "financial manipulator" and claiming that in 1863 Rockefeller had cheated him of several thousand dollars.<sup>36</sup>

If their differences had been chiefly a clash of personalities, Rockefeller's partnership with Maurice Clark might have lasted years, but they had sharply divergent views about oil's future and the desirable pace of expansion. Despite the Civil War, the drills never stopped in Pennsylvania, except when General Lee invaded the state and producers had to defend it. As the export business in kerosene widened, Andrews, Clark banked solid profits in refining during every year of the war. Yet prices remained as volatile as the war itself, with the supply-demand equation shifting radically each time a single spouter or gusher came in. Amid the ruthlessly competitive conditions, it was never clear where prices would settle or what constituted a normal price. The price fluctuations in a single year were staggering, veering between 10¢ and \$10 a barrel in 1861 and \$4 and \$12 in 1864. Undeterred by these extreme gyrations, both Rockefeller and Andrews wanted to borrow heavily and expand, while Clark favored a more circumspect approach.

What likely clinched Rockefeller's decision to break from the three Clarks was that they had the votes to override him and Andrews and didn't hesitate to use their majority in a high-handed way. In later reminiscences, Rockefeller disclosed an incident that casts light on his relations with the Clarks: "[Maurice Clark] was very angry when I borrowed money to extend our business of refining oil. 'Why, you have borrowed \$100,000,' he exclaimed, as if that were some sort of offense."<sup>37</sup> Rockefeller's amazement seems somewhat disingenuous: It was a stupendous sum, but all Rockefeller could see was that Maurice Clark lacked his audacity. "Clark was an old grandmother and was scared to death because we owed money at the banks."<sup>38</sup> One can forgive the Clarks if they found something overbearing about this bumptious young man who would risk all their capital, evidently without notifying them. Significantly, the Clarks were irked by both Rockefeller's frugality *and* his prodigality—his tightfisted control of details and advocacy of unbridled expansion. Daring in design, cautious in execution—it was a formula he made his own throughout his career.

By 1865, Rockefeller, age twenty-five, decided it was time for a showdown with the Clarks. He wasn't the sort to persist in a flawed situation, and he was now prepared to clear away the encumbrances that had thwarted his early career.

For Rockefeller, success in the oil business required a bullish, nearly glandular faith in its future. Before deciding to enter the business on a large scale, he needed one last God-given proof that the oil wouldn't disappear—decisive evidence that came in January 1865 at a place called Pithole Creek. The nearby rocks and chasms had always emitted sulfur gas and attracted the notice of oilmen. One day, a group of eccentric producers, waving a witch-hazel twig serving as a divining rod, drilled on the spot where the twig dipped down. When a tremendous gusher spouted up days later, another madcap chapter in the oil industry commenced, with speculators, drillers, and business agents converging on the spot. Within a few months, the sleepy frontier settlement with four log cabins was transformed into a hectic little metropolis of twelve thousand people. Overnight, fifty hotels sprang up, along with a theater that seated one hundred and was lit by crystal chandeliers. So improbable was Pithole's rise that it seemed a phantom city, a conjurer's trick. "It was more than a city," says one chronicler, "it was a state of postwar euphoria."<sup>39</sup> Even by the sordid standards of the Oil Regions, it was a disreputable place. "Every other shop is a liquor saloon," said one journalist. "It is safe to assert that there is more vile liquor drunk in this town than in any other of its size in the world."<sup>40</sup>

One eyewitness to the whole Pithole lunacy was an observant eight-year-old girl named Ida Minerva Tarbell, who lived ten miles away in Rouseville and saw hordes of eager men streaking to the boomtown. When her father built an oil-tank shop there, he made the fastest money of his life. Unfortunately, Pithole's ebullient heyday was short-lived, and within a few years its wells were exhausted from fire and overproduction. Before the town reverted back to sylvan peace, people began to scavenge for scrap. For \$600, Ida Tarbell's father bought the fancy Bonta House hotel, constructed a few years earlier for \$60,000, and carried off its lumber, doors, and windows to erect a home for the Tarbell family in Titusville. By 1874, the moment of its greatness having flickered, Pithole counted just six voters.

In hindsight, Pithole was a cautionary fable of blasted hopes and counterfeit dreams, renewing fears of the industry's short life span. But in January 1865, it suggested that there were many undiscovered pockets of oil, and it probably acted as a catalyst that hastened Rockefeller's break with the Clarks. This parting was vintage Rockefeller: He slowly and secretly laid the groundwork, then moved with electrifying speed to throw his adversaries off balance. That January, Maurice Clark had openly fumed when Rockefeller asked him to sign yet another note. "We have been asking too many loans in order to extend this oil business," Clark said. Undaunted, Rockefeller shot back: "We should borrow whenever we can safely extend the business by doing so."<sup>41</sup> Trying to intimidate Rockefeller, the Clark brothers threatened to dissolve the partnership, which required the unanimous consent of all the

partners.

Determined to break loose from the Clarks and the commission business, Rockefeller sounded out Sam Andrews privately and told him:

*Sam, we are prospering. We have a future before us, a big future. But I don't like Jim Clark and his habits. He is an immoral man in more ways than one. He gambles in oil. I don't want this business to be associated with a gambler. Suppose I take them up the next time they threaten a dissolution. Suppose I succeed in buying them out. Will you come in with me?*<sup>42</sup>

When Andrews agreed, they shook hands on the deal.

A few weeks later, just as Rockefeller expected, he quarreled with Maurice Clark, and the latter threatened to dissolve the partnership. “If that’s the way you want to do business we’d better dissolve, and let you run your own affairs to suit yourself,” Clark warned.<sup>43</sup> Moving swiftly to implement his scenario, Rockefeller invited the partners to his home on February 1, 1865, and vigorously expounded a policy of rapid refinery expansion—a policy he knew was anathema to the Clarks. Playing right into Rockefeller’s hands, James Clark tried to browbeat him. “We’d better split up,” he declared.<sup>44</sup> In conformity with the partnership agreement, Rockefeller got everyone to state publicly that he favored dissolution, and the Clarks left imagining they had cowed Rockefeller. In fact, he raced to the office of the *Cleveland Leader* and placed a notice in the morning paper dissolving the partnership. The next morning, when the Clarks saw it, they were stunned. “Do you really mean it?” an incredulous Maurice Clark asked Rockefeller. He hadn’t realized before that Rockefeller had lined up Andrews on his side. “You really want to break it up?” “I really want to break it up,” replied Rockefeller, who had sounded out sympathetic bankers in the preceding weeks.<sup>45</sup> It was agreed that the firm would be auctioned to the highest bidder.

Even as a young man, Rockefeller was extremely composed in a crisis. In this respect, he was a natural leader: The more agitated others became, the calmer he grew. It was an index of his matchless confidence that when the auction occurred, the Clarks brought a lawyer while Rockefeller represented himself. “I thought that I could take care of so simple a transaction,” he boasted.<sup>46</sup> With the Clarks’ lawyer acting as auctioneer, the bidding began at \$500 and quickly rose to a few thousand dollars, then inched up slowly to about \$50,000—already more than Rockefeller thought the refining business worth. Since this auction was a turning point on his road to industrial supremacy, let us quote his account of the historic moment as he related it in his memoirs:

*Finally it advanced to \$60,000, and by slow stages to \$70,000, and I almost feared for my ability to buy the business and have the money to pay for it. At last the other side bid \$72,000. Without hesitation I said \$72,500. Mr. Clark then said: “I’ll go no higher, John; the business is yours.” “Shall I give you a check for it now?” I suggested. “No,” Mr. Clark said, “I’m glad to trust you for it; settle at your convenience.”*<sup>47</sup>

Rockefeller knew the moment was fraught with consequences. “It was the day that determined my career. I felt the bigness of it, but I was as calm as I am talking to you now,” he told William O. Inglis.<sup>48</sup> He paid a lofty price for his freedom, surrendering to Clark his half interest in the commission business along with the \$72,500. (The purchase price would be equivalent to \$652,000 today.) Yet he had captured a tremendous prize. At age twenty-five, he had won control of Cleveland’s largest refinery, which could treat five hundred barrels of crude oil daily—twice the capacity of its nearest local rival—and ranked as one of the world’s largest facilities. On February 15, 1865, the *Cleveland Leader* printed the following item: “Copartnership Notice—The undersigned, having purchased the entire interest of Andrews, Clark & Co. in the ‘Excelsior Oil Works,’ and all the stock of barrels, oil, etc., will continue the business of the late firm under the name of Rockefeller & Andrews.”<sup>49</sup> Rockefeller savored his revenge against the Clarks, who were shocked that their junior partner had lined up, on the sly, financing for such a large deal, and Rockefeller gloated at the older men’s complacent naïveté. “Then [the Clark brothers] woke up and saw for the first time that my mind had not been idle while they were talking so big and loud.”<sup>50</sup> All of Rockefeller’s Baptist contempt for vanity, show, and loose talk is condensed in that single observation. On March 2, 1865, Clark and Rockefeller was also dissolved, and Rockefeller eliminated the three fractious Clark brothers from his life forever.

For Rockefeller, the harrowing memory of the Clarks stayed with him, and he talked as if he had survived a nightmare. “The sufferings I went through in those years, the humiliation and the anguish, I have not words to describe. And I ever point to the day when I separated myself from them by paying this large bonus as the beginning of the success I have made in my life.”<sup>51</sup> It’s hard to know whether Rockefeller exaggerated the Clarks’ haughtiness, but the important points are that he was proud and sensitive and that their barbed words reverberated deeply in his mind. Having emerged as his own boss, he would never again feel his advancement blocked by shortsighted, mediocre men.

The demise of Clark and Rockefeller unfolded against the waning days of the Civil War. By December 1864, General Sherman had reached Savannah and swung north through the Carolinas. About two months after Rockefeller won the refining business, Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. As a town that had sheltered many runaway slaves before the war, Cleveland was especially grieved by the subsequent news of Lincoln’s assassination. On April 27, the funeral train brought his body to lie in state for several hours in a special mortuary pavilion, with women in spotless white robes gathering by the railroad tracks to sing choral dirges to the slain president.

By this point, the new firm of Rockefeller and Andrews had been installed on the second floor of a brick building on Superior Street, several blocks from the Cuyahoga River, in an office complex known as the Sexton Block. From his new command post, the young entrepreneur could stare out the window and follow the progress of barges drifting by laden with oil barrels from his refinery. Already a mature businessman, he relied on Andrews only as a technician and assumed control of all other aspects of the business. Having discarded several older partners, the young man had no real business mentors, heroes, or role models and was beholden to no one. John D. Rockefeller was not only self-made but self-invented and already had unyielding faith in his own judgment.

For all his resoluteness as a young businessman, Rockefeller tarried in settling his private life. Yet he had already fathomed his own needs and sought a woman who would be pious and loving, dedicated to the church, and strongly supportive of his career. Because of his easy, affectionate way with his mother, Rockefeller felt comfortable with women, took genuine pleasure in their company, and, unlike the caddish Bill, treated them with respect.

During his brief period at Central High School, Rockefeller had befriended two bright, literate sisters, Lucy and Laura Celestia Spelman, and taken a special fancy to Laura, or “Cettie,” as she was called. Though he still had an awkward manner with girls, the sisters saw a warm, likable side to him. Unlike most other girls at the school, the practical-minded Cettie was taking commercial courses to master business principles, and she applauded John in his storied 1855 job search. As a friend of Cettie’s later noted, “She saw that he was ambitious, and she thought that he was honest, which probably appealed to her more than anything else.”<sup>52</sup> Clearly, she transmitted to John the message that his chances of winning her would be materially enhanced if his economic prospects improved.

There seems little doubt that in courting Cettie, John was held back by the disparity in their socioeconomic status, which accounts for the nine-year hiatus between their first meeting in high school and their 1864 marriage. The Spelmans were high-toned people, a blue-ribbon family living in a fine house. A friend of Laura’s recalled, “Perhaps Cettie wasn’t exactly rich and beautiful, but her father was as well off as any of the girls in our class, a member of the Ohio legislature, and somewhat known for his philanthropic work, so—you know how those things are among children—we thought that it was strange for her to rather show a leaning toward Johnny.”<sup>53</sup> It’s easy to see what drew John to Laura aside from patent compatibility, for the Spelmans signified the respectability that had so frustratingly eluded his own family.

Civic-minded, stirred to action by social injustice, the Spelmans offered more than entrée into the local gentry and were a family of genuine substance. Born in Massachusetts, Harvey Buel Spelman, a direct descendant of the Puritans, and Lucy Henry met in Ohio and were married in 1835, giving birth to Laura Celestia on September 9, 1839. When they moved to Akron in 1841, they lived humbly at first, with Mrs. Spelman taking in washing to extend their income; Cettie, as a little girl, sometimes yanked a small red wagon around town to deliver laundry. Even when Harvey Spelman opened a dry-goods store and amassed considerable wealth, he and Lucy didn’t retreat into private pleasures but redoubled their militant reform efforts. As a member of the local board of education, Harvey Spelman spearheaded the creation of a progressive public-school system, a crusade that propelled him into the Ohio state legislature in 1849. Also busy in church causes, the Spelmans helped to found a Congregational church in Akron. Their religious beliefs buttressed their secular activism, and they were pledged to root out evil as part of both their religious and political agendas.

With his broad forehead, tufty brows, and pugnacious beard, Harvey Buel Spelman was a man of burning fundamentalist convictions and apocalyptic musings. He frequently discerned God’s hand smiting the American people for their wicked extravagance, and he issued flaming diatribes against demon rum: “The widespread and excessive use of rum is the tinder which inflames the worst passions in human nature, fosters riots, Communism and strikes, promotes ignorance, vice and crime, and more than any other cause, threatens the stability of our free institutions,” he said in 1879.<sup>54</sup> Lucy Henry, his dignified, industrious wife, enjoyed singing hymns and had little time for small talk, though she could be jolly with her daughters. “At any reference to the Bible, to temperance, to education, to the widening sphere of women, her eyes flashed with old-time fire, and her face was aglow with conviction,” a preacher said, with pardonable hyperbole, at her funeral.<sup>55</sup>

As an outgrowth of their church involvement—and this was true of many evangelicals after the Second Great Awakening—Harvey and Lucy were uncompromising abolitionists and temperance activists. With their home serving as a station on the Underground Railroad, they shepherded many slaves from Tennessee and Kentucky to freedom, and Sojourner Truth, the former slave, abolitionist, and itinerant preacher, spent several days with them. According to Cettie, the only time she ever saw her mother cooking on the Sabbath was to prepare hot meals for slaves in flight to Canada. The Spelmans felt no less ardently about drink. The crusading Mrs. Spelman not only marched in the streets but stormed the saloons, dropped to her knees in prayer, and pleaded with sinners at the bar stools to mend their ways, while Mr. Spelman carried on a parallel campaign to shut down rum shops.

The Spelmans’ prosperous life in Akron ended in 1851 when Mr. Spelman’s business went bankrupt, the casualty of a bank panic. The family then moved to Cleveland, where Mr. Spelman’s fortunes revived, but a dark edge of economic uncertainty always shadowed the family. So while the Spelmans occupied a higher social rung than young Rockefeller, they were haunted by the prospect of economic misfortune and inclined to look favorably upon an up-and-coming suitor with a proper Christian pedigree. Cettie needed to find a husband who could safeguard her family’s security, so it is not surprising that she championed John’s career and eagerly coached him to succeed from the start.

It is hard to picture a young woman more perfectly suited to John D. Rockefeller’s values than the sensible, cheerful Laura Celestia Spelman, who shared his devotion to duty and thrift. They ratified each other’s views about the fundamentals of life. Two months younger than John, Cettie was short and slender, with a round face, dark brown eyes, and a wealth of chestnut hair parted down the middle and smoothly pulled back from her forehead. Rockefeller would never have tolerated a noisy woman, and Cettie was soft in voice and manner. Like John, though, her mild surface belied an adamant determination. She was “gentle and lovely, but resolute with indomitable will,” noted her sister Lucy, better known in the family as Lute.<sup>56</sup> “There was a persuasion in her touch as she laid her fingers ever so gently on your arm.”<sup>57</sup> Again like John, her geniality covered a hard core of sustained willpower. “She was full of mirth and cheer, yet . . . rather inclined to be grave and reserved,” Lute recalled.<sup>58</sup> A paragon of self-control, she never lost her temper and lacked the skittish frivolity of youth.

Early on, John and Laura must have spotted each other as kindred souls, especially when it came to religion. Cettie so unswervingly performed her duties at church and Sunday school that even her loving sister tactfully suggested that she went to extremes. “She was a *religieuse*. God and church came first with her. She cared little for the ‘social life,’ so called; and together she and her husband deepened and expanded their religion to cover and include every phase of life.”<sup>59</sup> Even in photos, one notes a Quakerish simplicity to her appearance, her black dress and lace collar evoking her Puritan ancestors. Despite her evangelical beliefs, she never imposed her views on others and preferred to instruct by example. As one high-school classmate remembered, “She exerted a strong influence upon the rest of us. For one thing she didn’t believe in dancing and theatregoing, because she did not think it was proper for church people to engage in pursuits that she considered worldly.”<sup>60</sup> For all that, Laura was no shallow philistine and had a wide range of interests in art, culture, and society. She played the piano for three hours daily and often accompanied John in duets, but she also had a taste for literature and poetry and could be an entertaining conversationalist.

An assiduous student, she was the valedictorian of her high-school class and her commencement speech, “I Can Paddle My Own Canoe,” was a ringing manifesto of female emancipation. (She graduated seven years after the first historic attempt by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott to

organize women in Seneca Falls, New York.) From this speech, we can infer something of her adolescent values. “We may not tamely submit, and suffer ourselves to be led by any person or party, but have a mind of our own, and having once formed a decision ever abide by it.”<sup>61</sup> This credo augured well for a woman destined to be embroiled in her future husband’s controversial career. In an outspoken statement of feminist belief, she chided men for depriving women of culture then hypocritically blaming them for their dependency. “But give woman culture—let her thread the many paths of science—allow mathematics and exact thought on all subjects to exert their influence on her mind and conventions need not trouble about her ‘proper sphere.’”<sup>62</sup>

In 1856, Harvey and Lucy Spelman left Cleveland for Burlington, Iowa; the move evidently reflected renewed business hardships for Mr. Spelman, and they stayed away from Cleveland for three years. To alleviate the financial stress, Cettie and Lute stayed behind and jointly applied for teaching posts in the Cleveland public schools. Two years later, as the economic pinch eased, the two sisters spent a year at the Oread Collegiate Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts. Established in 1849, this junior college was among the first institutions of higher learning open to women. Founded by abolitionist Eli Thayer, Oread stressed Christianity and the reading of the classics. Drawings show a picturesque, medieval-looking building on a hill, festooned with turrets, towers, and crenellations and surrounded by a stone wall. The cultural atmosphere, with its impassioned support for women’s rights and black welfare, must have been highly congenial to the sisters. Among other speakers, they heard inspirational lectures given by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, and John Brown. A devotee of the Protestant work ethic, Cettie even approved of the school’s daily regimen, which was minutely budgeted from wake-up at 5:30 A.M. until the lights went out at 9:45 P.M. “I do not call the rules strict but am pleased with all of them,” she informed her former music teacher.<sup>63</sup> At Oread, she dropped an occasional friendly note to Rockefeller, though the relationship was at this point less one of romance than of close camaraderie.

Over the years, Laura’s growing commitment to religion smothered her literary bent, but at Oread she was a veritable bluestocking, writing poetry, running the literary society, and editing the campus literary magazine. In a revealing article in the *Oread Euphemia*, she wrote about three aristocracies then ruling America—an aristocracy of intellect in New England, wealth in the mid-Atlantic states, and blood in the South. In view of later events, her descriptions of Boston’s intellectual preeminence or southern social decadence are less noteworthy than the vitriol she poured on the New York nouveaux riches. “In this specified portion of our glorious republic, the ‘parvenu’ lady, with a brain all guiltless of ever having developed an idea, attires her self in habiliments, whose *cast* (but not *style*) would admit of their being worn in the presence of royalty.” After lambasting the dominion of the “almighty dollar” in the mid-Atlantic aristocracy, she concluded mordantly, “The gigantic intellect of Boston must bow to Wall St. Stocks and Bonds.”<sup>64</sup> Such midwestern scorn for Wall Street’s monied upstarts was certainly consonant with Rockefeller’s beliefs. Little did the two know they would one day become synonymous with the “almighty dollar” and reside in the heart of Manhattan’s swankest, most sinful precincts.

In the spring of 1859, the Spelman sisters returned to Cleveland and began to take French, Latin, piano, and voice lessons at the Cleveland Institute. That autumn, Cettie and Lute, who always moved in tandem, began to teach in the public schools, Cettie serving as a teacher and principal’s assistant while Lute taught boys in the same building. Later on, Laura left no doubt of her family’s straitened circumstances at the time. “I had to do [work], which was a good thing,” she later told her son, “and I loved to do it, which was another good thing.”<sup>65</sup> Despite a well-merited reputation as a disciplinarian, she was a popular teacher, and on her last day on the job “all the girls in her class remained after dismissal to say good-bye to her and to cry over losing her,” said one pupil. “My! how they cried.”<sup>66</sup>

In the early 1860s, Laura was sufficiently pleased with work that she felt in no special rush to get married. All the while, John Rockefeller, with the dogged patience that would defeat scores of embattled competitors, waited determinedly in the wings. In April 1860, Laura wrote her former music teacher, “I seem to have no anxiety about leading a life of single-blessedness,” but she mentioned Rockefeller and said that “a gentleman told me not long ago, that he was in no particular rush to have me get married, but he hoped that in the multitude of my thoughts I would not forget the subject.”<sup>67</sup> She must have been torn when contemplating a match with Rockefeller, for teachers had to remain single, and marriage would end her career.

In 1862, Rockefeller, buoyed by his rising wealth in the produce business, began to woo Cettie in earnest, often appearing at her school at day’s end to take her home. The Spelmans then lived in a lovely area of apple groves and greenery called The Heights, and on weekends John and brother William often rode out there under the guise of watching Civil War recruits drill nearby. After the Spelmans moved to a new home in downtown Cleveland, John, often wearing boots spattered with oil from his new refinery, stopped by and took Cettie out for drives in his buckboard, and she heard with delight the details of his business. “Her judgment was always better than mine,” Rockefeller said. “She was a woman of great sagacity. Without her keen advice, I would be a poor man.”<sup>68</sup> There was loving exaggeration here, but in the early days of their marriage, he did bring home the books and review them with her.

Despite her constant reluctance, Rockefeller pursued her with quiet persistence; in love as in business, he had a longer time frame, a more settled will, than other people. By early 1864, with the first profits rolling in from refining, he had become a substantial person in Cleveland, cutting an impressive figure in his frock coat, silk hat, and striped trousers. He was a handsome young man, with a fine, straight nose, rather humorless mouth, and vaguely mournful visage. His mustache flowed into fluffy side-whiskers, but his hair was already receding at the temples. His eyes were steady and lucid, as if confidently scanning the horizon for business opportunities.

Later on, Rockefeller was peculiarly reluctant to divulge to his children details of his courtship, referring to the delicacy of the situation. One gathers that another man, more practiced in the arts of love, was after Laura and that by March 1864 John feared his rival might best him. The time had come to force the situation. As one person who heard the story secondhand remembered, “John D. wanted to marry her, so he went to her one day and proposed in a business-like way, just like he would make a business proposition. She accepted him in the same business-like way.”<sup>69</sup> One imagines the two of them smiling shyly with relief. Shortly afterward, the ascetic Rockefeller did something wholly out of character, spending a shocking \$118 for a diamond engagement ring. The splurge, one suspects, had a point: He wished to telegraph to the Spelmans that he was no longer a callow country boy but a rising young businessman who could support them in a style to which they were accustomed.

After a discreet, six-month engagement, on September 8, 1864, hard on the heels of Sherman’s march into Atlanta, John D. Rockefeller, twenty-five, married Laura Celestia Spelman, twenty-four, in the living room of the Spelman home on Huron Street. It was a small, private affair attended only by the

two families. Like many things in Rockefeller's life, it was carried out in secrecy, and the Cleveland papers printed no notice of it—very odd given the Spelmans' prominence. It is unlikely that Big Bill attended, and John might have worried that his absence would spark curiosity about him. Having established his financial wherewithal, Rockefeller now reverted to type and spent just \$15.75 on the wedding ring, which was duly recorded in Ledger B under the rubric "Sundry Expenses."<sup>70</sup> In a denominational compromise, the pastors from Laura's Plymouth Congregational Church and John's Erie Street Baptist Mission Church jointly officiated, though Laura henceforth switched her allegiance to the Baptists.

Refusing to deviate from routine, John worked the morning of his wedding day, visiting both his downtown office and the cooperage at the refinery. He had arranged a special luncheon for twenty-six employees, without disclosing at first the reason for the celebration. When the jovial bridegroom left for the wedding, he told the foreman facetiously, "Treat them well, but see that they work."<sup>71</sup> With the Swiss precision that governed his life, Rockefeller allotted exactly one month—September 8 to October 8, 1864—for a honeymoon that traced a conventional itinerary. The newlyweds started off at Niagara Falls, followed by a stay at the Saint Lawrence Hall Hotel in Montreal and the Summit House in Mount Washington, New Hampshire. On the way home, they stopped off at Oread Collegiate Institute and met two new teachers, Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles, who would play important roles in their future.

Prior to his honeymoon, Rockefeller's travels had been limited, and the provincial young man in the tall silk hat exhibited voracious curiosity throughout the trip. While touring Niagara Falls, he peppered the guide with so many questions that the man grew distracted, ran the buggy into a ditch, and smashed a wheel. At another point, they met an old man in the roadway whom John so sedulously drained of local lore that the latter finally pleaded with weary resignation, "For God's sake if you will go with me over to that barn yonder, I will start and tell you everything I ever knew."<sup>72</sup> This was the same monotonously inquisitive young man who was known as "the Sponge" in the Oil Regions.

For the first six months of their marriage, John and Laura lived with Eliza at 33 Cheshire Street; then they moved into a dignified, two-story brick house at 29 Cheshire Street. Surrounded by a white picket fence, the house had tall, graceful windows but was disfigured by an ugly portico. Even though Rockefeller now operated and partially owned the largest refinery in Cleveland, he and Laura lived frugally without house servants. Rockefeller always cherished the chaste simplicity of this early period and preserved their first set of dishes, which stirred him to wistful reflections in later years. Thus, by the end of the Civil War, John D. Rockefeller had established the foundations of his personal and professional life and was set to capitalize on the extraordinary opportunities beckoning him in postwar America. From this point forward, there would be no zigzags or squandered energy, only a single-minded focus on objectives that would make him both the wonder and terror of American business.



*The rakish young Henry Morrison Flagler. (Courtesy of the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum)*

## The Poetry of the Age

The period after the Civil War was the most fertile in American history for schemers and dreamers, sharp-elbowed men and fast-talking hucksters, charlatans and swindlers. A perfect mania for patents and inventions swept America, as everybody tinkered with some new contrivance. It was a time of bombastic rhetoric and outsize dreams. As always during a protracted war, millions of people postponed their lives until the ghastly bloodshed was over, then they turned to private life with newfound zeal. The sudden wealth of young businessmen such as Rockefeller fed envy among returning soldiers, who wished to emulate their good fortune. The money fever was, in part, the reaction to a war that had appealed to both the worst and the best in the national character, for Lincoln's high-minded crusade had often been debased by profiteering contractors operating behind patriotic façades. For many in the North, the high drama of preserving the union and emancipating the slaves had exhausted their capacity for altruism, leaving a residual contagion of greed.

As the banker Thomas Mellon observed of these years of unfettered growth,

*It was such a period as seldom occurs, and hardly ever more than once in anyone's lifetime. The period between 1863 and 1873 was one in which it was easy to grow rich. There was a steady increase in the value of property and commodities, and an active market all the time. One had only to buy anything and wait, to sell at a profit; sometimes, as in real estate for instance, at a very large profit in a short time.*<sup>1</sup>

A new cult of opportunity sprang up, producing a generation of business leaders for whom work was the greatest adventure life afforded. As Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner wrote in *The Gilded Age*, "To the young American . . . the paths to fortune are innumerable and all open; there is invitation in the air and success in all his wide horizon."<sup>2</sup> Or as one character in William Dean Howells's novel *The Rise of Silas Lapham* phrased it, "There's no doubt but money is to the fore now. It is the romance, the poetry of our age."<sup>3</sup> Self-made businessmen were the new demigods, and a copious self-help literature sermonized that young men who worked hard and saved could enter the millionaires' pantheon. This new industrial boom downgraded the power of the old gentry and rural elites, substituting a new species of self-made men: economic marauders too busy making money to be overly concerned with tradition. The era of the Great Barbecue—the felicitous name coined by literary historian Vernon Parrington—was dominated by arrogant, enterprising men in railroads, shipping, and stock manipulation: Jay Cooke, Commodore Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Daniel Drew, Jim Fisk, and many others. The age was presided over by an inept president, General Ulysses S. Grant, a small-town businessman before the war, who was enamored of the rich, no matter how frequently they tried to fleece him.

The public was divided about these colossal developments. The appetite for gain fostered new fortunes and built up the industrial infrastructure, setting the stage for American industrial preeminence, but it also unsettled people with a sense of something frightening, gigantic, and poorly understood that was drastically transforming their innocent country. The Civil War invited people to repudiate their pasts as they staked out new lives. As Grant phrased it in his memoirs, "The war begot a spirit of independence and enterprise. The feeling now is, that a youth must cut loose from his old surroundings to enable him to get up in the world."<sup>4</sup> As people took unethical shortcuts to success, the universal race for riches threatened to overthrow existing moral systems and subvert the authority of church and state.

The triumph of the North meant the ascendancy of urbanization, immigration, industrial capitalism, and wage labor over an agrarian southern economy doomed to stagnate for decades. The war markedly accelerated the timetable of economic development, promoting the growth of factories, mills, and railroads. By stimulating technological innovation and standardized products, it ushered in a more regimented economy. The world of small farmers and businessmen began to fade, upstaged by a gargantuan new world of mass consumption and production. As railroad expansion gained momentum, populating the West and culminating in completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, it spawned an accompanying mania in land deals, stock promotions, and mining developments. People rushed to exploit millions of acres of natural resources that could be economically brought to market for the first time.

In short, by the end of the Civil War, the preconditions existed for an industrial economy of spectacular new proportions. Before the war, the federal government had only twenty thousand employees and shied away from attempts to regulate business. Unlike Europe, America had no tradition of political absolutism or ecclesiastic privilege to quench entrepreneurial spirits, and the weak, fragmented political system gave businessmen room to flourish. At the same time, America had the legal and administrative apparatus necessary to support modern industry. There was respect for private property and contracts; people could get limited corporate charters or file for bankruptcy; and bank credit, while not yet plentiful, was everywhere available in a highly fragmented banking system. In time, the government redefined the rules of the capitalist game to tame trusts and preserve competition, but as John D. Rockefeller set about building his fortune, the absence of clear-cut rules probably aided, at first, the creative vigor of the new industrial economy.

Perhaps no industry so beguiled the Civil War veterans with promises of overnight wealth than the oil industry. In astonishing numbers, a ragtag group of demobilized soldiers, many still in uniform and carrying knapsacks and rifles, migrated to northwest Pennsylvania. The potential money to be made was irresistible, whether in drilling or in auxiliary services; people could charge two or three times as much as they dared to ask in the city. Ida Tarbell speculated that "this little corner of Pennsylvania absorbed a larger portion of men probably than any other spot in the United States. There were lieutenants and captains and majors—even generals—scattered all over the field."<sup>5</sup> They brought with them a military sense of organization and a bellicose competitive spirit, but they were eager for quick killings and betrayed little sense of how to fashion a stable, lasting business, providing an opening for the organization-minded Rockefeller.

The war had stimulated growth in the use of kerosene by cutting off the supply of southern turpentine, which had yielded a rival illuminant called camphene. The war had also disrupted the whaling industry and led to a doubling of whale-oil prices. Moving into the vacuum, kerosene emerged as an economic staple and was primed for a furious postwar boom. This burning fluid extended the day in cities and removed much of the lonely darkness



from rural life. The petroleum industry also furnished lubricants to grease the wheels of heavy industry. Though the world oil industry was squeezed into western Pennsylvania, the repercussions were felt everywhere. In 1865, Congressman James Garfield alluded to the oil craze in a letter to a former staff officer: "I have conversed on the general question of oil with a number of members who are in the business, for you know the fever has assailed Congress in no mild form. . . . Oil, not cotton, is King now, in the world of commerce."<sup>6</sup> Soon, John D. Rockefeller would reign as the undisputed king of that world.

In many ways, Rockefeller seemed a finely tuned instrument of the zeitgeist, the purest embodiment of the dynamic, acquisitive spirit of the postwar era. Like other Gilded Age moguls, he was shaped by his faith in economic progress, the beneficial application of science to industry, and America's destiny as an economic leader. He steeled himself to persevere, subordinating his every impulse to the profit motive, working to master unruly emotions and striving for an almost Buddhist detachment from his own appetites and passions. "I had a bad temper," Rockefeller said. "I think it might be called an ugly temper when too far provoked."<sup>7</sup> So he trained himself to control this temper and tried never to be guided by ego or pique.

By the end of the Civil War, the pale, trim twenty-six-year-old with the reddish gold hair and side-whiskers carried himself like a man of importance. No sooner had he formed a new firm with Sam Andrews than he was bent on expanding it. In December 1865, he and Andrews inaugurated a second refinery, the Standard Works, with brother William appointed its nominal head. The combined Excelsior and Standard Works confirmed Rockefeller as the leading Cleveland refiner at a time when the city ranked among the top refining centers. Photos of his first refineries show an unprepossessing cluster of buildings, scarcely bigger than sheds, spaced irregularly across a hillside. With hands clasped behind his back, Rockefeller paced these works, poking his head in everywhere, a perfectionist alert to the tiniest details. When he saw somebody attending to a neglected, unswept corner, he smiled and said, "That's right, eternal vigilance!"<sup>8</sup> For foreman, he recruited a man named Ambrose McGregor who was, in Rockefeller's description, "a precise, exacting man, honest as the day but perhaps not given to cultivating people."<sup>9</sup> An imposing, bewhiskered figure, McGregor won Rockefeller's absolute trust on all technical matters. Since the refineries stood some distance from downtown, Rockefeller and McGregor often lunched at the boardinghouse of a Mrs. Jones; the two men in their oil-soaked boots regularly offended the nostrils of other diners and were exiled to the porch.

As a self-made man in a new industry, Rockefeller wasn't stultified by precedent or tradition, which made it easier for him to innovate. He continued to value autonomy from outside suppliers. At first, he had paid small coopers up to \$2.50 for white oak barrels before he showed, in an early demonstration of economies of scale, that he could manufacture dry, tight casks more cheaply himself; soon his firm made thousands of blue-painted barrels daily for less than a dollar per barrel. Other Cleveland coopers bought and shipped green timber to their shops, whereas Rockefeller had the oak sawed in the woods then dried in kilns, reducing its weight and slicing transportation costs in half. And he continually extended the market for petroleum by-products, selling benzine, paraffin, and petroleum jelly in addition to kerosene.

In this early period, Rockefeller was a chronic worrier who labored under a great deal of self-imposed stress. Though not versed in the scientific side of refining, he often exercised a direct managerial role in the plant. With fluctuating market conditions, he sometimes needed to send shipments to New York with great dispatch and personally rushed down to the railroad tracks to motivate his freight handlers. "I shall never forget how hungry I was in those days. I stayed out of doors day and night; I ran up and down the tops of freight cars when necessary; I hurried up the boys."<sup>10</sup>

At the time, refiners were tormented by fears that the vapors might catch fire, sparking an uncontrollable conflagration. Fire had already taken many lives in the industry—Edwin Drake's well, for example, was destroyed by fire in the autumn of 1859. During the Civil War, there were so many spectacularly destructive blazes along Oil Creek that producers posted signs warning, "Smokers Will Be Shot."<sup>11</sup> Mark Hanna, who later managed President McKinley's campaign, recalled how one morning in 1867 he woke up and discovered that his Cleveland refinery had burned to the ground, wiping out his investment, and such fears kept refiners on tenterhooks around the clock. "I was always ready, night and day, for a fire alarm from the direction of our works," said Rockefeller. "Then proceeded a dark cloud of smoke from the area, and then we dashed madly to the scene of the action. So we kept ourselves like the firemen, with their horses and hose carts always ready for immediate action."<sup>12</sup>

Such was the perpetual fire menace posed by the new industry that refineries were soon banned within the Cleveland city limits, hastening the growth of Kingsbury Run. In those years, oil tanks weren't hemmed in earthen banks as they later were, so if a fire started it quickly engulfed all neighboring tanks in a flaming inferno. Before the automobile, nobody knew what to do with the light fraction of crude oil known as gasoline, and many refiners, under cover of dark, let this waste product run into the river. "We used to burn it for fuel in distilling the oil," said Rockefeller, "and thousands and hundreds of thousands of barrels of it floated down the creeks and rivers, and the ground was saturated with it, in the constant effort to get rid of it."<sup>13</sup> The noxious runoff made the Cuyahoga River so flammable that if steamboat captains shoveled glowing coals overboard, the water erupted in flames. Each time a black cloud billowed up in the sky, people assumed another refinery had exploded, and kerosene prices soared. At least in retrospect, Rockefeller sounded philosophic about this omnipresent danger. "In those days, when the fire bell rang, we would all go to the refinery and help put it out. When the fire was burning I would have my pencil out, making plans for the rebuilding of our works."<sup>14</sup>

Even the dread of fire paled beside recurrent worries that the Pennsylvania oil wells would dry up, with no substitute in sight. As Rockefeller noted, "It was here today and there tomorrow, and none of us knew with any certainty about the continuance of the supply, without which these investments were valueless."<sup>15</sup> Already by the late 1860s, stern prophecies were issued about the industry's impending demise. There were two types of oilmen: those who thought the sudden boom an insubstantial mirage and who cashed in their profits as soon as possible; and those, like Rockefeller, who saw petroleum as the basis of an enduring economic revolution. During the salutary nightly sermons he gave himself in bed, Rockefeller often meditated on the transience of earthly wealth, especially oil, and admonished himself, "You've got a fair fortune. You have a good property—now. But suppose the oil fields gave out!"<sup>16</sup> Yet the future of the oil business became an article of religious faith for him, as did the feeling that the Lord had blessed him and his enterprise. In late 1867, several days before Christmas, he just missed a train that ended up in a terrible wreck, killing many passengers, and Rockefeller at once wrote to Cettie, "I do (and did when I learned that the first train left) regard the thing as the *Providence* of God."<sup>17</sup>

Not yet the *bête noire* of oil producers, Rockefeller frequently donned his shabby oil suit and traveled to Franklin, Pennsylvania, where he kept an office that purchased oil, saving on the cost of middlemen. The oil fever was so infectious in the Oil Regions that these trips always silenced any

fugitive doubts he might have entertained about the industry's survival. As one traveler reported after visiting Oil Creek in 1866, "Men think of oil, talk of oil, dream of oil, the smell and taste of oil predominate in all they eat and drink."<sup>18</sup> These trips energized Rockefeller, who returned to Cleveland with renewed faith. As a friend recalled, "When he came back he would always have great tales to tell, and his eyes would snap as he would speak of his desires to succeed."<sup>19</sup>

In the 1860s, nobody knew if significant oil deposits existed outside the rugged terrain of northwest Pennsylvania, so the industry had immediately taken on global proportions. Within a year of Drake's discovery, his backers were marketing oil in London and Paris, and Europe emerged rapidly as the foremost market for American kerosene, importing hundreds of thousands of barrels yearly during the Civil War. Perhaps no other American industry had such an export outlook from its inception. By 1866, fully two-thirds of Cleveland kerosene was flowing overseas, most of it routed through New York, which became the export entrepôt for oil. At once, Rockefeller saw that he had to look beyond American shores to soak up excess production: "It seemed absolutely necessary to extend the market for oil by exporting to foreign countries, which required a large and most difficult development."<sup>20</sup> To accomplish this, he dispatched brother William to New York City in 1866 to launch the firm of Rockefeller and Company, which would oversee the exports of their Cleveland refineries.

If William wasn't much younger than John—"My brother is one year, one month and eight days younger than I am," John specified with comic exactitude—he certainly had a younger brother's deference and mentality.<sup>21</sup> Already settled by this time, William had gotten married in May 1864 to Almira ("Mira") Geraldine Goodsell, who came from a well-heeled Cleveland family with Yankee antecedents. The photos of William in his early twenties reveal a young man with thick muttonchop whiskers, clear eyes, and a broad, smooth forehead who looks more placid and less driven than his elder brother. Throughout their lives, despite their antithetical temperaments—William was bluff and friendly and freer than John in morals and manners—the brothers remained warm companions and close colleagues. William was a natural salesman who easily charmed people. Even in Pennsylvania, he was a popular figure who swapped tales with oil producers while John held himself aloof. "William always judges everything by intuition and instinct," said John, tacitly contrasting his brother with himself. "He doesn't act on analysis."<sup>22</sup> But those instincts were sound, and, while William took things seriously, he didn't puff them up into grand moral crusades the way his brother did.

As a novice businessman, William had been precocious like his brother. After joining John as a bookkeeper at Hewitt and Tuttle, he was spirited away by a local miller and ended up at a produce-commission house, making partner after just one year. By age twenty, he was already earning \$1,000 a year—"much more than I got," noted John wryly—and winning his older brother's confidence.<sup>23</sup> "My brother was a young, active and efficient, and successful, businessman."<sup>24</sup> The quality that most endeared William to John was sheer dependability. In later years, John repeated the anecdote of how his brother, as a young bookkeeper, awoke in the night and realized that he had made an error in a bill of lading. He was so disturbed that he couldn't wait till morning to correct it and marched down to the lakefront warehouse during the night so that the ship could sail on time with proper paperwork. In September 1865, William left the produce house of Hughes, Davis and Rockefeller to join his brother's oil-refining business, and, when the Standard Works was organized that December, it bore the name of William Rockefeller and Company.

Before long, John D. Rockefeller was cast by critics as the omnipotent wizard of the oil market, setting prices as the whim seized him, but by sending William to New York he acknowledged that the export market decisively influenced oil prices. Whenever news of a Pennsylvania gusher reached New York, the French and German buyers, anticipating lower prices, simply stopped buying, and this made them the ultimate arbiters of price. "They sat there like a lot of vultures," said Rockefeller. "They wouldn't buy until the price of refined had fallen very low on account of the flood of crude oil in the market."<sup>25</sup> One of William's tasks in New York was to apprise the firm's buyers in the Oil Regions of sudden drops in export prices so that they could temporarily curtail crude-oil purchases.

When William arrived in New York, he set up unadorned offices at 181 Pearl Street, and the proximity to Wall Street was critical. To implement their audacious schemes, the Rockefellers needed massive capital but encountered two problems that seemed insuperable. The elite Wall Street bankers preferred to finance railroads and government and regarded oil refining as a risky, untested business, nothing short of outright gambling. Mindful of the extreme fire hazards and the specter of the oil running dry, only a few intrepid souls dared to wager on it. At the same time, John D.'s insatiable need for money outstripped the meager resources of Cleveland banks, forcing him to widen his search to New York, where he could secure credit at more advantageous rates. "And my dear brother, William, being located in the metropolis, where the opportunities were better for securing money, had upon him this financial burden, and he showed marked ability in keeping a steady nerve and presenting our case very well to the bankers."<sup>26</sup> As a result of John's foresight in assigning him to New York, William's career became closely intertwined with that of Wall Street—to an uncomfortable extent, from John's later perspective.

As a gray eminence of the business world in his retirement, John D. betrayed a deep suspicion of financiers, boasted that he never borrowed, and was celebrated for his financial conservatism. Yet at this stage of his career, he turned inescapably to bankers. "One can hardly recognize how difficult it was to get capital for active business enterprises at that time," he admitted.<sup>27</sup> If Rockefeller ever came close to groveling, it was in his eternal appeals to bankers. "In the beginning we had to go to the banks—almost on our knees—to get money and credit."<sup>28</sup> When dealing with the banks, he vacillated between caution and daring: He often went to bed worrying how he would repay his large volume of loans, then awoke in the morning, refreshed by a night's sleep and determined to borrow even more.<sup>29</sup>

The Civil War introduced a new greenback currency and national banking system that generously stoked the postwar economy with credit. Many people grew rich with borrowed funds, creating a false flush of prosperity. Rockefeller was very much a product of this new credit-based society and owed a great deal to Truman Handy and other Cleveland bankers who identified him as a young businessman of exceptional promise. He cleverly projected the image of a rising star whom bankers spurned at their peril. One day, he ran into a banker, William Otis, who had allowed Rockefeller to borrow up to his credit limit; some directors were now expressing misgivings. Could Rockefeller stop by to discuss the loans? "I shall be very glad to demonstrate the strength of my credit at any time," replied Rockefeller. "Next week I shall need more money. I would like to give my business to your bank. Soon I shall have a great deal of money to invest."<sup>30</sup>

Obliging but never fawning, he knew how to soothe jittery creditors, and one of his cardinal rules was never to seem too eager to borrow. With amusement, he recalled how one day he was walking down the street, trying to figure out how to find an urgently needed \$15,000 loan, when a local banker pulled up in a buggy and serendipitously asked, “Do you think you could use \$50,000, Mr. Rockefeller?” Rockefeller, gifted with more than a touch of his father’s showmanship, studied the man’s face for a long time then drawled, “Well-I-I, can you give me twenty-four hours to think it over?” By stalling, Rockefeller believed, he pinned down the deal on the most favorable terms.<sup>31</sup>

Aside from his reputation for exemplary character, especially among Baptist business executives, Rockefeller had several other traits that inspired passionate allegiance from bankers. He was a stickler for the truth in presenting facts, never fudged or equivocated in discussing problems, and promptly repaid loans. At numerous points in his early career, he was rescued by bankers from crises that might have capsized his business. At one bank, the directors balked at extending him further credit after he suffered a refinery fire and hadn’t yet been compensated by insurers. Stepping into the breach, director Stillman Witt asked a clerk to fetch his own strongbox and announced with a flourish, “Here, gentlemen, these young men are all O.K., and if they want to borrow more money I want to see this bank advance it without hesitation, and if you want more security, here it is; take what you want.”<sup>32</sup>

It is impossible to comprehend Rockefeller’s breathtaking ascent without realizing that he always moved into battle backed by abundant cash. Whether riding out downturns or coasting on booms, he kept plentiful reserves and won many bidding contests simply because his war chest was deeper. Rockefeller vividly described the way that he had hastily enlisted the aid of bankers to snap up one refinery:

*It required many hundreds of thousands of dollars—and in cash; securities would not answer. I received the message at about noon, and had to get off on the 3 o’clock train. I drove from bank to bank, asking each president or cashier, whomever I could find first, to get ready for me all the funds he could possibly lay hands on. I told them I would be back to get the money later. I rounded up all of our banks in the city, and made a second journey to get the money, and kept going until I secured the necessary amount. With this I was off on the 3 o’clock train, and closed the transaction.*

<sup>33</sup>

To have orchestrated such a rapid campaign required a long relationship of trust with the banks.

So adroitly did Rockefeller manage his unending quest for money that he became a director of a fire-insurance company in 1866 and a director of the Ohio National Bank in 1868. By that point, he must have felt very sure of himself, even cocky, because he didn’t bother to attend bank meetings and was ejected posthaste from one board. One is again impressed by the fantastic forward motion of his career, how quickly he evolved from humble supplicant to impatient businessman. Now in his late twenties, he had little time for fuddy-duddy directors and often dispensed with the niceties. As he said of the bank’s board meetings: “I used to go at first, and there were some nice old gentlemen sitting stolidly about a table discussing earnestly the problem offered by new departures in vault locks. It was all right in its way, but I was a busy man even then and I really didn’t have the time for it. So they got rid of me speedily.”

For all his self-assurance, Rockefeller needed one associate who would share his daydreams, endorse his plans, and stiffen his resolve, and that indispensable alter ego was Henry Morrison Flagler. Nine years older than Rockefeller, with roguish good looks, Flagler was a dashing figure with luminous blue eyes, smooth black hair, and a handlebar mustache. “His clothes were of the most recent cut,” an office messenger said admiringly. “He carried himself with a confidence that was regal. He had a heavy black moustache and the most beautiful hair I had ever seen.”<sup>34</sup> Funny and voluble, brisk and energetic, Flagler was nevertheless reticent about his motives and background and in time surpassed his tight-lipped younger partner in fending off public inquiries.

Flagler’s upbringing had some noticeable parallels to Rockefeller’s. Born in Hopewell, New York, in 1830, the son of an impecunious Presbyterian pastor, he grew up in the Finger Lakes region of upstate New York before moving to Toledo, Ohio. In a previous marriage, his mother had been married to a Bellevue, Ohio, doctor named David Harkness, who already had a son, Stephen, from his first marriage. They had a second son, Dan, before David Harkness died. Flagler’s mother, Elizabeth, then married the Reverend Isaac Flagler. Evidently a man of courage and principle, Reverend Flagler created an uproar when he officiated over the marriage in Toledo of a young mulatto man to a white woman.

Dropping out of school at fourteen, Henry made his way to Republic, Ohio, and worked in the small country store of Lamon Harkness, Dr. Harkness’s younger brother. He later spun romantic tales of this first job, where he sold molasses and dry goods by day and slept in the drafty rear of the store at night. For special customers, Flagler would dip into a keg of brandy hidden upstairs. Becoming further entangled with his Harkness relatives, Henry married Lamon’s daughter, the dark-eyed, demure Mary, in 1853.

Before the Civil War, Henry earned good money in Lamon’s grain business in Bellevue, in the corn and wheat belt of Sandusky County, where he shipped much produce through Cleveland. “John D. Rockefeller was a commission merchant in Cleveland, and I sent him a good many carloads of wheat, which he sold as my agent,” he recalled.<sup>35</sup> In a lucrative sideline, Flagler and his Harkness relatives took an interest in a whiskey distillery, which also provided an outlet for surplus grain. Like Rockefeller, Flagler was a prudish young man who never swore an oath stronger than “Thunder!” As a teetotaler, Sunday-school teacher, and minister’s son, Flagler’s liquor venture didn’t square with his principles—though the profits evidently provided balm to his conscience. “I had scruples about the business and gave it up,” he confided, “but not before I made \$50,000 in Bellevue.”<sup>36</sup> Awash with cash, he built a stately Victorian mansion, the Gingerbread House, that was brightly illuminated with coal-oil lamps. Among the visitors was John D. Rockefeller, then canvassing accounts for his partnership with Maurice Clark. “He was a bright and active young fellow full of vim and push,” said Rockefeller, as if Flagler were the younger of the two.<sup>37</sup>

During the Civil War, Flagler, like Rockefeller, hired a substitute. His firm was a major contractor for grain purchases by the Union army and in 1862, brimful of wartime profits, he cast about for a fresh opportunity. At this point, Flagler stumbled into the sole business blunder of his career when he took a sizable stake in a salt company in Saginaw, Michigan, and moved his family there. When the war ended, slashing demand for salt, his firm went bankrupt, the victim of a classic boom-and-bust cycle. Losing everything, he had to be bailed out by a giant loan from the Harkness family. “At the end of three years, I had lost my little fortune and owed \$50,000 to about 50,000 Irishmen who had been working in the salt factory,” said Flagler.<sup>38</sup> He

had much occasion to ponder the contradictions of a market economy in which dynamic industries swiftly expand during prosperity only to find themselves overextended during downturns. To cope with excess production, many Saginaw salt companies opted for cooperation over competition and joined a cartel arrangement to try to prop up salt prices, providing a precedent for Standard Oil.

After his sobering reversal of fortune, Flagler entered a despondent period in which he sometimes skipped lunch to save money. Returning to Bellevue, he tried to market felt wool as well as a machine he had invented that would supposedly produce the perfect horseshoe. Deciding to try his luck in Cleveland (where Stephen V. Harkness had moved in 1866), he took a job selling grain with Rockefeller's ex-partner, Maurice Clark, and by coincidence filled the post recently vacated by Rockefeller. Perhaps to tweak Clark, Rockefeller invited Flagler to rent desk space in his office suite in the Sexton Block. As Flagler prospered, he settled his debts, bought a fine house on Euclid Avenue, and joined the First Presbyterian Church.

As they strolled to and from work together, Flagler and Rockefeller must have soon discovered their remarkable affinity as businessmen. Chafing at his dependence on loans and wondering when he might deplete the capital of local banks, Rockefeller now scouted out large individual investors and was probably acutely aware of the wealth of Flagler's relatives. Through Flagler's introduction, Rockefeller solicited money from Stephen V. Harkness, by now one of Cleveland's richest men. A bearish man with thick, slightly unkempt hair, fluffy sideburns, and a walrus mustache, Harkness had capitalized on inside political information to make a fortune during the war. As an ally of U.S. senator John Sherman of Ohio, he had received timely word in 1862 of an upcoming government move to levy a two-dollar tax on every gallon of malt and distilled liquor. Before the tax took effect, he busily stockpiled wine and whiskey and even raided the deposits of a local bank he owned to pour more money into this operation.<sup>39</sup> When the tax was enacted in July 1862, he sold his enormous cache of spirits for a fast \$300,000 profit. It is deeply ironic that Rockefeller, a staunch temperance advocate, got one of his most significant cash infusions from questionable gains in liquor.

While Rockefeller was negotiating a large loan from Stephen V. Harkness during an hour-long talk in 1867, the latter saw an excellent opportunity to set up Henry in business and instead of extending a loan asked for a large block of stock in the company. Investing \$100,000—a third of the new firm's capital—Harkness made it a precondition of his investment that Henry become treasurer and his personal deputy in the firm. As Harkness said to Rockefeller, "Young man, you can have all the money you want. You are on the right track and I am with you." As to Henry's part, he added, "I'll make Henry my watchdog."<sup>40</sup> Since Harkness was also a director of banks, railroads, mining, real estate, and manufacturing companies, the tie ushered Rockefeller into a new universe of business connections.

On March 4, 1867, the *Cleveland Leader* announced the formation of a new partnership, Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler, with offices in the Case Building, a solid masonry structure with rounded, Romanesque windows and a prestigious address on the Public Square. "This firm is one of the oldest in the refining business and their trade already a mammoth one. . . . Their establishment is one of the largest in the United States. Among the many oil refining enterprises, this seems to be one of the most successful; its heavy capital and consummate management having kept it clear of the many shoals upon which oil refining . . . houses have so often [been] stranded."<sup>41</sup> From reading this description, one would have thought the firm was run by gray, reverend men, whereas Rockefeller, the boy wonder of Cleveland business, was just twenty-seven.

Starting with Flagler's recruitment, Rockefeller began to assemble the team of capable, congenial executives who would transform the Cleveland refiner into the world's strongest industrial company. Both Rockefeller and Flagler had nimble minds for numbers and infinite dexterity with balance sheets. Neither was interested in a modest success, and they were both prepared to go as far and as fast as the marketplace allowed. As Flagler boasted, "I have always been contented, but I have never been satisfied."<sup>42</sup> Rockefeller found his partner's enthusiasm a tonic, noting that Flagler "was always on the active side of every question, and to his wonderful energy is due much of the rapid progress of the company in the early days."<sup>43</sup> Given their exalted goals, it probably helped that Flagler had been chastened by failure and was acquainted with the perils of complacency.<sup>44</sup>

Rockefeller loved Flagler's dictum that a friendship founded on business was superior to a business founded on friendship, and for several decades they worked together in an almost seamless fashion. In the early years, the two men were bound by a common dream, lived near each other, and seemed virtually inseparable. As Rockefeller said in his memoirs, "We met and walked to the office together, walked home to luncheon, back again after luncheon, and home again at night. On these walks, when we were away from the office interruptions, we did our thinking, talking, and planning together." For a man as reserved as Rockefeller, this picture suggests an unbuttoned exchange of ideas of a sort he permitted with few people.

In the office, their intimacy was patent to visitors, for they had back-to-back desks and shared many duties. They even developed a collective letter-writing style, passing drafts back and forth with each making minor improvements until they expressed what was wanted but not one syllable more. At this point, the letters were ready to be vetted by the severest judge, Mrs. Rockefeller, who was, said one office worker, "known to be the most valued adviser."<sup>45</sup> Endowed with considerable verbal skill, Flagler had such a gift for drawing up legal documents or sniffing out hidden pitfalls in contracts that Rockefeller insisted he could have taught the fine points of contract law to lawyers—no small edge for a firm that would be engaged in running legal battles.

In his later years, Flagler developed into a grandee of such rich tastes that it is instructive to note his austere early style. Not only did he labor six days a week, but he shunned bars and theaters as the devil's playgrounds and became superintendent of the First Presbyterian Church. Like Rockefeller, he advocated self-discipline and deferred gratification. As he said of his first threadbare days in Cleveland: "I wore a thin overcoat and thought how comfortable I should be when I could afford a long, thick Ulster. I carried a lunch in my pocket until I was a rich man. I trained myself in the school of self-control and self-denial. It was hard on [me], but I would rather be my own tyrant than have some one else tyrannize me."<sup>46</sup> After his wife, Mary, gave birth to a son, Henry Harkness Flagler, in 1870, she never regained her health and turned into an invalid. For the next seventeen years, Flagler stayed home at night so he could read to her for hours on end, with John and Laura Rockefeller often stopping by to mitigate the gloom.

That Flagler was his most valuable partner was always unquestioned dogma for Rockefeller, yet one wonders whether the influence was altogether benign. An ebullient man, Flagler wouldn't stop to quibble over legal niceties when taken by a powerful idea, and even Rockefeller hinted obliquely at the dangers posed by Flagler's headstrong nature. "He was a man of great force and determination," said Rockefeller, "though perhaps he needed a restraining influence at times when his enthusiasm was roused."<sup>47</sup> On his desk, Flagler kept a quote from a popular novel, *David Harum*, which said,

“Do unto others as they would do unto you—and do it first.”<sup>48</sup> What makes Flagler’s ethics consequential for Rockefeller’s career was that he was the mastermind of many negotiations with the railroads—the single most controversial aspect of Standard Oil history. It’s not clear that anyone could have tempered the fiercely irrepressible drive of John D. Rockefeller, but the swashbuckling Flagler had especially little interest in transposing the lessons of his Sunday-school classes to the profane, turbulent world of oil refining. As far as Rockefeller was concerned, however, Flagler’s arrival was providential, for the oil industry was about to be thrown into unprecedented turmoil, making relations with the railroads all-important.

Transportation assumed a pivotal place in the petroleum business for an elementary reason: Drake had discovered oil in a distant, inaccessible spot that was, at first, poorly served by the railroads. For several years, teamsters—the wagoners who hauled out the barrels—exercised a brutal tyranny and charged exorbitant sums. Since oil was a relatively cheap, standardized commodity, transportation costs inevitably figured as a critical factor in the competitive struggle. The logical and elegant solution—to construct a comprehensive pipeline network—encountered harsh resistance from the threatened teamsters. During the 1865 Pithole frenzy, Samuel Van Syckel laid a two-inch iron pipeline from Oil Creek to railroad tracks six miles away. Defying armed guards, roaming gangs of teamsters descended each night and tore up sections of the pipeline. When Henry Harley launched a second pipeline, they again dug up pipes and set storage tanks ablaze, forcing Harley to field a small army of Pinkerton detectives to squash the revolt. The teamsters must have known they were fighting a rearguard action, but for a time they managed to delay the installation of a pipeline system.

Between the benighted rule of the teamsters and the future domination by efficient pipelines, there arose an interregnum in which the railroads exercised pervasive influence over everything that happened in the industry. At first, they tried to ship barrels on open flatcars, but the swaying, jolting ride splintered the containers and spilled their contents. After the Civil War, this hazardous method was superseded by primitive tank cars—twin pine tubs mounted on flatcars—that were soon replaced, in turn, by single iron tanks that became the industry norm. Such technical advances allowed the railroads to speed oil across the continent and vastly expanded the market for petroleum products.

During the first few years, the oil business was so effortlessly profitable that refineries sprang up in six competing centers. The inland centers (the Oil Regions, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland) and the seaboard centers (New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore) engaged in pitched battles to control the business. Favored by proximity to the wells, the western Pennsylvania refiners seemed to possess an incalculable edge, but they had to import chemicals, barrels, machinery, and labor and therefore labored under distinct handicaps. Nonetheless, these refiners saved so much on transportation that they fancied they would emerge supreme in the oil business. Later, Rockefeller admitted that he’d been tempted to switch operations to Pennsylvania, yet he and his partners didn’t wish to uproot their families or write off their considerable investment in Cleveland. They also feared that the glory of the Oil Regions might soon fade into history, as Rockefeller later noted in a statement reminiscent of Percy Bysshe Shelley’s poem “Ozymandias”:

*You have seen Pithole and Petroleum Center—the places where once stood big, prosperous cities in which men made millions of dollars out of oil. Now they are bits of wilderness, overgrown with weeds, and with nothing left to tell of their greatness but a few scattered parts of old houses and the memory of a few aged men. Prudent men did not want to place all their capital into business in such places.*<sup>49</sup>

Even late in life, Rockefeller was loath to confess, for political reasons, the overriding reason for his attachment to Cleveland: It was the hub of so many transportation networks that he had tremendous room to maneuver in freight negotiations. During the summer months, he could send oil by water, greatly enhancing his bargaining power with the railroads. His firm “could load their oil in the season of lake navigation and canal navigation, upon vessels at Cleveland and from Buffalo by the Erie Canal [and] could deliver the oil to their warehouses in New York at a cost lower than the current rates at which the railway companies had been seeking the business.”<sup>50</sup> Armed with this potent weapon, Rockefeller obtained such excellent railroad rates that it compensated for having to ship the crude oil to Cleveland before sending refined oil to the Atlantic coast—a far more circuitous route than shipping from Titusville straight to New York. Fed by rail links to Chicago, Saint Louis, and Cincinnati, Cleveland also served as a natural gateway to western markets. Other Cleveland refiners evidently made the same calculation, and by late 1866 the city supported fifty refineries, ranking second only to Pittsburgh. Cleveland’s refineries were so numerous that their foul, acrid atmosphere enveloped the outskirts, tainting the beer from local breweries and souring the milk.

Besides access to the Erie Canal and Lake Erie, Cleveland was serviced by three main railroad lines that gave its inland refineries direct access to eastern ports: the New York Central, which ran north from New York City to Albany and then west to Buffalo, where its Lake Shore line ran along Lake Erie to Cleveland; the Erie Railroad, which also sped across New York State to a point south of Buffalo, where its Atlantic and Great Western subsidiary headed down into Cleveland and the Oil Regions; and the august Pennsylvania Railroad, which went from New York and Philadelphia to Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. With virtuosic brilliance, Rockefeller and Flagler played these three railroads against each other in seemingly endless permutations. They even managed to manipulate such redoubtable figures as the notorious Jay Gould, who had wrested the Erie Railroad from Commodore Vanderbilt in 1868. Flagler singled out Gould as the fairest and squarest of the railroad chieftains in his dealings, and Rockefeller, when asked to name the greatest businessman he had ever met, instantly cited Gould.<sup>51</sup> Gould himself later asserted that John D. Rockefeller had possessed “the highest genius for constructive organization” in American economic history.<sup>52</sup>

Before long, the various oil-refining centers were rushing to form tactical alliances with these railroad networks. As a natural outgrowth of their route structure, the New York Central and the Erie wanted to promote Cleveland as a refining center and regarded Rockefeller as a critical ally in efforts to boost their oil-freight business. With easy access to the oil fields via the Allegheny River, Pittsburgh might have seemed the optimal location, but its refiners were always held hostage to the freight monopoly of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Following a myopic and ultimately destructive policy toward Pittsburgh, the Pennsylvania Railroad decided it was more profitable to carry crude oil from Oil Creek all the way to Philadelphia or New York refineries rather than to have it refined in Pittsburgh. By penalizing Pittsburgh refiners with crushing rates, the railroad fattened its short-term profits but sacrificed the city’s future as a refining center and paved the way for the hegemony of the city the Pennsylvania wanted most to eradicate: Cleveland. As Rockefeller later said, the Pennsylvania Railroad’s attitude made it easy for him to find common cause with its archrivals, and he forged a cabal with the New York Central and the Erie that the Pennsylvania was hard-pressed to stop.

By the late 1860s, the press was rife with reports that the Pennsylvania Railroad had decreed that Cleveland would be “wiped out as a refining center

as with a sponge”—a statement forever engraved on Rockefeller’s unforgiving memory. Taking this as a declaration of war, he was emboldened to respond with the most robust countermeasures at his command. He was a man who always acted on Flagler’s business motto of favoring “sharp, vigorous and decisive measures.”<sup>53</sup> The Pennsylvania statement set off a panic-stricken reaction in Cleveland as local refiners prepared to transfer their operations to Oil Creek. Coolheaded in the face of such hysteria, Rockefeller saw that he could convert this chaos to advantage. By threatening to strip the others of their oil traffic, the Pennsylvania had placed the Erie and New York Central in a vulnerable position, and Rockefeller and Flagler decided to use this leverage to wring extreme concessions from them.

In the spring of 1868, Jay Gould hatched a secret deal with Rockefeller and Flagler that gave them shares in a subsidiary company called the Allegheny Transportation Company, which was the first major pipeline network serving Oil Creek. Through this deal, the Cleveland refiners received a staggering 75 percent rebate on oil shipped through the Erie system. As part of this extraordinary bonanza, Flagler also cut a deal with the Atlantic and Great Western, an Erie subsidiary, that gave Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler highly advantageous rates on rail shipments between Cleveland and the Oil Regions.

In this season of bountiful concessions, Flagler also approached General J. H. Devereux, the newly installed vice president of the Lake Shore Railroad, which formed part of the New York Central system. Trained as a civil engineer, Devereux had revamped the railroad system in northern Virginia to assist the Union army and was commended by Lincoln for his work. In negotiating a new framework with him, Rockefeller and Flagler argued for preferential rates that would more than match discounts extended by the Pennsylvania Railroad to its customers in the Oil Regions. In other words, the young Cleveland refiners cannily converted their geographic disadvantage into a powerful bargaining tool and secured covert rates that allowed them to ship crude oil to Cleveland and then refined oil to New York for only \$1.65 per barrel compared to an officially listed rate of \$2.40.

In exchange for this extraordinary concession, Rockefeller and Flagler didn’t simply try to squeeze the railroads—they were much too shrewd and subtle for that—but offered compelling incentives. For instance, they agreed to assume legal liability for fire or other accidents and stop using water transport during the summer months. The biggest plum they dangled before Devereux was a promise to supply the Lake Shore with an astonishing sixty carloads of refined oil daily. Since Rockefeller lacked the refining capacity to fulfill this ambitious pledge, he was evidently prepared to coordinate shipments with other Cleveland refiners. For any railroad, the prospect of steady shipments was irresistible, for they could dispatch trains composed solely of oil-tank cars instead of a motley assortment of freight cars picking up different products at different places. By consolidating many small shippers into one big shipper making regular, uniform shipments in massive quantities, the railroads could reduce the average round-trip time of their trains to New York from thirty days to ten and operate a fleet of 600 cars instead of 1,800.

Never shy about his accomplishments, Rockefeller knew that he had broached a revolutionary deal: “It was a large, regular volume of business, such as had not hitherto been given to the roads in question.”<sup>54</sup> From that moment, the railroads acquired a vested interest in the creation of a gigantic oil monopoly that would lower their costs, boost their profits, and generally simplify their lives. As in other industries, the railroads developed a stake in the growth of big businesses whose economies of scale permitted them to operate more efficiently—an ominous fact for small, struggling refiners who were gradually weeded out in the savage competitive strife.

Without doubt, the Lake Shore deal marked a turning point for Rockefeller, the oil industry, and the entire American economy. Decades later, Ida Tarbell condemned it as Rockefeller’s original sin from which all others sprang. “Mr. Rockefeller certainly saw by 1868 that he had no *legitimate* superiority over those competing with him in Cleveland which would ever enable him to be anything more than one of the big men in his line.”<sup>55</sup> Only Rockefeller’s willingness to cheat and cut corners, Tarbell contended, had enabled him to outdistance the pack. This claim, echoed by Rockefeller’s most virulent critics, overstates the case, for even before Rockefeller accepted his first rebate, he was the world’s largest refiner, equal in size to the next three largest Cleveland refineries combined. In fact, it was the unparalleled scope of his operation that had enabled him to cut this exceptional deal in the first place. Tarbell perceived correctly, however, that the principal advantage of Rockefeller’s commanding position was that it meant special power to compel railroad-freight concessions.

In closing their historic deal, Rockefeller and Flagler suffered no twinges of conscience and were frankly elated by their triumph. “I remember when the Standard received its first rebate,” said Flagler. “I went home in great delight. I had won a great victory, I thought.”<sup>56</sup> But they knew they had dabbled in a dark and controversial practice, for the rebates were predicated on great secrecy. Many years later, Rockefeller explained to one railroad negotiator that their dealings with the Lake Shore rested on oral agreements that were never committed to paper. “Our people do not think it would be best for the Lake Shore Road, or us, to have a contract, but with the good faith between us and desire to promote each other’s interest, we can serve each other better by being able to say we have no contracts.”<sup>57</sup> Because many railroad deals ended with a handshake, not a signature, Rockefeller could breezily deny their existence without fear of embarrassing refutations later on.

As the chief transportation deal maker, Flagler had overseen the landmark pact, and Rockefeller always credited him for it. Some of this derived from Rockefeller’s humility, but it also betrayed a lifelong habit of covering his tracks and pretending to be elsewhere when critical decisions were made. Although Rockefeller didn’t lead the Lake Shore negotiations, he was smack in the thick of them. On August 19, 1868, he sent a fascinating letter to Cettie from New York that shows his toughness vis-à-vis the Vanderbilts, who controlled the New York Central, the Lake Shore’s parent. “We were sent for by Mr. Vanderbilt yesterday, at twelve o’c & did not go, he is anxious to get our business and said that he could meet us on the terms. We sent our card by the messenger, that Vanderbilt might know where to find our office later.”<sup>58</sup> The point is worth underscoring: Twenty-nine-year-old John D. Rockefeller demanded that seventy-four-year-old Commodore Vanderbilt, the emperor of the railroad world, *come to him*. This refusal to truckle, bend, or bow to others, this insistence on dealing with other people on his own terms, time, and turf, distinguished Rockefeller throughout his career.

Bolstered by the Lake Shore deal, Cleveland soon surpassed Pittsburgh as the leading refining center, and for the first time journalists began to track Rockefeller’s ascendancy. In 1869, one writer marveled at the power that this laconic young man, in his understated manner, had already attained in Cleveland. “He occupies a position in our business circles second to but few. Close application to one kind of business, an avoidance of all positions of honorary character that cost time, keeping everything pertaining to his business in so methodical a manner that he knows every night how he stands with the world.”<sup>59</sup>

Today an arcane, forgotten subject, the issue of railroad rebates generated heated debate in post-Civil War America since they directly affected the shape of the economy and the distribution of wealth. Railroads had obtained the power to produce either a concentrated economy, with progressively larger business units, or to perpetuate the small-scale economy of antebellum America. The proliferation of rebates hastened the shift toward an integrated national economy, top-heavy with giant companies enjoying preferential freight rates.

Rockefeller justly argued that he hadn't invented the rebate and that the Pennsylvania Railroad had granted thousands of them in the six years before his seminal Lake Shore deal. "It was a common practice in all descriptions of freighting, not peculiar to oil; in merchandise, grain, everything."<sup>60</sup> Rebates had inevitably accompanied railroad expansion. As the total railroad trackage doubled to 70,000 miles within eight years after the Civil War, the roads were saddled with high fixed costs and heavy bonded debt. This forced them to maintain a high, steady freight volume to stay alive and waylaid them into vicious rate wars. Rebates weren't just solicited by shippers but were sedulously pushed by railway freight agents eager to win over new business. Rebates enabled them to maintain the fiction of listed rates while secretly giving discounts to favored shippers. Over time, relations grew ever closer and more incestuous between the railroads and large shippers. For decades, Rockefeller and his colleagues enjoyed free passes on all major railroads, which they regarded not as payoffs but as natural perquisites of their business.

Rockefeller never saw rebates as criminal or illegitimate or as favors secured only by bullying monopolies. He was correct in stating that listed rates were always a farce, a starting point for haggling. Many refiners received rebates, not just the leading firms, and some tiny rivals actually got superior discounts, especially from the Pennsylvania Railroad. Rockefeller's business papers display much internal grumbling about this presumed inequity, for which he and his colleagues regularly chastised railroad officials at critical moments in negotiations. But in spite of numerous scattered cases of rival refiners getting comparable rebates, no other firm received so many rebates so consistently over so many years or on such a colossal scale as Rockefeller's. It was therefore disingenuous of him to suggest that rebates played only an incidental role in his success.

So were Ida Tarbell and other detractors justified in tarring Rockefeller's whole career based on railroad rebates? Unfortunately, the controversy was played out in a gray area of ethics and the law that makes a definitive answer impossible. From a strictly economic standpoint, Rockefeller rested on solid ground when he insisted that bulk shippers deserved a discount. "Who can buy beef the cheapest—the housewife for her family, the steward for a club or hotel, or the commissary for an army? Who is entitled to better rebates from a railroad, those who give it 5000 barrels a day, or those who give 500 barrels—or 50 barrels?"<sup>61</sup> Besides providing a steady flow of oil shipments, Rockefeller's firm invested heavily in warehouses, terminals, loading platforms, and other railroad facilities so that the roads probably derived more profit from his shipments than from those of rivals who paid higher rates. Small, irregular shippers were the bane of railroads for the simple, mechanical reason that they forced the trains to stop repeatedly to pick up single carloads of oil. To meet the terms of his deal with the Lake Shore, Rockefeller had to run his refineries at full capacity even when kerosene demand slackened. He therefore paid a price for his rebates and felt that equal rates for all shippers would have unfairly penalized his firm.

Perhaps because Ida Tarbell trained a glaring spotlight on the rebate issue, Rockefeller insisted vehemently in later interviews that the real profitability of his firm lay elsewhere. In an intriguing aside in later years, he even hinted that the clamor over rebates conveniently deflected public attention away from other, more profitable aspects of his operation: "Along this line much was said about rebates and drawbacks for long years, and the Standard Oil Company knew full well that the public were not on the right scent. They knew where their profits came from, but they did not deem it wise to inform the public, and especially their competitors, of the real secret sources of their strength."<sup>62</sup> Indeed, one can argue that the obsession among reformers with the rebate issue might have blinded them to a multitude of other sins.

Not until the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887 did it become an illegal, punishable offense for railroads to give rebates, and the practice didn't cease entirely until the 1903 Elkins Act. Nevertheless, by the end of the Civil War, a widespread belief had begun to take hold that railroads were common carriers and should shun favoritism. Ida Tarbell cited provisions in the Pennsylvania state constitution that, as she interpreted them, compelled railroads to serve as common carriers and avoid discrimination. Yet in the last analysis, she based her withering critique of Rockefeller less on specific laws than on her belief that he had violated a sense of fair play. "That is," she wrote in *McClure's Magazine* in July 1905, "rebate giving then as now, was regarded as one of those lower business practices which characterizes commerce at all periods, and against which men of honor struggle, and of which men of greed take advantage."<sup>63</sup> In the privacy of his study in 1917, an unrepentant Rockefeller disputed her view of the prevailing business ethics. "I deny that it was regarded as a dishonorable practice for a merchant or manufacturer to obtain the best rates possible for his goods."<sup>64</sup> As to Tarbell's charge that the secrecy of rebates proved their immorality, Rockefeller countered that railroads didn't wish to advertise discounts that might then be demanded by other shippers. "For these arrangements were not except by the academic expected to be published, any more than the general of an army's plans are published to enable the enemy to defeat him."<sup>65</sup>

The most compelling argument against rebates was that railroads received state charters and therefore had the right of eminent domain—that is, the right to claim private property in order to lay down tracks—investing their activities with a public character. In 1867, a committee of the Ohio senate declared that railroads, as common carriers, should charge equal rates, but a bill incorporating these ideas was defeated. The following year, just as Rockefeller implemented his Lake Shore deal, a Pennsylvania senate committee reported that railroads were common carriers and had "no right to show partiality among their customers"; but, again, no regulatory changes ensued.<sup>66</sup> Almost twenty years passed before reformers succeeded in introducing public regulation that forced an end to the railroad favoritism that so incensed farmers and other small shippers across America. In the meantime, Rockefeller profited enormously from the failure of public authorities to rectify the inequities of the transportation system, and his firm understandably kept up vigorous lobbying efforts to perpetuate the status quo.



*John D. Rockefeller, Jr., forced to wear his sisters' hand-me-downs. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*



## Millionaires' Row

Rockefeller had speedily acquired a level of respectability that would have seemed unthinkable fifteen years before when he and his demoralized family were crowded into the Humiston house in Strongsville. In August 1868, after his rebate deal with the Lake Shore Railroad, he certified his enhanced status in Cleveland when he and Cettie moved from Cheshire Street to a solid brick home at 424 Euclid Avenue. This move dramatized the immense distance he had traveled after a few years in the oil business. Local boosters had already tagged Euclid Avenue “the most beautiful street in the world,” with homes that lavishly mirrored the local fortunes in oil, iron, banking, timber, railroads, and real estate. All of the town’s new opulence was reflected in this street of massive houses. The residential address for such local luminaries as Henry B. Payne, Amasa Stone, and John Hay, Euclid Avenue claimed so many mansions that it had richly earned its sobriquet of “millionaires’ row.”

With the spacious grandeur of a fine Victorian street, always busy with fashionable horses and carriages, the wide avenue had a double row of elms that created a tall, shady canopy overhead. The imposing homes were deeply recessed from the street, their trimmed lawns and shapely shrubbery providing buffer zones between the houses and their distant front gates. Since few houses were separated from adjoining houses by fences, the street sometimes gave the impression of being a single, flowing park, with elegant homes standing in an unbroken expanse of greenery.

While Rockefeller’s home looked small and cramped beside Amasa Stone’s towering manse and other gaudy monstrosities, it was a substantial two-story structure with a mansard roof, a portico, and arched windows, shielded from the street by an iron picket fence that spanned its entire 116-foot frontage. Rockefeller could have afforded something showier than this \$40,000 house, and pedestrians might have thought its owner a lesser light in business, yet this was exactly the misimpression that he wanted to convey. Far from trying to parade his wealth, he wanted to blend into the scenery. Even at home, Rockefeller was discreet and behaved as if he was concealing some secret from prying eyes. Beyond that, he had the Puritan’s discomfort with possessions, a nagging Baptist anxiety that decoration might appear idolatrous. Again, like Weber’s ideal capitalist, “he avoids ostentation and unnecessary expenditure, as well as conscious enjoyment of his power, and is embarrassed by the outward signs of the social recognition which he receives.”<sup>1</sup>

Fond of roomy, ungainly houses that he could remodel ceaselessly, Rockefeller would have been stymied by a house that required no improvement. Utilitarian by nature, he was more concerned with the grounds and interiors of homes than with the subtleties of architectural ornamentation. “I hate frills,” he once said. “Useful things, beautiful things, are admirable; but frills, affectations, mere pretences of being something very fine, bore me very much.”<sup>2</sup> With a country boy’s love of open spaces, he hated anything confined or cluttered and probably chose the Euclid Avenue house for its large, high-ceilinged rooms, which included a parlor, a sitting room, and a dining room downstairs plus four bedrooms upstairs.

Rockefeller devoted more time and expense to the trees and shrubbery than to the house itself. To expand his gardens, he bought an adjoining lot but was disturbed by the house that came with it and obstructed his view. Since he detested waste, he donated the house to a new girls’ school being built a block away. In what was hailed as an engineering wonder at the time, the brick house was jacked up by a windlass and rolled down the block on greased logs—a spectacle that was covered by local papers and drew spectators. “Mr. Rockefeller . . . set [the house] on new foundations where it was as good as ever,” Lucy Spelman said of her brother-in-law’s feat. “This was a marvelous undertaking, but then he was always undertaking marvelous things.”<sup>3</sup>

Behind the house, he built a stone stable and coach house more magnificent than the residence itself. Over one hundred feet long, it had stout beams, pine panels, and elaborate chandeliers. An expert driver with either a pair of horses or a four-in-hand, Rockefeller had a passion for trotters, and Euclid Avenue provided a perfect straightaway for races. If anybody tried to pass him, the hypercompetitive Rockefeller automatically turned it into a trial of speed. John, William, and Frank were stockholders in a racing club called the Cleveland Driving Park Company, the first amateur club of its sort in America. Unable to do anything in a casual manner, Rockefeller became obsessive about his hobbies, which he could sometimes indulge in extravagant fashion. In the 1870s, his records show, he paid stupendous sums—from \$10,000 to \$12,500—for thoroughbred trotters with such evocative names as Midnight, Flash, Jesse, Baron, and Trifle.

In his early days in business, Rockefeller often suffered from severe neck pains that might have indicated stress on the job, and he turned to horses as a therapeutic diversion. “I would leave my office in the afternoon and drive a pair of fast horses as hard as they could go: trot, break, gallop—everything.”<sup>4</sup> Since Cettie was also fond of horses, they often rode together. His style of racing was also revealing: He never applied cruel, coercive measures to recalcitrant horses but studied them closely and tried to coax them along gently and with great patience. “I remember when my brother William and I used to go riding,” he said. “I would invariably come in first. He would be covered with perspiration, as was his horse. My horse would be too—but I would be as cool as I am now. I always would talk to my horses—quietly, steadily—never get excited.”<sup>5</sup> This unflappable style and conservation of energy also characterized his approach to the management of his vast oil empire.

Unlike his philandering father, John D. Rockefeller remained firmly, almost prudishly, anchored in domestic life. Much like Jay Gould—who didn’t drink, smoke, or gallivant with women—Rockefeller’s harsh business tactics were counterbalanced by exemplary behavior at home where he was a sweet, respectful Victorian husband. To borrow a line from Flaubert, to be fiercely revolutionary in business, he needed to be utterly conventional at home. Eternally at war with the devil, John and Cettie allowed their religious beliefs to define their entire cultural agenda. They subscribed to seats at the philharmonic, for instance, but theater and opera were too racy for these professing Christians. Shying away from social situations that weren’t safely predictable, they socialized only within a small circle of family members, business associates, and church friends and never went to clubs or dinner parties. “Club life did not appeal to me,” said Rockefeller. “I was meeting all the people I needed to meet in my day’s work. . . . My family would rather have me at home—even if I were snoring in an easy chair—than going out for the evening, and certainly I preferred to stay at home.”<sup>6</sup> He especially enjoyed the company of ministers whose genial, homiletic style matched his own. Thus walled off from temptation, Rockefeller was virtually untouched by the decadence of the Gilded Age.

Much of Rockefeller's preference for home life stemmed from his strict temperance views. Even late in life, he accepted an invitation to a hotel barbecue, then went to investigate the site beforehand. When he spotted empty beer bottles on the premises, he promptly withdrew his acceptance. Since he and Cettie were deeply involved in temperance work—they did everything from sponsoring lecture tours to lobbying to have temperance principles inserted in school textbooks—they avoided the very presence of liquor, and this severely cramped their social activities. Yet within their circumscribed world, they had a happy home life.

Rockefeller bridled at the notion that he was a business-obsessed drudge, a slave to the office. "I know of nothing more despicable and pathetic than a man who devotes all the waking hours of the day to making money for money's sake," he recorded in his memoirs.<sup>7</sup> He worked at a more leisurely pace than many other executives, napping daily after lunch and often dozing in a lounge chair after dinner. To explain his extraordinary longevity, he later said, doubtless overstating the matter, "I'm here because I shirked: did less work, lived more in the open air, enjoyed the open air, sunshine and exercise."<sup>8</sup> By his mid-thirties, he had installed a telegraph wire between home and office so that he could spend three or four afternoons each week at home, planting trees, gardening, and enjoying the sunshine. Rockefeller didn't do this in a purely recreational spirit but mingled work and rest to pace himself and improve his productivity. In time, he became something of an evangelist on health-related issues. "It is remarkable how much we all could do if we avoid hustling, and go along at an even pace and keep from attempting too much."<sup>9</sup>

There was a clockwork regularity about Rockefeller's life that made it seem mechanical to outsiders but that he found soothing. He didn't seem to require time to indulge normal human idleness, much less illicit passion. In his rigidly compartmentalized life, each hour was tightly budgeted, whether for business, religion, family, or exercise. Perhaps these daily rituals helped him to deal with underlying tensions that might otherwise have become ungovernable, for although he tried to project an air of unhurried calm, he was under terrific strain in creating his oil empire. He fretted endlessly about his company and, below the surface, was constantly on edge. In one of his few admissions of weakness, he recalled that "for years on end I never had a solid night's sleep, worrying about how it was to come out. . . . I tossed about in bed night after night worrying over the outcome. . . . All the fortune that I have made has not served to compensate for the anxiety of that period."<sup>10</sup>

By the time they moved to Euclid Avenue, the Rockefellers already had one child, Elizabeth (always called Bessie), who was born in the Cheshire Street house in 1866. (When Cettie was confined during childbirth and couldn't attend church, John jotted down notes on the sermon and read them back to her afterward.) All of the remaining children were born in an upstairs bedroom at Euclid Avenue. Their second child, Alice, was born in July 1869 but died a year later; then came Alta (1871), Edith (1872), and John Jr. (1874). They were delivered by a pioneering physician, Dr. Myra Herrick, Cleveland's first woman doctor, who organized a short-lived homeopathic college to train women in the field. When she set up a free medical dispensary, staffed exclusively by female doctors, to assist low-income women, Cettie and Mary Flagler were prominent contributors.

A surprisingly flexible, egalitarian father, Rockefeller never shrank from child care. His sister-in-law, Lute, who gave up teaching and went to live with them, told how John eased the burden from Cettie's shoulders when he was at home: "He would get up from his nap the moment he heard a baby cry and carry the little one up and down the room until she was quieted."<sup>11</sup> Rockefeller was always patient with his children and seldom lost his temper or uttered a harsh word. As the son of a self-absorbed absentee father, he made a point of being an affectionate parent and something of a homebody.

Like Big Bill, however, Rockefeller could be a sprightly companion for his children. He would get down on all fours and bear them on his back, recapturing a boyish glee that was seldom evident at the office. When they played blindman's buff, he electrified them with daring feints, sudden thrusts, and unexpected, wheeling turns, followed by whoops of delight when he won. Attuned to their fantasy world, he liked to gather the children around him and tell fairy tales. Also like his father, he had an inexhaustible supply of stunts. At dinner, he dazzled the children by balancing fine china plates on the tip of his nose; he also balanced crackers on his nose, then gave them a sudden flip and caught them in his mouth. He taught the children to swim, row, skate, and ride, and he had a talent for devising imaginative outings. On moonlit nights at Forest Hill—the Cleveland estate Rockefeller bought in the 1870s—they ventured forth on bicycle trips, with Rockefeller pinning a large white handkerchief to the back of his coat and leading the children through winding, mysterious forest roads. John Jr. never forgot skating with his father: "The lake was deep, so we took under each arm long narrow boards, which would hold us up in case we broke through the ice. That was characteristic of Father. He always took the utmost care to examine any project thoroughly; then when convinced it was safe, put it through without further question."<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps to create a substitute for theater and other entertainments proscribed by their religion, John and Cettie encouraged the children's musical talents, and each one took up an instrument. They formed their own quartet—with Bessie on violin, Alta on piano, Edith on cello, and John Jr. on violin—so that the house echoed with the works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Handel. The children approached music as serious art, not frivolous amusement, and performed frequently at church events. They weren't barred from playing contemporary popular music.

If there was more merriment in Rockefeller's household than we might have suspected, there was also an underlying sobriety. His children remembered the playful moments, but outsiders were struck by the somber, stuffy atmosphere and found something almost spooky about the Rockefeller home, with one disgruntled tutor leaving this ghastly description: "The elastic step, the laughter of youth, the light heartedness, the romping about, the playfulness, which one is supposed to meet among the young and happy were entirely lacking, lacking almost to dejection. It was a gloomy horizon, with a heaviness that pervaded the entire household. Silence and gloom everywhere."<sup>13</sup>

Rockefeller kept his children hermetically cut off from the world and hired governesses to educate them at home. Aside from church, they never engaged in outside social or civic functions and betrayed a very Baptist fear of worldly entertainments. In the summertime, the children's friends might come to visit for a week or two at a time, but *never* the reverse, and even these playmates were the cautiously screened offspring of John and Cettie's church companions. As John Jr. remembered, "Our interests centered in the house; our friends came there almost wholly. We went rarely, practically none at all, to neighbors' houses."<sup>14</sup> John Jr. hinted that the children brought to visit weren't real companions and were mostly window dressing to gratify his parents. "We had no childhood friends, no school friends."<sup>15</sup> It was a far cry from Thorstein Veblen's image of the spoiled leisure class.

Convinced that struggle was the crucible of character, Rockefeller faced a delicate task in raising his children. He wanted to accumulate wealth while

inculcating in them the values of his threadbare boyhood. The first step in saving them from extravagance was keeping them ignorant of their father's affluence. Until they were adults, Rockefeller's children never visited his office or refineries, and even then they were accompanied by company officials, never Father. At home, Rockefeller created a make-believe market economy, calling Cettie the "general manager" and requiring the children to keep careful account books.<sup>16</sup> They earned pocket money by performing chores and received two cents for killing flies, ten cents for sharpening pencils, five cents per hour for practicing their musical instruments, and a dollar for repairing vases. They were given two cents per day for abstaining from candy and a dime bonus for each consecutive day of abstinence. Each toiled in a separate patch of the vegetable garden, earning a penny for every ten weeds they pulled up. John Jr. got fifteen cents an hour for chopping wood and ten cents per day for superintending paths. Rockefeller took pride in training his children as miniature household workers. Years later, riding on a train with his thirteen-year-old daughter, he told a traveling companion, "This little girl is earning money already. You never could imagine how she does it. I have learned what my gas bills should average when the gas is managed with care, and I have told her that she can have for pin money all that she will save every month on this amount, so she goes around every night and keeps the gas turned down where it is not needed."<sup>17</sup> Rockefeller never tired of preaching economy and whenever a package arrived at home, he made a point of saving the paper and string.

Cettie was equally vigilant. When the children clamored for bicycles, John suggested buying one for each child. "No," said Cettie, "we will buy just one for all of them." "But, my dear," John protested, "tricycles do not cost much." "That is true," she replied. "It is not the cost. But if they have just one they will learn to give up to one another."<sup>18</sup> So the children shared a single bicycle. Amazingly enough, the four children probably grew up with a level of creature comforts not that far above what Rockefeller had known as a boy. Except on Sundays, the girls wore simple gingham dresses and hand-me-downs. In later life, John Jr. confessed sheepishly that until the age of eight he wore only dresses, because he was the youngest child and the three older siblings were girls.<sup>19</sup>

Rockefeller's home secretary saw much of the children because they liked to sit quietly and observe the mysterious clicking of the telegraph wires in her office. She described Rockefeller as extremely gentle with the children but attached to certain fixed principles that he expounded with didactic, wearying repetition. The children were told so often that cards were sinful that they couldn't distinguish one card suit from another. To teach self-restraint, Rockefeller limited them to one piece of cheese daily. One afternoon, little Alta tattled on her younger sister Edith for having eaten *two* pieces of cheese, and Rockefeller professed shock at this epicurean indulgence. As the secretary recalled: "All that afternoon whenever Edith came within hearing her father would say, slowly and impressively, 'Edith was greedy.' At another time both little John and Alta called out, 'Edith took the biggest.' Repeatedly that afternoon, Mr. Rockefeller said in his impressive manner, 'Edith was selfish.'"<sup>20</sup>

Yet the thing to be husbanded most jealously was time. One could neither be too early nor too late. In fact, there was such a fetish about punctuality that it occasioned discernible anxiety among the children. Rockefeller's home secretary said that John Jr. had computed, down to the second, how long it took to get from her telegraph office to the schoolroom upstairs. "After that, whenever I read to the children near school time, John would sit with watch in hand, and his rising was signal for the reading to stop and for the girls to follow him."<sup>21</sup>

Each morning before breakfast, Rockefeller led the family in prayer, meting out a penny fine to latecomers. Everyone took turns reciting from scripture, and John or Cettie elucidated difficult portions and prayed for guidance. Before bed, Cettie listened to the children recite their prayers, and nothing could divert her from this sacred duty. They were encouraged to be active in prayer, especially at Friday night prayer meetings. As John Jr. recalled, at an early age they were encouraged "to take part like the older people, either in a brief word of prayer or a word of personal experience."<sup>22</sup>

Sunday was a heavily regimented day, starting with morning prayers and Sunday school then proceeding through afternoon prayer meetings and culminating with evening hymns. If the children had spare time, they couldn't read novels or worldly literature but had to restrict themselves to the Bible and Sunday-school literature. Strangely enough, the children didn't remember this as oppressive. As John Jr. observed, "A day with such limitations as this would simply appall the modern child. And yet I have only the happiest recollections of the Sundays of my childhood."<sup>23</sup> Cettie turned Sunday into a day for serious reflection, asking the children to reflect upon such weighty maxims as "He who conquers self is the greatest victor" or "The secret of sensible living is simplicity."<sup>24</sup> Leading the children in an hour-long "home talk," she asked each child to select a "besetting sin" and then prayed with the child, asking for God's help in combating the sin. The implicit Baptist message was that people were inherently flawed but—with prayer, willpower, and God's grace—infinately capable of improvement.

In business, John D. Rockefeller operated in a rough, virile world, whereas at home he was surrounded by a harem of doting women that included, at various times, his wife, sister-in-law, mother, mother-in-law, and three daughters. He seemed equally comfortable in these masculine and feminine spheres of existence. When they first got married, John and Cettie lived with his mother Eliza, but she remained behind on Cheshire Street when they moved to Euclid Avenue. For the rest of her life, Eliza rotated among the homes of her five children, who provided her with more security than she had ever known with her prodigal husband. Evidently, she had some idea of where Bill lived, for she had a mailing address and forwarded letters to him from their grandchildren. In a confused manner, the grandchildren knew that their jolly grandfather lived an odd life somewhere out West, but the picture was left deliberately cloudy.

It is hard to retrace Bill's movements with precision, for John D. seldom referred to him in either his business or private papers; his father's banishment was no less psychological than geographic. As best one can piece the story together in these middle years, Bill and his second wife, Margaret, moved to Illinois in 1867 and bought a 160-acre farm in Maroa, with John secretly sending money to help complete the purchase. As the area grew too settled for Bill, the couple moved again in 1875 to Freeport, Illinois, and here Margaret's wanderings, at least, ended. According to stories told later by their Freeport neighbors, Bill—known to them as Dr. William Levingston—was regarded as a profane braggart and con man, a notorious quack doctor who claimed to specialize in cancer and kidney treatments and bought jugs of diuretic from a local druggist that he then resold on the road. Just as the long-suffering Eliza had endured long separations, it was now Margaret's turn to wait as Bill disappeared for months before returning home with thick wads of money, always careful to fold a \$100 bill on the outside. Yet Big Bill never entirely lost touch with his Rockefeller family. From out of the blue, he would materialize in Cleveland, jovial and carefree, and spend several days shooting at targets and playing his fiddle before disappearing for another year. John maintained a frosty civility toward his father, and their meetings tended to be both brief and infrequent. Later on, we shall have

more to say about Bill's queer odyssey, for as his son grew famous, the whereabouts of Doc Rockefeller turned into a national obsession as reporters tried to reconstruct his renegade career.

In marrying Laura "Cettie" Spelman, Rockefeller had found a woman with his mother's gentle tenacity and religiosity. An 1872 photo shows a short, fragile, dark-haired woman with a wide face, high cheekbones, and deep, earnest eyes. Steeped in religious sentiment, she was more likely to be found meditating on a sermon than gossiping about a shopping expedition. Her marriage to John was harmonious, formal, and devoid of quarrels. Like her husband, Cettie was fiercely democratic, disdaining conspicuous consumption and the snobbery of the rich. "She was no respecter of persons," said her son. "To her all men were brothers."<sup>25</sup> She scorned frippery and dismissed fashion plates as vain, silly people. Though always supportive of her husband in his ambitions, she inveighed against "the desperate struggle to obtain the 'almighty dollar.' "<sup>26</sup> Even more of a pinchpenny than John, she wore patches on her clothes and shocked one acquaintance by stating that a young woman needed just two dresses in her wardrobe. Even as her husband grew rich, she continued to perform much of the housework herself, employing two maids and a coachman when they could have afforded many more.

Since he left the house each day and trafficked in a sinful world, John was a broader person than his wife, whose interests contracted sharply after she married. Despite her early bluestocking bent, she lost much of her intellectual brightness as she made the transition from teacher to pedagogical mother, relentlessly molding her children. She liked to quote the maxim, "To be a good wife and mother is the highest and hardest privilege of woman."<sup>27</sup> Where John derived escapist pleasure from the children, Laura took her maternal duties too seriously and was a firm, if loving, martinet. As her son said, she "talked to us constantly about *duty*—and displeasing the Lord and pleasing your parents. She instilled a personal consciousness of right and wrong, training our wills and getting us to want to do the things we ought to do."<sup>28</sup> No less than her husband, she believed in the economical use of time. As one observer said, "She realized her responsibilities, subjecting herself to a fixed daily regimen of duties, dividing her day off methodically into hours and minutes for each, that no moment might be misspent, and no duty neglected."<sup>29</sup>

There was danger in the very congruence of values between John and Cettie, for it made their intellectual life rather airless, allowing no room for disagreement. Had their opinions clashed, John might have been exposed to critical perspectives that could have saved him from his business excesses. Instead, his marriage strengthened his virtuous sense that he was one of God's soldiers and therefore bound to be vilified by sinners. Cettie was similarly braced for the terrible ostracism that came with Rockefeller's wealth. "She was always like the Spartan mothers," said her daughter Edith. "Everything which came to her she accepted, and she bore her frailty of body with uncomplaining patience. . . . She had faith and trust in those she loved and never questioned or criticized."<sup>30</sup>

Cettie's sister Lucy—Aunt Lute, as the children called her—acted as something of a leavening influence in this arid setting. The close relationship of the two sisters was touching since Lute, two years older, was an adopted child. By a strange coincidence, they looked so much alike that everybody assumed they were biological sisters. Lute was bright and cultivated, read contemporary literature, and gave John and Laura a window on secular culture when she read aloud after dinner. Though he was extremely fond of his sister-in-law, Rockefeller found her comically prim and spinsterish and delighted in mimicking the way she lifted her skirts as she mounted the staircase; she would often turn and find him stealthily climbing the steps behind her, aping her in his cutaway coat, much to the family's amusement. In time, Lute developed the prissy manner of the proverbial old maid, and the children, for all their love, found her a little trying. But she was a beloved figure and an integral part of the family, and she introduced some needed cultural enrichment into a household that conformed rigidly to Christian doctrine.

## CHAPTER 8

### Conspirators

The great industrial revolution that transformed America after the Civil War triggered an inflationary boom that swamped the country with goods. When this expanded supply led to lower prices and a deflationary bust, it set the pattern for the rest of the nineteenth century, which experienced huge economic advances, punctuated by treacherous slumps. Lured by easy profits, legions of investors rushed into a promising new field and, when big gluts developed from overproduction, they found it impossible to recoup their investment. This was especially true in new industries where people lacked the caution bred by experience and thus expanded with reckless abandon. As a result, many businessmen began to distrust unfettered competition and flirted with newfangled notions of cooperation—pools, monopolies, and other marketing arrangements that might curb production and artificially buoy prices.

While all commodity prices fluctuated, crude-oil prices were especially volatile. Based on locating deep, unseen pools, the industry was an unpredictable, nerve-racking affair. Every time some lucky devil hit a gusher, this bonanza drove prices down. In 1865, producers began to torpedo wells by exploding gunpowder (later nitroglycerine) deep inside them to shake loose more oil, swelling the surplus. Within a year or two after the Civil War, the oil flood caused prices to skid to as low as \$2.40 a barrel—they had traded as high as \$12 in 1864—leading producers to contemplate forming a cartel to boost prices. The same predicament roiled refining, which had generated astronomical profits at first. As Rockefeller said tartly, the spoiled refiners “were disappointed if they did not make one hundred percent profit in a year—sometimes in six months.”<sup>1</sup> With sky-high profits and ridiculously low start-up costs, the field had soon grown overcrowded. “In came the tinkers and the tailors and the boys who followed the plow, all eager for this large profit,” said Rockefeller.<sup>2</sup>

By the late 1860s, this dynamic produced a pervasive slump in the oil industry, keeping it depressed for the next five years. Low kerosene prices, a boon to consumers, were catastrophic for refiners, who saw the profit margin between crude- and refined-oil prices shrink to a vanishing point. Rampant speculation had so overbuilt the industry that total refining capacity in 1870 was triple the amount of crude oil being pumped. By then, Rockefeller estimated, 90 percent of all refineries were operating in the red. At this bleak impasse, a leading Cleveland rival, John H. Alexander, offered to sell his interest to William Rockefeller at ten cents on the dollar, as the entire industry faced ruin. Worse, the oil market wasn’t correcting itself according to the self-regulating mechanism dear to neoclassical economists. Producers and refiners didn’t shut down operations in the expected numbers, causing Rockefeller to doubt the workings of Adam Smith’s theoretical invisible hand: “So many wells were flowing that the price of oil kept falling, yet they went right on drilling.”<sup>3</sup> The industry was trapped in a full-blown crisis of overproduction with no relief in sight.

Thus, in 1869, one year after his stellar railroad coup, Rockefeller feared that his wealth might be snatched away from him. As someone who tended toward optimism, “seeing opportunity in every disaster,” he studied the situation exhaustively instead of bemoaning his bad luck.<sup>4</sup> He saw that his individual success as a refiner was now menaced by industrywide failure and that it therefore demanded a systemic solution. This was a momentous insight, pregnant with consequences. Instead of just tending to his own business, he began to conceive of the industry as a gigantic, interrelated mechanism and thought in terms of strategic alliances and long-term planning.

Rockefeller cited the years 1869 and 1870 as the start of his campaign to replace competition with cooperation in the industry. The culprit, he decided, was “the over-development of the refining industry,” which had created “ruinous competition.”<sup>5</sup> If this fractious industry was to be made profitable and enduring, he would have to tame and discipline it. A trailblazer who improvised solutions without any guidance from economic texts, he began to envision a giant cartel that would reduce overcapacity, stabilize prices, and rationalize the industry. If Rockefeller first expounded this idea among refiners, he was anticipated by the very drillers who later railed at his machinations. During the Civil War, they had formed an Oil Creek Association to curtail production and lift prices, and on February 1, 1869, they again met in Oil City to create the Petroleum Producers’ Association to protect their interests.

To devise a comprehensive solution for the industry, Rockefeller again needed money: money to create economies of scale, money to build cash reserves to endure downturns, money to heighten efficiency. “And to buy in the many refineries that were a source of overproduction and confusion we needed a great deal of money.”<sup>6</sup> The tricky part for Rockefeller and Flagler was how to supplement their capital without relinquishing control; the solution was to incorporate, which would enable them to sell shares to select outside investors. “I wish I’d had the brains to think of it,” said Rockefeller. “It was Henry M. Flagler.”<sup>7</sup>



*The chaotic, derrick-covered slopes of Oil Creek, Pennsylvania, in 1865. (Courtesy of the Drake Well Museum)*

Luckily, many states had now passed laws permitting companies to incorporate. The one hitch—and it was a formidable one for Rockefeller—was that these firms couldn’t own property outside their state of incorporation; to finesse this restriction would require endless legal legerdemain. On January 10, 1870, the partnership of Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler was abolished and replaced by a joint-stock firm called the Standard Oil Company (Ohio), with John D. Rockefeller as president, William Rockefeller as vice president, and Henry M. Flagler as secretary and treasurer. Besides echoing their Standard Works refinery, the name advertised the uniform quality of their kerosene at a time when consumers feared explosions from impurities. With \$1 million in capital—\$11 million in contemporary money—the new company became an instant landmark in business history, for “there was no other concern in the country organized with such a capital,” Rockefeller said.<sup>8</sup> Already a mini-empire, Standard Oil controlled 10 percent of American petroleum refining, as well as a barrel-making plant, warehouses, shipping facilities, and a fleet of tank cars. From the outset, Rockefeller’s plans had a wide streak of megalomania. As he told Cleveland businessman John Prindle, “The Standard Oil Company will some day refine all the oil and make all the barrels.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite his lack of legal training, Henry M. Flagler drew up the act of incorporation. Nearly sixty years later, when this document was dredged up in a legal dispute, people were stunned by its simplicity. Instead of a fancy embossed paper, dripping with seals, one reporter described it as “a cheap looking legal paper, faded yellow and of evident poor material, granting the Standard Oil Company the right to engage in business.”<sup>10</sup> This economical, no-nonsense approach appealed to investors, as did Rockefeller’s decision that the leading men would receive no salary but would profit solely from the appreciation of their shares and rising dividends—which Rockefeller thought a more potent stimulus to work.

Standard Oil started out in a modest suite of offices in a four-story building known as the Cushing Block on the Public Square. The office shared by Rockefeller and Flagler was somber and austere. Furnished with funereal dignity, it had a black leather couch and four black walnut chairs with elaborately carved backs and arms, plus a fireplace to provide warmth in winter. Rockefeller never allowed his office decor to flaunt the prosperity of his business, lest it arouse unwanted curiosity.

From the start, he owned more shares of Standard Oil than anybody else and exploited every opportunity to augment his stake. Of the original 10,000 shares, he took 2,667, while Flagler, Andrews, and William Rockefeller each took 1,333; Stephen Harkness took 1,334; and the former partners of Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler divided another 1,000. The final 1,000 shares went to Oliver B. Jennings, William Rockefeller’s brother-in-law and the first outside investor. An adventurous figure, Jennings had gone to California during the gold rush and profited from selling supplies to prospectors.

Rich investors did not line up to invest in Standard Oil, among other reasons because it was an inauspicious time for new ventures. On September 24, 1869—the infamous Black Friday—Jay Gould and Jim Fisk’s scheme to corner the gold market by manipulating President Grant’s monetary policy collapsed, fomenting financial panic and ruining more than a dozen Wall Street houses. Beyond that, the speculative aura of the oil industry still deterred many reputable businessmen. Rockefeller never forgot how his scheme was savagely derided as a “rope of sand” or how sage businessmen told him that similar attempts to create a Great Lakes shipping cartel had misfired. “Either this experiment will result in a great success or a dismal failure,” one aging financier warned him.<sup>11</sup> As Rockefeller recalled, it was “a course which older and more conservative business men shrank back from and regarded as reckless, almost to the point of insanity.”<sup>12</sup> Embittered by these skeptics and set to prove them wrong, Rockefeller managed to pay dividends of 105 percent on Standard Oil stock during the first year of operations despite one of the worst financial bloodbaths in the industry’s early history.

The man with the hypertrophied craving for order was about to impose his iron rule on this lawless, godless business. As Ida Tarbell described Rockefeller in 1870, he was “a brooding, cautious, secretive man, seeing all the possible dangers as well as all the possible opportunities in things, and he studied, as a player at chess, all the possible combinations, which might imperil his supremacy.”<sup>13</sup> As he scanned the field of battle, the first target of opportunity lay close to home: the twenty-six rival Cleveland refiners. His strategy would be to subjugate one part of the battlefield, consolidate his forces, then move briskly on to the next conquest. His victory over the Cleveland refiners would be the first but also the most controversial campaign of his career.

For his admirers, 1872 was the annus mirabilis of John D. Rockefeller’s life, while for his critics it constituted the darkest chapter. The year revealed both his finest and most problematic qualities as a businessman: his visionary leadership, his courageous persistence, his capacity to think in strategic terms, but also his lust for domination, his messianic self-righteousness, and his contempt for those shortsighted mortals who made the mistake of standing in his way. What rivals saw as a naked power grab, Rockefeller regarded as a heroic act of salvation, nothing less than the rescue of the oil business.

The state of the kerosene trade had further deteriorated in 1871 as prices sagged another 25 percent. As competitors skidded into bankruptcy, Standard Oil declared a 40 percent dividend, with a small surplus to spare. Despite this, John D. Rockefeller sold off a small block of Standard Oil shares—the only time he ever lost heart momentarily—prompting brother William to lament, “Your anxiety to sell makes me feel uneasy.”<sup>14</sup> This discouragement was short-lived. In late 1871, Rockefeller engineered the covert acquisition of Bostwick and Tilford, New York’s premier oil buyers, who owned barges, lighters, and a large refinery at Hunter’s Point on the East River. A former Kentucky banker who had also dealt in cotton and grain and peddled Bibles, Jabez Abel Bostwick was a devout Baptist in the Rockefeller mold: “strict almost to sternness in his business dealings, preferring justice to sentiment,” as one contemporary said.<sup>15</sup> The purchase of Bostwick’s firm gave Rockefeller a sophisticated purchasing agency at a critical moment. Oil prices were now being set on exchanges in western Pennsylvania, with powerful syndicates pushing aside the lone speculators who had once dominated trading. The move set a pattern of stealth that shadowed Rockefeller’s career: Renamed J. A. Bostwick and Company, the newly acquired firm brazenly feigned independence of Standard Oil while acting as its cat’s-paw.

On January 1, 1872, the Standard Oil executive committee, bracing for the tumultuous events ahead, boosted the firm’s capital from \$1 million to \$2.5 million and then to \$3.5 million the next day.<sup>16</sup> Among the new shareholders were several luminaries of Cleveland banking, including Truman P. Handy, Amasa Stone, and Stillman Witt. An intriguing new investor was Benjamin Brewster, a direct descendant of Elder Brewster of the Plymouth colony, who had made a fortune with Oliver Jennings during the California gold rush. It was a sign of Rockefeller’s exceptional self-confidence that he gathered

strong executives and investors at this abysmal time, as if the depressed atmosphere only strengthened his resolve. “We were gathering information which confirmed us in the idea that to enlarge our own Standard Oil of Ohio and actually take into partners with us the refining interest would accomplish the protection of the oil industry as a whole.”<sup>17</sup> On January 1, 1872, the executive committee made its historic decision to purchase “certain refining properties in Cleveland and elsewhere.”<sup>18</sup> This seemingly innocuous resolution was the opening shot of a bloody skirmish that historians came to label the Cleveland Massacre.

The mayhem in Cleveland began when Rockefeller struck a clandestine and richly ironic deal with Tom Scott, the overlord of the Pennsylvania Railroad. As noted, the Pennsylvania had threatened to blot out Cleveland as a refining center, prompting Rockefeller to solidify his ties with the Erie and New York Central systems. Rockefeller had no personal love of Scott and later branded him “perhaps the most dominant, autocratic power that ever existed, before or since, in the railroad business of our country.”<sup>19</sup> Like many railroad executives, Scott had made his reputation during the Civil War by keeping railroad lines open between Washington and the North and winning appointment as an assistant secretary of war. A shrewd, dashing man with long, curling side-whiskers, he wore an enormous felt hat and exuded an aura of power. Of this master political manipulator, Wendell Phillips observed that “as he trailed his garments across the country the members of 20 legislatures rustled like dry leaves in a winter’s wind.”<sup>20</sup> Though Andrew Carnegie was a protégé of Scott before going into the iron and steel business, the railroad executive didn’t appeal to the sanctimonious Rockefeller.

In business matters, however, Rockefeller stood ready to strike a deal with the devil himself. Since he dreaded an alliance between the Pennsylvania Railroad and Pittsburgh and Philadelphia refiners, he wanted to drive a wedge between them. “They went on their knees to [Scott] for rates,” Rockefeller said disparagingly of his rivals. “They revered the Pennsylvania Railroad administration; would do anything at their beck; would do anything to get in return help in the transportation of oil.”<sup>21</sup> So Rockefeller was receptive to an overture from Scott, which came unexpectedly from Peter H. Watson, an official of the rival Lake Shore Railroad and an intimate ally of Commodore Vanderbilt. As president of a Lake Shore branch that joined Cleveland to Oil Creek, Watson had a personal stake in advancing the fortunes of his largest customer, Standard Oil. When Standard Oil expanded its capital in January 1872, Watson quietly pocketed five hundred shares in another example of the growing back-scratching between Rockefeller and the railroads. It was probably through Watson that Commodore Vanderbilt discreetly invested \$50,000 in Standard Oil that year.

On November 30, 1871, Watson met Rockefeller and Flagler at the Saint Nicholas Hotel in New York and presented an audacious scheme devised by Tom Scott, who proposed an alliance between the three most powerful railroads—the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, and the Erie—and a handful of refiners, notably Standard Oil. To implement this, Scott had obtained a special charter for a shell organization bearing the blandly misleading name of the South Improvement Company (SIC). After the Civil War, the venal Pennsylvania legislature had created dozens of such charters by special enactment. These improvement companies possessed such broad, vague powers—including the right to hold stock in companies outside Pennsylvania—that some economic historians have christened them the first real holding companies. The Pennsylvania Railroad had a special purchase on these instruments of corporate power and sometimes traded them for favors.

Under the terms of the proposed pact, the railroads would sharply raise freight rates for all refiners, but refiners in the SIC would receive such substantial rebates—up to 50 percent off crude- and refined-oil shipments—that their competitive edge over rivals would widen dramatically. In the most deadly innovation, the SIC members would also receive “drawbacks” on shipments made by rival refiners—that is, the railroads would give the SIC members rebates for every barrel shipped by *other* refiners. On shipments from western Pennsylvania to Cleveland, for instance, Standard Oil would receive a forty-cent rebate on every barrel it shipped, plus another forty cents for every barrel shipped to Cleveland by competitors! One Rockefeller biographer has called the drawback “an instrument of competitive cruelty unparalleled in industry.”<sup>22</sup> Through another provision, Standard Oil and other SIC refiners would receive comprehensive information about all oil shipped by their competitors—invaluable in underpricing them. The SIC members were naturally sworn to secrecy about the inner workings of this alarming scheme. All in all, it was an astonishing piece of knavery, grand-scale collusion such as American industry had never witnessed.

Though Rockefeller and his coconspirators contended that all refiners were impartially invited to join the SIC, the group excluded refiners from Oil Creek and New York, and Standard Oil was indisputably the driving force. Of the 2,000 shares issued, over one-fourth were held by John and William Rockefeller and Henry Flagler; counting Jabez Bostwick and Oliver H. Payne (soon to be a leader of Standard Oil), the Rockefeller group controlled 900 of 2,000 shares. The SIC president was Peter H. Watson, who held 100 shares and was also now a Standard Oil shareholder, thus ensuring the supremacy of Cleveland refiners over the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia members of the group.

Why did the nation’s leading railroads offer Rockefeller and his confederates terms so generous as to render them all but omnipotent in oil refining? How did they benefit from this association? First, the railroads had engaged in such fierce, internecine price wars that freight rates had fallen sharply. No less than the oil producers, they needed somebody to arbitrate their disputes and save them from their own cutthroat tactics. The cornerstone of the SIC was a provision that Standard Oil would act as “evener” for the three railroads and ensure that each received a predetermined share of the oil traffic: Forty-five percent of the oil shipped by SIC members would travel over the Pennsylvania Railroad, 27.5 percent on the Erie, and 27.5 percent on the New York Central. Unless the railroads had greater control over the oil business, Rockefeller knew, they “could not make the divisions of business necessary so as to prevent rate-cutting.”<sup>23</sup> Rockefeller would become their official umpire and try to govern their pool in a fair, disinterested fashion. As mentioned, the railroads also had an economic interest in greater consolidation among refiners to streamline their own operations. One other factor tempted the railroads to come to terms with Rockefeller: In a farsighted tactical maneuver, he had begun to accumulate hundreds of tank cars, which would be in perpetually short supply.

The SIC—soon exposed as an infamous conspiracy—was a masterful move in Rockefeller’s quest for industrial domination. Both refiners and railroads were struggling with excess capacity and suicidal price wars. Rockefeller’s supreme insight was that he could solve the oil industry’s problems by solving the railroads’ problems at the same time, creating a double cartel in oil and rails. One of Rockefeller’s strengths in bargaining situations was that he figured out what he wanted *and* what the other party wanted and then crafted mutually advantageous terms. Instead of ruining the railroads, Rockefeller tried to help them prosper, albeit in a way that fortified his own position.

Later on, trying to distance himself from the SIC fiasco, Rockefeller scoffed at charges that he had been the ringleader. All along, he insisted, he knew

it would fail and had gone along simply as a tactical maneuver. “We acceded to it because [Tom Scott] and the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh men, we hoped, would be helpful to us ultimately. We were willing to go with them as far as the plan could be used; so that when it failed, we would be in a position to say, ‘Now try our plan.’”<sup>24</sup> Rockefeller’s plan was to unify the industry under Standard Oil. By his own admission, he had not opposed the SIC on ethical grounds but solely as a practical matter, convinced it wouldn’t apply the needed discipline to member refiners. The scheme never bothered his conscience. “It was right,” an unreconstructed Rockefeller said in later years. “I knew it as a matter of conscience. It was right before me and my God. If I had to do it tomorrow I would do it again the same way—do it a hundred times.”<sup>25</sup> Even in hindsight, he couldn’t tolerate doubts about his career but had to present it as one long, triumphal march, sanctified by his religion.

Rockefeller’s assertion that he reluctantly followed the railroads’ lead conveniently distorted the truth. Far from coyly stepping aside and waiting for a misbegotten scheme to founder, he took a leading role and promoted it zealously. We know this because of several remarkable letters he wrote to Cettie from New York, where for several agitated weeks he remained closeted with railroad officials. He knew the negotiations were controversial, since he advised Cettie on November 30, 1871, “A man who succeeds in life must sometimes go against the current.”<sup>26</sup> While these letters confirm that he didn’t originate the scheme, they show that he soon warmed to the project, declaring on December 1, “indeed the project grows on me.”<sup>27</sup> When Watson secured Commodore Vanderbilt’s blessing, Rockefeller was positively jubilant, and he emerged as natural leader of the group, particularly as others grew skittish. In late January 1872, trapped in New York, he wanted to return to Cleveland but told Cettie that “our men *would not hear to it*, they are nervous, and lean on me. . . . I feel like a caged lion and would roar if it would do any good.”<sup>28</sup> Obviously, had Rockefeller wished the SIC to collapse, he would have renounced a leadership position and returned to Cleveland sooner.

The small batch of letters he wrote to Cettie at this time—among his few early, surviving letters to her—betray a surprisingly romantic sensibility, as if seven years of marriage hadn’t dimmed his ardor. Amid negotiations, he told her, “I dreamed last night of the girl Celestia Spelman and awoke to realize she was my ‘Laura.’”<sup>29</sup> Repeatedly, Rockefeller complained about how lonely he felt in New York—“like a wandering Jew”—and reiterated his yearning to be at home. Far from being beguiled by the money, fashion, and power of New York, his Baptist soul recoiled from it. “The world is full of Sham, Flattery, and Deceptions,” he wrote, “and home is a haven of rest and freedom.”<sup>30</sup> At this stage, Rockefeller still found his wealth wonderful and slightly unreal, telling Cettie that “we have been so prospered and placed in *independent* circumstances, it seems a fabulous dream but I assure you it is a solid and comforting fact—how different our condition from the multitudes, let us be thankful.”<sup>31</sup> Perhaps this financial independence emboldened Rockefeller to undertake the risky SIC scheme, confident that it wouldn’t endanger his family’s security. And lest Cettie worry about his risky new venture, he reminded her, “You know we are independently rich outside investments in oil—but I believe my oil stock the very best.”<sup>32</sup>

By late January 1872, as the conspirators drew up and signed the last contracts while trying to preserve total secrecy, rumors of an impending jump in freight rates began to filter through western Pennsylvania. On February 22, the *Petroleum Centre Record* alluded darkly to a “rumored scheme of gigantic combination among certain railroads and refiners to control the purchase and shipment of crude and refined oil from this region.”<sup>33</sup> Definite word of the plot didn’t leak out until days later, when the local freight agent for the Lake Shore Railroad rushed off to visit a dying son and left in charge a subordinate who didn’t realize that the new freight rates hadn’t yet been enacted. Oblivious to the historic impact he would have, this minor functionary promulgated the staggering rates for outside refiners decreed by the SIC. On February 26, the stunned residents of Oil Creek read in the morning papers that freight rates had doubled overnight for everyone—everyone, that is, except a privileged group of refiners in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia who belonged to a shadowy entity called the South Improvement Company.

For the horror-struck refiners in Titusville or Oil City, this wasn’t simply a new competitive threat: It was a death warrant, and they stopped work and poured into the streets, denouncing the action in strident tones. “The oil region was afire with all sorts of wild stories,” recalled Rockefeller. “There were meetings of protest, of bitter denunciation.”<sup>34</sup> On the night of February 27, three thousand people stormed into the Titusville Opera House, waving banners that stated, “Down with the conspirators,” “No compromise,” and “Don’t give up the ship!” while Rockefeller and his cabal were denounced as “the Monster” and “the Forty Thieves.”<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the most impassioned speaker was a short young refiner named John D. Archbold, the hard-drinking, poker-playing son of a circuit preacher. Though Peter Watson had tried to inveigle him into the SIC, Archbold had indignantly refused and now told the crowd, “We have been approached by the great anaconda, but do not desire to yield.”<sup>36</sup> The Oil Creek refiners believed they had a God-given right to market the oil drilled in their backyards and Archbold—destined, ironically, to succeed Rockefeller at the Standard Oil helm—endorsed this view. “We believe this is the natural point for the business,” he told the cheering audience. “This is the last desperate struggle of desperate men.”<sup>37</sup> After he was elected secretary of a new Petroleum Producers’ Union, the group agreed to retaliate by starving out the SIC conspirators, selling crude oil only to refiners along Oil Creek.

Amid this frenzied hue and cry, the local citizenry created a small army of roving protesters who moved from town to town, organizing torchlight rallies and picking up new adherents. On the night of March 1, refiners and producers jammed another tumultuous meeting at the opera house in Oil City. One featured speaker was a young producer, Lewis Emery, Jr., who supported a proposal by Archbold to cut existing production by 30 percent and suspend new drilling for thirty days. With this speech, the indefatigable Emery launched a crusade against Standard Oil that would persist for decades. By the end of the meeting, a thousand men stood ready to besiege the state capitol in Harrisburg and demand relief from the SIC.

In this warlike atmosphere, the *Oil City Derrick* printed a daily blacklist of the conspirators—Peter Watson, followed by Rockefeller and six other directors—in a black-bordered box on the front page. Each day, a new inflammatory caption was supplied, such as “Behold ‘The Anaconda’ in all his hideous deformity.”<sup>38</sup> It was in the context of such hysterical emotion that the world first learned the name of John D. Rockefeller. As if his foes already intuited his special power, he was singled out for abuse, one newspaper crowning him “the Mephistopheles of Cleveland.”<sup>39</sup> As people learned of his central place in the SIC, vandals defaced the blue Standard Oil barrels with skulls and crossbones. Two Standard employees on Oil Creek, Joseph Seep and Daniel O’Day, barricaded themselves in their offices and fended off marauding mobs. “It was a tense situation,” said Seep. “Some of my friends were actually afraid to be seen talking with me in the street. There were threats of violence. Captain John W. Jones, a big producer, wanted the people to burn the Standard Oil Company’s tanks.”<sup>40</sup> Saboteurs attacked the railroads, raiding oil cars and spilling their contents on the ground or tearing tracks apart. A local lawyer, Samuel C. T. Dodd, said that if the protests had continued indefinitely, “there would not have been one mile of railroad track left



in the County of Venango. The people had come to that pitch of desperation.”<sup>41</sup> Few residents of Oil Creek imagined that their dread adversary was a clean-cut, churchgoing young man. This nightmarish period left an especially deep imprint upon a flabbergasted fourteen-year-old schoolgirl named Ida Tarbell. “I remember a night when my father came home with a grim look on his face and told how he with scores of other producers had signed a pledge not to sell to the Cleveland ogre that also had profited from the scheme—a new name, that of the Standard Oil Company, replacing the name South Improvement Company in popular contempt.”<sup>42</sup>

Far from giving Rockefeller pause, the vandalism only confirmed his view of Oil Creek as a netherworld of rogues and adventurers who needed to be ruled by stronger men. He was always quick to impugn the motives of enemies while regarding his own as somehow beyond reproach. “The Standard Oil Company were a very orderly body, and these producers were a rabble of wild, excitable men, waiting for a war-cry to rush into the arena with a suitable noise.”<sup>43</sup> Clad in the armor of self-righteousness, Rockefeller felt no need to explain his actions and turned away reporters at his door. After Flagler told reporters that Standard Oil’s opponents were “a few soreheads,” Rockefeller advised silence, and Flagler desisted from further comment. With threats being made on his life, Rockefeller posted a special detail of policemen outside both office and home and kept a revolver by his bed for good measure.

Only in the twilight of life did Rockefeller realize how poorly his taciturnity had served him in business battles. This was especially true during the SIC furor, which evolved into a political and public-relations battle. By remaining silent in the face of criticism, he thought he would seem confident and secure in his integrity—in fact, he seemed guilty and arrogantly evasive. Throughout his career, Rockefeller endured abuse with so much equanimity that Flagler once shook his head and said, “John, you have a hide like a rhinoceros!”<sup>44</sup> He had an early Christian’s fierce defiance of critics, his boyhood with Big Bill having also taught him to disregard the malicious gossip of neighbors. He had a great general’s ability to focus on his goals and brush aside obstacles as petty distractions. “You can abuse me, you can strike me,” Rockefeller said, “so long as you let me have my own way.”<sup>45</sup>

As always, the greater the tumult, the cooler Rockefeller became, and a strange calm settled over him when his colleagues were most disconcerted. When pushed, he always stood his ground. The SIC episode showed that Rockefeller was now developing exalted faith in his own judgment. Like all revolutionaries, he saw himself as an instrument of higher purpose, endowed with a visionary faith. He knew that his actions would at first be resisted and misunderstood by the myopic crowd, but he believed that the force and truth of his ideas would triumph in the end.

When the petroleum producers embargoed the sale of crude oil to members of the SIC, Rockefeller professed a lack of concern. Yet this impromptu coalition, welded together by the overwhelming threat, responded with impressive unity, creating sixteen districts, each with a separate committee, that blocked oil sales to the cabal. By moonlight, the producers patrolled Oil Creek on horseback to guard against any clandestine drilling that would subvert their cause. Ida Tarbell recalled how her father had proudly spurned a lucrative contract to ship oil to the conspirators for a tempting \$4.50 a barrel. In the meantime, the producers busied themselves on the legislative front, lobbying in Harrisburg to annul the SIC charter and submitting to the U.S. Congress a scroll-like, ninety-three-foot petition, demanding an industrywide investigation. While Rockefeller dodged the press, producers handed out thirty thousand copies of a polemical tract about the SIC so that “enemies of freedom of trade may be known and shunned by the honest men.”<sup>46</sup>

The uproar didn’t weaken Rockefeller’s resolve, yet for all his bravado the boycott exacted a grave toll on his operations. Ninety percent of his employees had to be temporarily laid off, leaving a skeletal staff at his refineries. In letters to Cettie in March 1872, he tried to reconcile his actions with his conscience as he became the bugbear of Oil Creek. As he wrote from New York on March 15,

*It is easy to write newspaper articles but we have other business. We will do right and not be troubled about what the papers say. By and by when all are through possibly we may briefly respond (though it is not our policy) and leave future events in the business to demonstrate our intentions and plans were just & warranted—I want to act perfectly conscientiously and fearlessly in the matter and feel confident of good results. . . . I am hopeful [we] can get at least a good fraction of the N.Y. Refiners to join at an early day.*<sup>47</sup>

Further, he wrote on March 21, “I am still persevering and hopeful, remember *our* side have not yet been in the papers. We know a *few* things the people generally may not, at all events we know our own intentions, and they are *right* and *only so*—but please say *nothing* only you know your husband will stand by and stick to the right.”<sup>48</sup>

The conspirators committed a major strategic gaffe by omitting the New York refiners, who therefore sided with the Oil Creek refiners to pressure the railroads. To head their liaison committee, the New York refiners appointed a suave thirty-two-year-old named Henry H. Rogers, who had the flashing eyes and confident air of a young buccaneer. When Rogers met Tom Scott at a Philadelphia hotel on March 18, the railroad chief struck a conciliatory note, admitting that the SIC contract was unfair and offering a similar deal to the excluded New York and Pennsylvania refiners. While Scott was backpedaling and angling for peace, Rockefeller remained uncompromising, telling his wife on March 22, “I assure you it is not my pleasure to remain all this time but a stern sense of duty to this cause—I haven’t any idea giving up ship or letting go my hold.”<sup>49</sup>

On March 25, the Rogers group held a climactic meeting with wavering railroad officials at the Erie Railroad’s offices in the ornate Grand Opera House in New York. While they conferred, an edgy Rockefeller and Peter Watson tapped at the door and asked to enter. While Watson was admitted, Rockefeller was barred and so anxiously paced the corridor. For the first time, Rockefeller appeared in *The New York Times*—his name was misspelled as “Rockafellow”—with the reporter noting that, excluded from the talks, Rockefeller had finally gone off looking “pretty blue.”<sup>50</sup> The meeting dealt a blow to Rockefeller and Watson, for the railroads agreed to abrogate the SIC contract, end rebates and drawbacks, and institute uniform rates for all shippers. The serpent had been killed in the egg.

Far sooner than Rockefeller, the railroads had foreseen the political reaction and inevitable defeat. In this era before railroad regulation and antitrust legislation, the SIC contract didn’t violate any obvious laws, only a universal sense of fair play. In early April, the Pennsylvania legislature canceled the SIC charter, while a congressional committee, a month later, branded the scheme the “most gigantic and daring conspiracy” ever to confront a free nation.<sup>51</sup> On April 8, 1872, Rockefeller capitulated and wired the oil producers that all contracts between the SIC and the railroads were now void. In

his own defense, he added: “I state unqualifiedly that reports circulated in the Oil Region and elsewhere, that this company, or any member of it, threatened to depress oil, are false.”<sup>52</sup> On this last count, Rockefeller was probably sincere, for what he envisioned was less a conspiracy against producers than against consumers, a united effort to ensure steady prices and adequate returns on investment. Till the very end, he saw the producers’ outrage against him as shot through with envy and hypocrisy. “The producers . . . held to the view that rebates were wrong unless the rebates were given to them.”<sup>53</sup>

It always mystified Rockefeller that people made such a fuss about a phantom company. “There never was a shipment made or a rebate or drawback collected under the South Improvement plan.”<sup>54</sup> Though only a latent threat, the scheme acquired lasting infamy for two reasons. First, Rockefeller’s fiercest critics regarded it as a dress rehearsal for the grand pageant, the place where he first revealed his master plan, to be implemented in a thousand secret, disguised, and indirect ways. The second reason for all the later attention was that during the brief interval while the SIC was alive, Rockefeller engineered his most important coup: the swift, relentless consolidation of Cleveland’s refineries, which gave him irresistible momentum. The threat of the SIC, critics alleged, was the invisible club that he had waved over Cleveland refiners, forcing them to submit to his domination. Between February 17 and March 28, 1872—between the first rumors of the SIC and the time it was scuttled—Rockefeller swallowed up twenty-two of his twenty-six Cleveland competitors. During one forty-eight-hour period alone in early March, he bought six refineries. As one refiner, John H. Alexander, recalled:

*There was a pressure brought to bear upon my mind, and upon almost all citizens of Cleveland engaged in the oil business, to the effect that unless we went into the South Improvement Company we were virtually killed as refiners; that if we did not sell out we should be crushed out. . . . It was said that they had a contract with railroads by which they could run us into the ground if they pleased.*<sup>55</sup>

Since petroleum output promised to shatter records in 1872 and keep prices depressed, Rockefeller increasingly sought to own as large a portion of the industry as possible and didn’t think he could afford to wait for the marketplace to prune out weak refiners by attrition. “We had to do it in self-defense,” he said of the Cleveland takeovers. “The oil business was in confusion and daily growing worse.”<sup>56</sup>

Another businessman might have started with small, vulnerable firms, building on easy victories, but Rockefeller started at the top, believing that if he could crack his strongest competitor first, it would have a tremendous psychological impact. His major rival was Clark, Payne and Company, and conquering it would give Rockefeller special satisfaction, since he had already tangled with one partner, James Clark, early in his career and now coveted his Star Works refinery. The firm also had social cachet in Cleveland: Colonel Oliver H. Payne— a Yale graduate, honored Civil War colonel, and son of politician Henry B. Payne—was extremely wealthy, lived in a Euclid Avenue mansion, and was descended from one of Cleveland’s founding families. (Commodore Matthew Perry, who opened Japan to commerce in 1854, came from a collateral branch of the family.) With an erect, military bearing and coolly formal manner, many people found the young bachelor pompous—Flagler dubbed him the “kin of God”—but Rockefeller always paid tribute to Payne as a stalwart and capable ally.<sup>57</sup>

One afternoon in December 1871, Rockefeller asked Payne, an old high-school friend, to meet in the parlor of a downtown Cleveland bank, where Rockefeller outlined his plan for a vast, efficient industry under Standard Oil control. Telling Payne about the impending capital increase at Standard Oil, he asked point-blank: “If we can agree upon values and terms do you want to come in?”<sup>58</sup> As Clark, Payne’s largest shareholder, Colonel Payne gave his qualified approval, but he first wanted to examine Rockefeller’s books before selling his company. That afternoon, when he surveyed Standard Oil’s ledgers, he was thunderstruck by the profits. Whether he was impressed by the railroad rebates or operating efficiencies is unclear, but he eagerly told Rockefeller, “Let us get the appraisers in and see what the plant is worth.”<sup>59</sup> After conferring with his partners, Payne consented to a \$400,000 price for his refinery. Rockefeller knew that he was overpaying but couldn’t resist a deal that would certify his position as the world’s largest oil refiner at age thirty-one. Though Rockefeller stipulated that James Clark wasn’t welcome at Standard Oil, he wanted to enlist Payne’s services, and the latter soon shared a private office with Rockefeller and Flagler. James Clark later told Ida Tarbell that he sold out only from fear of the SIC contract. As Tarbell’s assistant reported, “He stated positively that Clark, Payne & Co. did *not* sell out before the organization of the SIC, and that it never considered selling out to the Standard before the SIC was formed.”<sup>60</sup>

According to later lawsuits, whenever Rockefeller suggested that rivals sell out to him, the SIC formed the burden of his appeal. Some old Cleveland refiners told Ida Tarbell that his menacing pitch ran as follows:

*You see, this scheme is bound to work. It means an absolute control by us of the oil business. There is no chance for anyone outside. But we are going to give everybody a chance to come in. You are to turn over your refinery to my appraisers, and I will give you Standard Oil Company stock or cash, as you prefer, for the value we put upon it. I advise you to take the stock. It will be for your good.*<sup>61</sup>

Stung by charges that he had used coercion, Rockefeller retorted that he had been unfailingly friendly and courteous and never mentioned the SIC in negotiations. Strictly speaking, this was probably true, yet the timing of his twenty-two takeovers suggests strongly that the SIC was a prime factor and that the deals were done amid an atmosphere of well-timed intimidation. Several rivals alleged that Rockefeller orchestrated a chorus of terrifying rumors about his secret pact with the railroads. Even without direct threats, he knew his opponents’ imaginations would embellish these stories and conjure up a conspiracy of unfathomable scope. “In 1872 reports were purposely circulated to the effect that the Standard Oil Company had entered into agreement with the railroads, whereby no outside refiner could bring crude oil to Cleveland and manufacture it without a loss,” rival refiner J. W. Fawcett of Fawcett and Critchley told Ida Tarbell in the early 1900s.<sup>62</sup> “The refiners became prematurely alarmed at the reports of destructive competition and inability to secure crude oil, and they ‘fell over each other’ in their haste to sell out. Had they refused to be coerced, and had they held together, there never would have been a Standard Oil Company.”<sup>63</sup> When Fawcett received word that he should see the Standard people and dispose of his refinery, he was told “that they had the railroads in a position where they would control the rates, that Fawcett and Critchley would not ever ship any oil.”<sup>64</sup> Like many vanquished refiners, Fawcett surrendered his independence and went to work for Rockefeller, but he never quite overcame his anger at what he perceived as clever manipulation.

Rockefeller dismissed as “an absolute lie” the idea that he had stampeded the Cleveland refiners and added that the vast majority of those refiners

“were already crushed by the competition which had been steadily increasing up to this time” and were staring at ruin. For these concerns, he insisted, the opportunity to sell to Standard Oil and receive stock instead “was a godsend to them all.”<sup>65</sup> Had Standard Oil not existed, he asserted, these refiners would simply have gone bust—which would have been true for many of them. Even Fawcett conceded that “at that time some of the refineries were not making money, and they were the first to ‘run to cover’ and sell out. Eventually all sold out.”<sup>66</sup>

Several Cleveland refiners claimed that Rockefeller had directly threatened them. John H. Heisel of Bishop and Heisel remembered telling Rockefeller that he wasn’t afraid of him, to which Rockefeller supposedly replied, “You may not be afraid to have your hand cut off, but your body will suffer.”<sup>67</sup> Yet it seems unlikely that Rockefeller menaced refiners quite so blatantly, for it didn’t serve his purpose. Gifted with persuasive powers, he preferred to talk earnestly to his rivals, tapping them on the knee or gesturing with his hands, reasoning with them in richly cadenced, evangelical tones. As one refiner said of Rockefeller, “He knew that he and his associates had a better knowledge of the business and a better command of the business than anyone else. You never saw anyone so confident as he was.”<sup>68</sup> He liked to make Standard Oil sound like a philanthropic agency or an angel of mercy, come to succor downtrodden refiners. “We will take your burdens,” he remembered telling his weaker brethren in 1872. “We will utilize your ability; we will give you representation; we will unite together and build a substantial structure on the basis of cooperation.”<sup>69</sup> Similarly, he said, “We here at Cleveland are at a disadvantage. Something should be done for our mutual protection. We think this plan of ours is a good scheme. Think it over. We would be glad to consider it with you if you are so inclined.”<sup>70</sup> Sure of his mission, Rockefeller castigated those who resisted Standard Oil as foolish and shortsighted. “Take Standard Oil stock,” he urged them, “and your family will never know want.”<sup>71</sup>

If these refiners had surrendered faith in oil’s future, as Rockefeller insisted, then why did they so bitterly resent him after he bought them out? Why didn’t they regard him as their savior, as he preferred to depict himself? The answer lies partly in the way their plants were appraised. Since so many refiners were losing money, Rockefeller paid them a pittance, typically a quarter of their original construction costs, or what the plants might have fetched if auctioned off for scrap; he paid little or nothing for goodwill—that is, the intangible value in a thriving business, such as its reputation or client list. If this was hard policy, it wasn’t necessarily unscrupulous. “No, the good will of a business which is losing money is not worth much,” said Rockefeller.<sup>72</sup> “If there isn’t work for an oil refinery to do, it has less value than ships or railroad property, which can be used on other lines.”<sup>73</sup> One must also remember that Rockefeller was in the anomalous position of taking over many plants not to operate them but to shut them down and eliminate excess capacity. He ridiculed many of the refineries he bought as “old junk, fit only for the scrap heap.”<sup>74</sup> Rockefeller probably paid a fair price for many antiquated plants, but it was a bitter pill for the ruined owners to swallow. And he operated in a climate of fear that gave his rivals little choice in the matter.

Whether by chance or design, Rockefeller’s 1872 business papers have vanished, and we aren’t privy to his thoughts during these crucial negotiations. But in later years, he was a fair-minded bargainer who often paid too much for properties that served a strategic purpose. Indeed, his papers are chock-full of lamentations about how he overpaid for properties. When it came to mergers, he didn’t fight for the last dollar and tried to conclude matters cordially. Since he aimed to convert competitors into members of his cartel and often retained the original owners, he preferred not to resort to naked intimidation. As Rockefeller said, he and his colleagues weren’t “so short-sighted as to antagonize these very men whom they were eager to have come into a close and profitable relationship with them.”<sup>75</sup> He wasn’t a sadistic man, but he had a hard, unyielding sense of purpose that brooked no opposition. If Rockefeller expressed elation, it was behind closed doors. According to one legend, after taking over a new refinery, he would rush into the office, perform a little dance, and shout joyously to Sam Andrews, “We’ve got another refinery, Sam. One more in the fold!”<sup>76</sup>

During the Cleveland Massacre, Rockefeller savored a feeling of sweet revenge against some of the older men who had patronized him when he started in business. This was especially true of his negotiations with Alexander, Scofield and Company, whose partners included his original boss, Isaac L. Hewitt. After Hewitt came to Rockefeller’s Euclid Avenue home to plead for mercy, they strolled down Euclid Avenue together, and Rockefeller told him his firm would never survive if it didn’t sell out to Standard Oil. He made a cryptic statement to Hewitt that entered into Rockefeller folklore: “I have ways of making money you know nothing about.”<sup>77</sup> Disconcerted by such assertions, Hewitt and his partners finally sold out for \$65,000, though they believed their business was worth \$150,000. Rockefeller felt merciful toward Hewitt and loaned him money to buy Standard stock, but he despised Hewitt’s partner, John H. Alexander, who still viewed him, he thought, as Hewitt’s former clerk. As Rockefeller put it, “How could this conceited Englishman ever conceive it possible that a young man who had been a bookkeeper, and especially at a time when he had been employed in an oil refinery, be qualified to lead in a movement of this kind?”<sup>78</sup>

Rockefeller’s most controversial purchase—and one that resulted in a bitter lawsuit—was the takeover of Hanna, Baslington and Company. When Robert Hanna, the uncle of Mark Hanna, was summoned to Standard Oil’s offices, he bluntly told Rockefeller that he wouldn’t sell. In response, Rockefeller sighed and wearily shrugged his shoulders, as if expressing regret that this benighted sinner hadn’t seen the light. “You will stand alone,” he warned Hanna. “Your firm can never make any more money in Cleveland. No use trying to do business in competition with the Standard Oil Company. If you do it will end in your being wiped out.”<sup>79</sup> What seemed a barefaced threat to Hanna was later interpreted by Rockefeller as a timely warning and sincere advice.

Irate over the rebates enjoyed by Standard Oil, Hanna pleaded with executives of the Lake Shore Railroad to grant his refinery equal treatment. They defended Standard Oil’s freight rates as the privilege due to a big bulk shipper and promised to give Hanna the same rates if he delivered the same volume of oil—which he couldn’t. The railroads employed this as an all-purpose defensive tactic, since nobody could ever match Standard Oil’s voluminous shipments. In the end, Hanna accepted \$45,000 for a refinery that he believed was worth \$75,000.

It is interesting to note that Rockefeller perjured himself in an affidavit he submitted for the lawsuit brought jointly by William S. Scofield and Hanna, Baslington. Not only did he state that “but few persons who were stockholders in the Standard Oil Co. of Cleveland, Ohio were subscribers to stock in the South Improvement Company,” but he added that “P. H. Watson, Pres. of the South Improvement Co. . . . was not a stockholder in nor was he in any way connected with the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>80</sup> As mentioned, Standard Oil executives controlled almost 50 percent of the SIC shares and issued five hundred shares of Standard to Watson sub rosa in the January 1872 recapitalization. Although Rockefeller professed that he never lied under oath, the claim doesn’t bear up under close examination.

The oil wars of 1872 turned Cleveland society upside down. Many who had made easy fortunes in oil refining and built splendid mansions on Euclid Avenue found themselves bankrupt and forced to sell. Whether it was Rockefeller or the slumping oil market that forced them to sell their refineries at distress-sale prices, they chose to see Rockefeller as the author of their woes. It is likely that in many cases the marketplace would eventually have closed their unprofitable firms, but Rockefeller certainly speeded up the winnowing. Though several independent refiners held on for a few years, in most cases this merely postponed the day of reckoning. Ella Grant Wilson, a social chronicler of nineteenth-century Cleveland, recalled how her father, a partner in the refinery of Grant, Foote and Company, had befriended Rockefeller in various Baptist causes but refused to join Standard Oil, convinced it would fail. When it became impossible to compete with this leviathan, his refinery went bankrupt, and he surrendered his life savings. “Father went almost insane over this terrible upset to his business. He walked the house night and day. . . . [He] left his church and never entered a church afterward. His whole life was embittered by this experience.”<sup>81</sup> With so many losers in the struggle—and one shrewd, gigantic winner—it comes as no surprise to learn that John D. Rockefeller had made his first group of implacable enemies.

Nowadays, most people imagine that American businessmen have always favored free competition, at least in the abstract. But in the industrial boom after the Civil War, the most significant revolt against free-market capitalism came not from reformers or zealous ideologues but from businessmen who couldn’t control the maddening fluctuations in the marketplace. In an unregulated economy, they had to improvise the rules of the game as they went along. Pestered by overproduction in the early oil industry, Rockefeller tirelessly mocked those “academic enthusiasts” and “sentimentalists” who expected business to conform to their tidy competitive models. Like some of his contemporaries, he didn’t see how they could build vast, enduring industries in a volatile economy disrupted by recessions, deflation, and explosive boom-and-bust cycles, and he decided to subjugate markets instead of responding endlessly to their changing price signals. Thus, Rockefeller and other industrial captains conspired to kill competitive capitalism in favor of a new monopoly capitalism.

Economic historians often cite the exuberance of Gilded Age businessmen, their red-blooded faith in America’s future, without noting the constant uncertainty that lurked underneath. As Rockefeller’s story shows, many of the age’s most controversial business practices were forged in a desperate spirit of self-preservation. “It was forced upon us,” Rockefeller said of Standard Oil’s genesis. “We had to do it in self-defence. The oil business was in confusion and daily growing worse. Someone had to make a stand.” Though he foresaw the triumph of cooperation, its far-ranging ramifications weren’t yet clear to him. “This movement was the origin of the whole system of economic administration. It has revolutionized the way of doing business all over the world. The time was ripe for it. It had to come, though all we saw at the moment was the need to save ourselves from wasteful conditions.” Then he added, as if enunciating his economic credo: “The day of combination is here to stay. Individualism has gone, never to return”<sup>82</sup>

Of course, companies had colluded to restrain the open play of market forces before. In Europe, guilds and state monopolies were of ancient provenance, and even Adam Smith had noted the alacrity with which businessmen hatched conspiracies against consumers. In 1872, Standard Oil was just one of many companies whose leaders had daydreams of controlling prices and production throughout their industry. When the SIC scheme surfaced, one newspaper observed, “This great monopoly is one of many now forming to control the commercial products of this great nation,” and it referred to the western grain and livestock trades as analogous situations.<sup>83</sup> As his own inspiration, Rockefeller cited Western Union, then busily buying up small telegraph lines, and the New York Central Railroad, which had consolidated its trunk line from the Atlantic seaboard to Chicago. During the 1870s, pools and rings flourished among salt, rope, and whiskey concerns.

It was only fitting that someone with Rockefeller’s personality and values should have questioned the canons of free-for-all capitalism. If the most creative and dynamic of economic systems, capitalism can also seem wasteful and inefficient to those who endure its rocky transitions and violent dislocations. By bringing forth superior methods, capitalism renders existing skills and equipment outmoded and thus fosters unceasing turmoil and change. Such a mutable system violated Rockefeller’s need for stability, order, and predictability. Indeed, the sober, thrifty Puritan identified by Max Weber as the prototypical capitalist was almost certain to feel distressed by this unstable economy, which forced him to steer his orderly business through a maelstrom of incessant change.

From the three-year interview he gave privately to William O. Inglis in the late 1910s, it is clear that Rockefeller brooded for many years on a theoretical defense of monopoly. His comments are fragmentary and do not cohere into a full-blown system, yet they show that he gave the subject a great deal of intelligent thought, much more than one might have expected. He knew that he had latched on to a mighty new principle, and arose as the prophet of a new dispensation in economic history. As he said, “It was the battle of the new idea of cooperation against competition, and perhaps in no department of business was there a greater necessity for this cooperation than in the oil business.”<sup>84</sup>

Rockefeller’s logic deserves some scrutiny. If, as he asserted, Standard Oil was the efficient, low-cost producer in Cleveland, why didn’t he just sit back and wait for competitors to go bankrupt? Why did he resort to the tremendous expense of taking over rivals and dismembering their refineries to slash capacity? According to the standard textbook models of competition, as oil prices fell below production costs, refiners should have retrenched and padlocked plants. But the oil market didn’t correct itself in this manner because refiners carried heavy bank debt and other fixed costs, and they discovered that, by operating at a loss, they could still service some debt. Obviously, they couldn’t lose money indefinitely, but as they soldiered on to postpone bankruptcy, their output dragged oil prices down to unprofitable levels for everybody.

Hence, a perverse effect of the invisible hand: Each refiner, pursuing his own self-interest, generated collective misery. As Rockefeller phrased it, “Every man assumed to struggle hard to get all of the business . . . even though in so doing he brought to himself and the competitors in the business nothing but disaster.”<sup>85</sup> In a day of primitive accounting systems, many refiners had only the haziest notion of their profitability or lack thereof. As Rockefeller noted, “often-times the most difficult competition comes, not from the strong, the intelligent, the conservative competitor, but from the man who is holding on by the eyelids and is ignorant of his costs, and anyway he’s got to keep running or bust!”<sup>86</sup>

What made an expeditious shutdown of outmoded rivals vital to Rockefeller was that he had borrowed heavily to build gigantic plants so that he could drastically slash his unit costs. Even his first partner, Maurice Clark, remembered that “the volume of trade was what he always regarded as of paramount importance.”<sup>87</sup> Early on, Rockefeller realized that in the capital-intensive refining business, sheer size mattered greatly because it translated

into economies of scale. Once, describing the “foundation principle” of Standard Oil, he said it was the “theory of the originators . . . that the larger the volume the better the opportunities for the economies, and consequently the better the opportunities for giving the public a cheaper product without . . . the dreadful competition of the late ’60’s ruining the business.”<sup>88</sup> During his career, Rockefeller cut the unit costs of refined oil almost in half, and he never deviated from this gospel of industrial efficiency.

To service the outsize debt that made this possible, Rockefeller needed to smooth out the inordinate price fluctuations that made the oil business so hazardous. Realizing that the higher the economic peaks the deeper the subsequent troughs, Rockefeller feared booms no less than busts. “Neither the depressions nor the advances were profitable. The depressions gave occasion to the advances; so that the conditions of the depressions had to be offset by the advances. I concede that so far as the oil industry was concerned we were successful in preventing to an extent these extremes so trying and unprofitable.”<sup>89</sup> Rockefeller preferred moderate growth purely as a matter of self-interest. His goal was to forestall potential competitors through low prices and thus minimize risk and chance disruptions. By this approach, Rockefeller believed, he could beneficently spare Standard Oil employees the plight of other industrial workers who “find themselves in each period of ten or fifteen years in destitute circumstances, with bankrupt employers, owing to the foolish and universal competitive methods accompanying the excessive production of any and all products.”<sup>90</sup>

At times, when he railed against cutthroat competition and the vagaries of the business cycle, Rockefeller sounded more like Karl Marx than our classical image of the capitalist. Like the Marxists, he believed that the competitive free-for-all eventually gave way to monopoly and that large industrial-planning units were the most sensible way to manage an economy. But while Rockefeller had faith in such private monopolies, the Marxists saw them as merely halfway houses on the road to socialism.

The most tantalizing question in Rockefeller’s story—and one that allows no final answer—is whether Standard Oil stimulated or retarded the oil industry’s growth. Rockefeller’s foremost academic supporter, Allan Nevins, believed that after the Civil War it was so cheap and easy to enter oil refining that only a monopoly could have curbed surplus capacity and brought order to the industry. Without Standard Oil, he argued, the business would have fragmented into small, antiquated units, and oil gluts, with their accompanying low prices, would have persisted indefinitely. Rockefeller believed that only a firm with the strength of Standard Oil could have attained the necessary economies of scale at that stage of the industry’s development.

Long after Rockefeller had exited the industrial scene, various economists, while espousing the general superiority of competition, conceded the economic wisdom of trusts under certain conditions. The conservative, Austrian-born economist Joseph A. Schumpeter, for example, contended that monopolies might prove beneficial during depressions or in new, rapidly shifting industries. By replacing turmoil with stability, a monopoly “may make fortresses out of what otherwise might be centers of devastation” and “in the end produce not only steadier but also greater expansion of total output than could be secured by an entirely uncontrolled onward rush that cannot fail to be studded with catastrophes.”<sup>91</sup> Schumpeter imagined that entrepreneurs wouldn’t commit large sums to risky ventures if the future seemed cloudy and new competitors could easily spoil their plans. “On the one hand, largest-scale plans could in many cases not materialize at all if it were not known from the outset that competition will be discouraged by heavy capital requirements or lack of experience, or that means are available to discourage or checkmate it so as to gain the time and space for further developments.”<sup>92</sup> As we shall see, Rockefeller keenly felt a need to freeze the industry’s size, stymie new entrants, and create an island of stability in which expansion and innovation could then occur unimpeded.

When Rockefeller took over competing refiners, he retained plants with up-to-date facilities and shuttered obsolete ones. It would have been impossible to shrink the industry and steady prices, however, if those who sold their outmoded plants took the money only to open new refineries. Unencumbered by antitrust laws, Rockefeller forced these refiners to sign restrictive contracts that prohibited them from sneaking back into the oil business. Rockefeller regarded these agreements—which would today be outlawed as in restraint of trade—as sacred obligations. For the most part, they were faithfully honored, though on several occasions Rockefeller hauled violators into court.

For all the uproar about Rockefeller’s predatory tactics, many refiners continued to defy him, and dozens of small independents survived outside of Standard Oil. Rockefeller lured many of them into his tent with an intermediate step that he called “running arrangements,” in which Standard Oil guaranteed them a certain level of profits if they accepted a ceiling on their output. This allowed Standard Oil to restrict the output of rivals and made Rockefeller, a hundred years before the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the chief administrator of a sweeping oil cartel. Much like OPEC leaders, Rockefeller had to arbitrate demands for increased quotas among restive members and cope with the immemorial problem of cartels: how to prevent cheaters. Whenever refiners with running arrangements exceeded their assigned allotment, Standard Oil, as the swing producer, curtailed its own output to maintain prices—exactly the dilemma faced by Saudi Arabia as the world’s largest oil exporter in the 1970s. This situation steeled Rockefeller in his determination to own his competitors instead of just presiding over a confederation of perennially warring members.

Where Rockefeller differed most from his fellow moguls was that he wanted to be both rich *and* virtuous and claim divine sanction for his actions. Perhaps no other businessman in American history has felt so firmly on the side of the angels. Critics were quick to spy an oily sanctimony in this servant of God and Mammon and wonder why his religious beliefs didn’t trammel his acquisitive nature. They converted him into a wily Machiavellian or a stock figure from a Balzac novel—the pious, cunning hypocrite who showily attends church on Sunday then spends the rest of the week trampling rivals underfoot. More generous critics argued that he simply led parallel lives, with a complete separation of his public and private selves. Rockefeller himself felt no such discontinuity and always insisted that his private and commercial activities should be judged by the same exacting standards. Many years later, William O. Inglis read to him John Milton’s stern denunciation of King Charles I: “For his private virtues they are beside the question. If he oppress and extort all day, shall he be held blameless because he prayeth night and morn?” In response, Rockefeller exclaimed, “That’s well put! And the oil men have got to stand the test of that.”<sup>93</sup> Clearly, he felt that his business conduct could withstand the most rigorous scrutiny.

It is too glib to say that Rockefeller was a hypocrite who used his piety as a cloak for greed. The voice that reverberated in his ears was one of burning zeal, not low, devious cunning. He was a sincere if highly self-serving churchgoer and, however deluded, extremely devout. From an early age, he had learned both to use and to abuse religion, to interpret and to misinterpret Christian doctrine to suit his purposes. The church provided him with a stock of images and ideas that, instead of checking him, enabled him to proceed with a clear conscience. Religion validated his business misdeeds no less than his charitable bequests, buttressing his strongest impulses. If religion made him great, it also armed him with theological justification for his

actions and may have blinded him to their brutal consequences.

To reiterate an earlier point, John D. regarded God as an ally, a sort of honorary shareholder of Standard Oil who had richly blessed his fortunes. Consider this impassioned outburst he made to a reporter:

*I believe the power to make money is a gift from God—just as are the instincts for art, music, literature, the doctor’s talent, the nurse’s, yours—to be developed and used to the best of our ability for the good of mankind. Having been endowed with the gift I possess, I believe it is my duty to make money and still more money, and to use the money I make for the good of my fellow man according to the dictates of my conscience.* <sup>94</sup>

For Rockefeller, there was a perfect fusion of Christianity and capitalism and, given his extensive church involvement, it would have been odd if his career hadn’t been saturated with his own version of evangelical Protestantism. Even the business of drilling and refining oil was wrapped for him in religious mystery. “The whole process seems a miracle,” he once said. “What a blessing the oil has been to mankind!” <sup>95</sup> In pleading for his oil monopoly, Rockefeller always exhibited many qualities of the Baptist missionary. He needed to endow his aggressive business tactics with transcendent purpose and elevate his material designs into holy crusades. When faced with the squalid disorder of the oil business in the early 1870s, he converted Standard Oil, in his own mind, into the moral equivalent of the Baptist Church. His career as a trust king would be for him a Christian saga, a pilgrim’s progress, where he was the exemplary man, rescuing sinful refiners from their errant ways.

What’s most striking, both in the extensive Inglis interview and elsewhere, is that every time Rockefeller explained the rationale for Standard Oil, he resorted to patently religious imagery. “The Standard was an angel of mercy, reaching down from the sky, and saying, ‘Get into the ark. Put in your old junk. We’ll take all the risks!’” <sup>96</sup> He referred to Standard Oil as “the Moses who delivered them [the refiners] from their folly which had wrought such havoc in their fortunes.” <sup>97</sup> Charged with destroying competition, Rockefeller was indignant: “I repeat again, it was not a process of destruction and waste; it was a process of upbuilding and conservation of all the interests . . . in our efforts most heroic, well meant—and I would almost say, reverently, Godlike—to pull this broken-down industry out of the Slough of Despond [for which] we are charged with criminal proceedings.” <sup>98</sup> Far from being an outlaw band, Standard Oil had “rendered a missionary service to the whole world. Strong as this statement is, it is the Gospel truth.” <sup>99</sup> Further, “Faith and work were the rocks upon which Standard Oil was built.” <sup>100</sup> He credited Standard Oil with “the salvation of the oil business and making it a reputable pursuit instead of a disgraceful, gambling, mining scheme.” <sup>101</sup> While he and his partners were “missionaries of light” and tried to treat weaker competitors with compassion, there were limits to their tolerance since they could not “stop the car of salvation in their great enterprise which meant so much to the consuming public the world over.” <sup>102</sup> If his stewardship of Standard Oil exposed him to vitriolic persecution, it was exactly the martyrdom he expected.

Rockefeller has often been described as a social Darwinist who viewed the harsh struggle of capitalism as a salutary process that rewarded the industrious and punished the lazy. And it is true that he adamantly opposed any government program or private charity that sapped the frontier spirit of self-reliance. Yet Rockefeller could hold contradictory views on essential matters, and his philosophic justification of cooperation rested heavily upon a direct refutation of social Darwinism:

*The struggle for the survival of the fittest, in the sea and on the land the world over, as well as the law of supply and demand, were observed in all the ages past until the Standard Oil Company preached the doctrines of cooperation, and it did cooperate so successfully and so fairly that its most bitter opponents were won over to its views and made to realize that rational, sane, modern, progressive administration was necessary to success.* <sup>103</sup>

Standard Oil was thus presented as the *antidote* to social Darwinism, a way to bring universal brotherhood to a fractious industry. Without Standard Oil, said Rockefeller, “there would have been the survival of the fittest—and we had proved ourselves to be the fittest, and we could have picked up the wrecks as the less fortunate brethren went down. This we did not do, but tried to call a halt and avert the impending disaster.” <sup>104</sup> Standard Oil would be a cooperative commonwealth, open to refiners who renounced their selfish ways to join the faithful. It would be for Rockefeller a unique case of the strong showing mercy to their weaker brethren by inviting them to participate in a common effort to save the industry.

In a critical distinction, he viewed competitive capitalism—and not capitalism per se—as producing a vulgar materialism and rapacious business practices that dissolved the bonds of human brotherhood. In a state of ungoverned competition, selfish individuals tried to maximize their profits and thereby impoverished the entire industry. What the American economy needed instead were new cooperative forms (trusts, pools, monopolies) that would restrain grasping individuals for the general good. Rockefeller thus tried to reconcile trusts with Christianity, claiming that cooperation would end the egotism and materialism abhorrent to Christian values. It was an ingenious rationalization. While religion did not lead him to the concept of trusts, it did enable him to invest his vision of cooperation with a powerful moral imperative.

From the outset, Standard Oil was permeated by an us-versus-them attitude that emanated from the top. At moments, Rockefeller made it sound as if he and his colleagues were a band of early Christians, misunderstood by the pagans. In this moralistic frame of mind, he was bound to see his opponents as benighted, misguided people, “governed by their narrow jealousies and unwarranted prejudices” and unaware that the old gods were now obsolete. <sup>105</sup> Rockefeller developed an inverted worldview, accusing his critics of exactly the same sins of which they accused him. Far from seeing himself as a rascal or bully, the Standard Oil chieftain presented himself as a respectable gentleman who attempted in vain to reason with wicked independents. In his correspondence, Rockefeller betrayed a characteristic manner of referring to his rivals: They were selfish people forever stirring up trouble or creating annoyances, like so many mischievous children who needed a good stiff spanking from father. Never conceding any legitimacy to dissent, Rockefeller denigrated his critics as blackmailers, sharpsters, and crooks. He was now dangerously impervious to criticism.



*Charles Pratt, Sr., Rockefeller's colleague and frequent adversary. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## The New Monarch

Fresh from the South Improvement Company brouhaha and the bruising struggle over the Cleveland refineries, Rockefeller didn't pause to catch breath. Anybody else might have consolidated his gains and proceeded cautiously, but Rockefeller, a man in a hurry, launched a new offensive instead. The SIC contretemps had stranded him in an untenable spot. Since Cleveland refiners paid the same freight rates as other refining centers, they labored under a huge competitive handicap, paying fifty cents a barrel just to ship crude oil to Cleveland before sending on the refined oil to New York; by contrast, a Titusville refiner shipped straight to the seaboard. In April 1872, Henry Flagler again extracted concessions from the Lake Shore Railroad but not enough to appease Rockefeller. Because the Pittsburgh refiners shared a similar cost disadvantage, Rockefeller decided to make common cause with them and press the railroads for new discounts.

With unmitigated cheek, Rockefeller decided that if the Oil Regions couldn't tolerate a small, secret consortium such as the SIC, he would confront them with a giant public consortium of refiners. In mid-May 1872—scarcely more than a month after the railroads scrapped the SIC—Rockefeller and Flagler journeyed to Pittsburgh to meet with the city's three foremost refiners, William G. Warden, William Frew, and O. T. Waring. The group then went by train to Titusville, bearing a plan for a new National Refiners' Association, which would be popularly dubbed the Pittsburgh Plan. This venture envisioned a new refiners' cartel, headed by a central board that would negotiate advantageous terms with the railroads and maintain prices by assigning refining quotas to members. Eschewing subterfuge, the confederation was thrown open to all refiners, but with John D. Rockefeller serving as president.

Before long, Rockefeller was so detested in the Oil Regions that he ceased to visit and retreated to the status of a dim, shadowy legend; no authenticated photo shows him in the rural backwater to which he owed his fortune. Though the National Refiners' Association theoretically embraced all comers, the Titusville refiners saw the group as the old SIC in disguise, and local newspapers admonished oilmen to beware of the slippery, smooth-talking men from Cleveland. On the Titusville streets, Rockefeller was greeted with the somber respect accorded a new monarch. As always, he presented a cordial façade that disarmed people and in one office after another reassured wary refiners, "You misunderstand our intention. It is to save the business, not to destroy it that we are come."<sup>1</sup> At two turbulent public meetings, Flagler was hooted and jeered while Rockefeller stared impassively at the audience. One refiner left an indelible portrait of Rockefeller's aloof, cryptic manner at a private meeting:

*One day several of us met at the office of one of the refiners, who, I felt pretty sure, was being persuaded to go into the scheme which they were talking up. Everybody talked except Mr. Rockefeller. He sat in a rocking chair, softly swinging back and forth, his hands over his face. I got pretty excited when I saw how those South Improvement men were pulling the wool over our men's eyes, and making them believe we were all going to the dogs if there wasn't an immediate combination to put up the price of refined and prevent new people coming into the business, and I made a speech which, I guess, was pretty warlike. Well, right in the middle of it John Rockefeller stopped rocking and took down his hands and looked at me. You never saw such eyes. He took me all in, saw just how much fight he could expect from me, and I knew it, and then up went his hands and back and forth went his chair.*<sup>2</sup>

At a second big public meeting, the Pittsburgh Plan was defeated resoundingly by local refiners, yet Rockefeller still gained ground, having enlisted influential local defectors, especially his erstwhile foe, young John D. Archbold. During the following months, in a divide-and-conquer policy, Rockefeller tried to isolate the Oil Creek refiners by successfully recruiting into his Pittsburgh Plan refiners from the other major centers.

But before long, this cartel was bedeviled by cheaters exceeding their quotas. It also grappled with what economists call the "free rider" problem—that is, opportunistic refiners stayed outside the plan and enjoyed the higher prices it produced without being bound by its production limits. As Rockefeller later said in a comparable situation, "These men who claimed that they had been 'crushed' and 'ruined' by the Standard Oil Company were existing under its shelter and protection."<sup>3</sup> And he was besieged by problems closer to home. After Standard Oil bought decrepit old refineries in Cleveland to cut back on capacity, many sellers violated their covenants and started up new plants with improved equipment. They were drawn back, Rockefeller argued, only because he had markedly improved conditions and boosted prices. To complicate matters, new refiners now entered the business expressly to blackmail him into buying them out.

In the end, frustrated by rampant cheating and freeloaders, Rockefeller gathered refiners in Saratoga Springs, New York, on June 24, 1873, and dissolved the short-lived Pittsburgh Plan. He was momentarily disheartened by this failure, which again confirmed his preference for outright fusion rather than an unwieldy federation of firms. "There are some people whom the Lord Almighty cannot save," he later said wearily of the Oil Creek refiners. "They don't want to be saved. They want to go on and serve the devil and keep on in their wicked ways."<sup>4</sup>

In her influential polemic, Ida Tarbell evoked a paradise of free, independent producers in western Pennsylvania, "ruddy and joyous" men, enamored of competition, who were snuffed out by the sinister Standard Oil. In her morality play, Rockefeller was the venomous toad in this garden of earthly delights. In fact, the producers didn't respond to Rockefeller by advocating freer competition but by forming their own counterconspiracy. In the summer of 1872, under the aegis of the Petroleum Producers' Association, they approved a moratorium on new drilling to steady prices and briefly called for a complete halt to production. The producers terrorized each other, meting out nocturnal punishment to noncooperators by setting their wells ablaze or smashing their pumping engines with sledgehammers. The producing end of the industry was populated by thousands of freebooting, high-spirited speculators who were far harder to organize than the more sober refiners, concentrated in a few urban centers—something that gave Rockefeller a decided edge.

So long as he could maintain ample spreads between crude and refined prices, Rockefeller blessed the producers' efforts to impose higher prices and control output. It was a common misconception along Oil Creek—and one that fed anti-Rockefeller demonology—that he was trying to drive drillers to the wall to keep prices low. In reality, he was fully prepared to deal with a strong producers' cartel so long as they capped production. On December 19, 1872, Rockefeller met with producers at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York and signed the so-called Treaty of Titusville. Under this agreement,



the refiners' association pledged to buy oil from the producers' association at five dollars a barrel—nearly *twice* the spot market rate—in exchange for tightly enforced production limits. The agreement crumbled not because of Rockefeller but because producers couldn't enforce discipline in their ranks. Instead of throttling the oil flow, they scrambled to pump more, with wholesale cheating driving the price as low as two dollars a barrel on the crude-oil market. Many small drillers outside the producers' association took advantage of the pact to undersell their bigger competitors.

This behavior ratified Rockefeller's low opinion of the producers as dissolute, unreliable men who couldn't contain a "wild and uncontrollable element" that "would sneak out at midnight and start the pumps going so that the oil might flow before the songs of the birds were heard."<sup>5</sup> With the oil industry drowning in another glut, Rockefeller terminated the agreement in January 1873, chiding the recalcitrant producers: "You have not kept your part of the contract—you have not limited the supply of oil—there is more being pumped today than ever before in the history of the region."<sup>6</sup> While uncontrollable drilling was to blame, the producers found it easier to scapegoat Standard Oil. After the agreement fell apart, the disorganized producers lost all incentive to curtail production, feeding another downward spiral in oil prices.

By 1873, Standard Oil was shipping about a million barrels of refined oil per year and earning about a dollar a barrel, yet the business remained on an unsure footing. Rockefeller had clarified one thing in his own mind, however: Voluntary associations couldn't move with the speed, unity, and efficiency he wanted. "We proved that the producers' and refiners' associations were ropes of sand," he said.<sup>7</sup> He was now through with ineffectual alliances and ready to bring the industry to heel under Standard Oil control. "The idea was mine. The idea was persisted in, too, in spite of the opposition of some who became fainthearted at the magnitude of the undertaking, as it constantly assumed larger proportions."<sup>8</sup> By early 1873, he had crossed his own Rubicon and never looked back. Once embarked on a course of action, he wasn't a man to be hobbled by doubts.

In 1873, the mad dash for riches that followed the Civil War ended in a prolonged slump that ground on for six interminable years. On Black Thursday—September 18, 1873—the august banking house of Jay Cooke and Company failed because of problems in financing the Northern Pacific Railway. This event ignited a panic, leading to a stock-exchange shutdown, a string of bank failures, and widespread railroad bankruptcies. During the next few years, deflated by massive unemployment, daily wages plunged 25 percent, exposing many Americans to the horror of downward mobility. The six lean years accelerated the process of consolidation that had gathered force in many economic sectors.

This depression especially exacerbated the problems of the oil industry. Soon after Black Thursday, crude prices touched a shocking low of eighty cents a barrel; within a year, prices had tumbled to forty-eight cents—cheaper than the cost of hauling water in some towns. Just as Carnegie expanded his steel operations after the 1873 panic, so Rockefeller saw the slump as a chance to translate his master blueprint into reality. To capitalize on rival companies selling at distress-sale prices, he slashed Standard Oil's dividend to increase its cash reserves. Standard Oil weathered the six-year depression magnificently, a fact Rockefeller attributed to its conservative financial policy and unparalleled access to bank credit and investor cash.

The oil-refining industry staggered under so much surplus capacity that even Standard Oil, comprising a quarter of the industry, operated only two of its six main Cleveland plants. For all that, it managed to post such creditable profits that it sometimes wooed competitors simply by giving them a privileged peek at its books. Rockefeller was acquiring unstoppable momentum and, having subdued Cleveland, he soon began his march from city to city in an unrelenting campaign of national consolidation.

As his operations grew, Rockefeller made a fetish of secrecy, flavored with paranoia, a legacy of his self-conscious boyhood. One day, he saw an office employee talking to a stranger and later inquired after the man's identity. Although the subordinate said the man was a friend, Rockefeller lectured him, "Well, be very careful what you say. What does he want here? Don't let him find out anything." "But he is just a friend," the employee replied. "He doesn't want to know anything. He has just come to see me." "Quite so," said Rockefeller, "but you can never tell. Be careful, be very careful."<sup>9</sup>

In absorbing competitors, Rockefeller was equally secretive and asked them to continue operating under their original names and not divulge their Standard Oil ownership. They were instructed to retain their original stationery, keep secret accounts, and not allude on paper to their Cleveland connection; internal correspondence with Standard Oil was often conducted in code or with fictitious names. Rockefeller also did this as a necessary legal expedient, for under existing law Standard Oil of Ohio couldn't own property outside the state, a situation that invited deception by companies that operated nationally.

Rockefeller warned refiners joining Standard Oil not to parade their sudden wealth, lest people wonder where they got the cash. After striking a deal with one Cleveland refiner, he invited him to his Euclid Avenue home one night and said: "But you must keep this contract secret even from your wife. When you begin to make more money, don't let anybody know it. Don't put on any more style. You have no ambition to drive fast horses, have you?"<sup>10</sup> With such thoroughgoing stealth, Standard Oil executives worried that if some newly acquired refiner died, his heirs might mistakenly claim ownership of the refinery.

Rockefeller was similarly suspicious of any boasting or ostentation among associates. One day, he was riding on a train in Cleveland with Pittsburgh refiner O. T. Waring when Waring asked him who owned a handsome, dark green hillside house in the distance. "You wish to know who owns that house?" asked Rockefeller, suddenly very upset. "It's our Mr. Hopper, who makes barrels for us. Whew! It's an expensive house, isn't it? I wonder if Hopper isn't making altogether too much money? Let's look into it."<sup>11</sup> Back in the office, he pored over the accounts, decided that Hopper's profits were excessive, and terminated the contracts with him. In a similar vein, Rockefeller was concerned that if he advertised his own wealth through fancy houses, he might attract investors into the refining business and only worsen the excess capacity problem.

As will be seen, Rockefeller was capable of extraordinary ferocity in compelling submission from competitors. He might starve out obdurate firms by buying all available barrels on the market or monopolize local tank cars to paralyze their operations. Yet Rockefeller didn't apply this pressure lightly and preferred patience and reason—if possible—to terror. He was not only purchasing refineries but assembling a managerial team. The creation of Standard Oil was often less a matter of stamping out competitors than of seducing them into cooperation. In general, Rockefeller was so eager to retain original management that he accumulated expensive deadwood on the payroll and, for the sake of intraempire harmony, preferred to be conciliatory. Several years later, one colleague wrote to him that almost the entire executive committee "have made up their minds that the policy of buying out our

competitors has had its day and that to pay men salaries for doing nothing is poor business, though these men have been all their active business lives in the Oil business.”<sup>12</sup> This policy, which kept colleagues from defecting and forming competing companies, was one of many expensive extravagances that accompanied the creation of the monopoly.

With access to Oil Creek via the Allegheny River, Pittsburgh was an optimal crossroads for oil traffic, and it was inevitably targeted by Rockefeller for his second great wave of consolidation. After the failed Pittsburgh Plan, Rockefeller hoped to prod, wheedle, and cajole both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia refiners into Standard Oil.

During the autumn of 1874, Rockefeller and Flagler attended a secret summit meeting in Saratoga Springs with their Pittsburgh and Philadelphia counterparts, Charles Lockhart and William G. Warden. By snapping up the strongest refiners in these two towns, Standard Oil hoped that it would then easily corral the smaller refiners in their wake. With its racetrack and gambling casino, Saratoga Springs was a fashionable resort for wealthy sportsmen and, as Commodore Vanderbilt’s summer home, a popular gathering spot for confidential business talks. After breakfast, the four refiners retreated to a pleasant pavilion by a spring, where they talked for six hours. Only by banding together in one firm, Rockefeller argued in his most soothing manner, could they avert destructive price-cutting. When Lockhart and Warden hesitated, Rockefeller played his trump card: He invited Warden to come to Cleveland and inspect the Standard Oil books. When Warden later examined them, he was taken aback: Rockefeller could manufacture kerosene so inexpensively that he could sell below Warden’s production costs and earn a profit. After several weeks of appraising Standard Oil and being assured of a voice in its management, Warden and Lockhart joined forces with Rockefeller. In the clandestine sale of their plants, they had the foresight to take payment in Standard Oil stock. Since Rockefeller’s papers from this period are sparse, we don’t know precisely why these powerful rivals yielded to him, but they were probably attracted by the access to railroad rebates, lower interest rates, scarce tank cars, and technical expertise that went along with the partnership.

With this decisive stroke, Rockefeller absorbed more than half of the Pittsburgh refining capacity, with the leading Philadelphia refinery tossed in for good measure. In this way, he activated a self-sustaining movement as his new allies agreed to consolidate business in their localities and supervise the purchase of the remaining independent refineries. A massive chain reaction was thus set in motion that rippled through both refining centers, with local businessmen now acting as Rockefeller’s agents. Of twenty-two Pittsburgh refiners in existence when Rockefeller struck his Saratoga Springs deal, only one was still in existence independently two years later.

Rockefeller was especially delighted to snare Charles Lockhart, a bearded Scot with a frosty, taciturn manner who was, in Rockefeller’s words, “one of the most experienced, self-contained, and self-controlled men in business.”<sup>13</sup> During the Saratoga meeting, he impressed the Standard men because he listened attentively but hardly breathed a syllable, which elicited Rockefeller’s highest praise: “That’s the kind of man I’d like to have go fishing with me.”<sup>14</sup> Though the oil business was comparatively young, Lockhart was already a veteran, having sold Seneca Oil along with William Frew in a Pittsburgh store in the 1850s. Soon after Edwin Drake’s discovery, Lockhart had carried the first samples of Pennsylvania kerosene to London. Besides creating the top Pittsburgh refiner, Lockhart, Frew and Company, the two men had also joined forces with William Warden to establish a Philadelphia affiliate, Warden, Frew and Company, which later evolved into the Atlantic Refining Company. This innovative trio of refiners shipped oil to Liverpool aboard steamers lined with iron tanks, reducing both the risk of fire and the noisome smells. The antithesis of the penurious Lockhart, Warden was an effusive, bighearted man with a broad face and muttonchop whiskers. With wider-ranging interests than the average Standard Oil man, he was a former abolitionist who had donated money to black causes after the war, a conscientious Presbyterian, and an active reformer in Philadelphia politics.

While stepping up his Pittsburgh and Philadelphia campaigns, Rockefeller also established a critical foothold in New York, where he had already bought the Devoe Manufacturing Company, specialists in case oil, and the Long Island Company, operator of a large refinery. Through the efforts of brother William, Rockefeller now took over Charles Pratt and Company. A short man with a sandy beard, Charles Pratt was a self-made Baptist with the habitual reticence that Rockefeller prized. He had manufactured paints before the Civil War and this had led him into oil refining. With a flair for merchandising, he had made his high-quality kerosene, Astral Oil, a common fixture in American households and so adroitly managed exports to Europe and Asia that the brand acquired international fame.

In time, Charles Pratt felt slighted and pushed aside by Rockefeller, who sometimes admired his conservative style but generally mocked him as an old fogey lacking in vision. Quite unlike Warden and Lockhart, Pratt ended up on the losing side of many policy disputes with Rockefeller and took to writing him querulous letters laced with self-pity. During one squabble with Rockefeller in 1881, Pratt wrote petulantly, “I cannot see good in any effort of mine to influence you or others by any arguments.”<sup>15</sup>

The undisclosed purchase of Charles Pratt’s firm brought into the Standard fold one of the most energetic, swaggering figures in its history: Henry H. Rogers, who had led the committee of New York refiners that indignantly contested the SIC. He was now one of the first turncoats who defected to the Standard camp, and Rockefeller gloated over such conquests. “I’m happy to state that in most cases the very men who were desperately opposed to anything the Standard Oil Company might suggest . . . when they met us face to face, when they came to know from us rather than from those maligners, they readily joined us and never had occasion to regret.”<sup>16</sup> Though he later clashed with Rockefeller, Rogers was a versatile executive who directed, in turn, Standard’s crude-oil purchases, pipelines, and manufacturing operations. As petroleum by-products grew in importance, Rogers, with a technical grasp that exceeded Rockefeller’s, patented a landmark process for separating naphtha from crude oil.

No sooner had Standard Oil enlisted Charles Pratt than New York independents began to experience unaccountable shortages of vital supplies. John Ellis and Company, which manufactured petroleum jelly, suddenly found it couldn’t book the requisite railroad cars for crude-oil shipments. Some invisible force was working against them. As the firm tried to unravel this mystery, a Standard Oil representative took the opportunity to drop by for a friendly chat with John Ellis and warned him, “You are helpless. You will have to sell out.” Appalled by this heavy-handed treatment, Ellis retorted, “I will never sell out to any company as crooked as the Standard Oil.”<sup>17</sup> Ellis stayed independent, but few firms had the resources or fortitude to withstand the unceasing pressure exerted by the growing legions of Standard Oil minions.

In his lightning offensives in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New York, Rockefeller was buying refineries in strategic railroad and shipping hubs,

where he could negotiate excellent transportation rates. But despite its proximity to the wells, he never considered Oil Creek an economical place for refineries—which didn’t enhance his popularity in western Pennsylvania. Many ingredients used in refining—from sulfuric acid to glue to barrel hoops—cost more in that secluded area than in urban centers. By demoting the Oil Regions as a refining center, Rockefeller threatened the livelihood of thousands of people in Titusville, Franklin, and Oil City and offended their sense of justice. The locals were taught to believe, in Rockefeller’s words, that “the place where the oil was produced, gave certain rights and privileges that persons seeking to engage in other localities had no right to presume to share.”<sup>18</sup> Rockefeller struck them as an evil interloper, a usurper of their birthright, when he was merely exercising his right to practice business where he pleased.

Nonetheless, to enforce an airtight monopoly, he needed to capture the Oil Creek refineries, if only to dismantle the least efficient ones. On January 22, 1874, he stunned local refiners by buying the Imperial Refining Company and its vast facility near Oil City. For local anti-Standard firebrands, it was a move laden with ominous symbolism. One of the consenting sellers was Captain Jacob J. Vandergrift, a husky little man with a Santa Claus beard. A former skipper on the Ohio River, Vandergrift was a wealthy, God-fearing temperance advocate who commanded universal power and respect. Along Oil Creek, his desertion to Standard Oil was considered treasonous betrayal, and it demoralized local independents—precisely what Rockefeller had wanted. In early 1875, Rockefeller captured the second largest Titusville refiner, Porter, More-land and Company, which brought twenty-seven-year-old John D. Archbold—the diminutive homilist who had electrified the crowd at the Titusville Opera House with his blazing oratory against the SIC—into the Standard Oil fold. Now, convinced that competition was a dated concept, Archbold suddenly enlisted under the banner of industrial consolidation.

Aside from Henry Flagler, Archbold was the most significant figure recruited by Rockefeller. Even before he set eyes on him, Rockefeller was intrigued. Registering at a Titusville hotel one day, he noted the signature above his own name: “John D. Archbold, \$4 a barrel.” This cocky self-promotion impressed Rockefeller, for crude oil was selling at substantially below that price.<sup>19</sup> Nine years younger than Rockefeller, the boyish Archbold was a short spark plug of a man, weighing about 130 pounds. The son of a Baptist circuit preacher who abandoned his family when John was ten (the prevalence of ministers’ sons at Standard Oil is striking), he had come to Titusville as a teenager and grown up with the industry. Quick-witted and optimistic, a jovial raconteur, he “laughed his way to a great fortune,” as one contemporary said.<sup>20</sup> Though not easily charmed, Rockefeller was enchanted by Archbold’s high spirits, his inexhaustible fountain of jokes and stories; his short stature aside, he was the man at Standard Oil who most resembled Big Bill. Archbold became Rockefeller’s proxy, picked successor, surrogate son, and court jester. Before long, Rockefeller learned that this preacher’s son was overly fond of worldly pleasure and spent his nights drinking and playing poker. In time, Rockefeller forced him to repudiate alcohol, but even this only seemed to draw them closer together.

When Archbold went over to Standard Oil, he was denounced bitterly as a “renegade” and “deserter” and incurred special resentment from former admirers.<sup>21</sup> He was such a deft, good-natured diplomat, however, that Rockefeller assigned him to absorb the Oil Creek refiners. In no other place did Rockefeller so sorely need an attractive substitute. Around Titusville, Standard Oil was reviled as the “octopus,” and Rockefeller was regarded as a monster. Mothers scolded their children by saying, “Run, children, or Rockefeller’ll get you!”<sup>22</sup> As a result, the original Standard Oil officials never conducted buyout talks directly but operated through “acquaintances, competitors, and friends of the competitive refiners, best calculated to explain to them the situation, best fitted to succeed in the negotiations because of their intimate acquaintance, kindly relations and the mutual confidence of neighbors and friends.”<sup>23</sup> Archbold was the smiling face who mollified enemies and restored peace, and with his advent Rockefeller no longer needed to go to Oil Creek.

In September 1875, Standard Oil formed the Acme Oil Company, a front organization to take over local refiners under Archbold’s guidance. Within months, he had bought or leased twenty-seven refineries, moving at such a hectic pace that he nearly drove himself to collapse. Over the next three or four years, Archbold herded the remaining independents into Standard Oil. Several letters from Archbold to Rockefeller confirm the latter’s contention that he paid fairly for refiners. After grudgingly paying an exorbitant \$12,000 for one refinery, Archbold told Rockefeller, “We have the feeling that it is a large price for the property and do not doubt but that if we could hold out for a time on the present low basis we might do better, but whether the difference is worth the ammunition is a question.”<sup>24</sup> Once the purchase was settled, he added, “I found it a very difficult trade to make, & was compelled to make some concessions to the parties that I disliked very much to make regarding which I will explain to you more fully when I see you.”<sup>25</sup> Though independent refiners often felt squeezed by Rockefeller, he didn’t always exploit their vulnerability to the maximum possible extent and sometimes even showed leniency.

At least one prominent refiner contended that he was subjected to coercion by Standard Oil when he tried to build a new refinery. Samuel Van Syckel, the pipeline pioneer, said a Standard Oil representative had offered him a good salary to abandon the project. “He then said that I could make no money if I did refine oil. He also said if I did I could not ship it. He said he would say to me confidentially that they had made such arrangements with the railroads in reference to freight—in reference to getting cars—he knew I could make no money if I did make oil.”<sup>26</sup> Van Syckel bowed to superior force.

In May 1875, Rockefeller completed his grand design of controlling all the major refining centers when he covertly bought J. N. Camden and Company of Parkersburg, West Virginia, and rechristened it the Camden Consolidated Oil Company. Camden’s correspondence documents the stealth involved in this sort of takeover. Before consummating the sale, Standard Oil requested a minute inventory of his properties and was ready to send its expert superintendent, Ambrose McGregor, to investigate. Yet Johnson Newlon Camden himself, a well-known Democratic politician, feared that the superintendent of his barrel factory might recognize McGregor and warned Standard Oil, “We would prefer having him to come here, but don’t see how he could do it without exposing the whole thing. I find the Superintendent of the Barrel Factory is a little curious about what is going on.”<sup>27</sup> That even a superintendent was kept in the dark about the new owners underscores the priority that Standard Oil placed on confidentiality.

The Camden deal remedied a flagrant weakness for Rockefeller, who dominated refineries in the areas served by the New York Central, the Erie, and the Pennsylvania Railroads. There was only one gaping hole left in the map: the territory controlled by the maverick Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad, whose tracks spanned southern Pennsylvania, connecting a cluster of refineries in Parkersburg and Wheeling, West Virginia, with an oil-export center in Baltimore. Even more intolerable for Rockefeller, the upstart B&O dared to handle crude oil shipped to Pittsburgh through a pipeline called the Columbia Conduit Company, which had defied Standard Oil at every turn. In short, the B&O was providing comfort to the last independent

refiners still holding out in open rebellion against his imperial rule.

The president of the B&O, John W. Garrett, had long exhorted Camden to fight the Standard Goliath and offered him marked-down freight rates to do so. Now that he had—unbeknownst to Garrett—defected to Rockefeller, Camden wanted to retain the rates expressly designed to shore up Standard Oil opponents. On May 12, 1875, scarcely able to suppress his mischievous glee, Camden informed his new owners in Cleveland, “Mr. Garrett . . . is coming out to see us tomorrow. I suppose he will encourage us to keep up our oil business and fight the ‘combination’ ”—that is, Standard Oil.<sup>28</sup> And he negotiated excellent rates with Garrett. In exchange for shipping fifty thousand barrels of oil monthly, he would receive a ten-cent-a-barrel drawback on *all* refined oil sent via the B&O—whether shipped by Camden or by his competitors. That Garrett revived the infamous drawback when he thought he was *fighting* Standard Oil shows that nobody could claim exclusive virtue in this business.

That spring, Rockefeller gave Camden wide leeway to buy up refiners serviced by the B&O, and he quickly snatched up three Parkersburg refiners. At several points, Camden, like Archbold, bristled at the excessive prices he paid. “It almost makes me weepy to pay out good money for this kind of junk,” he told Rockefeller, “but as it is a part of our duty to mankind, I suppose it is necessary to carry it through without flinching.”<sup>29</sup> The completion of the Baltimore campaign left John D. Rockefeller, still in his thirties, the sole master of American oil refining. Since no major crude-oil deposits had been unearthed beyond western Pennsylvania—Russia, perhaps, being the lone exception—it also meant that he monopolized the world kerosene market. He was now living a fantasy of extravagant wealth that would have dwarfed the most febrile daydreams of William Avery Rockefeller. And few people beyond the oil business had ever even heard of him.

The swift raids on the principal refining centers cost such a king’s ransom that Rockefeller’s most ticklish problem was how to bankroll this marathon buying spree. To entice refiners, he offered them the option of taking payment either in cash or stock, and he always dreaded the choice of cash. “I would whip out our check book with rather a lordly air and remark, as if it were a matter of entire indifference to us, ‘Will I write a check or would you prefer payment in Standard Oil shares?’ ”<sup>30</sup> If they chose cash, he often had to scramble among banks to scrounge up money. By encouraging opponents to take stock, he conserved funds and also enlisted the allegiance of quondam foes in his burgeoning enterprise. But few companies followed the lead of Clark, Payne and invested in Standard Oil instead of taking payment.

It mortified Rockefeller that so few trusting souls took Standard Oil stock. Mostly, they doubted that Rockefeller and his Young Turks could realize their experimental plan. As he recalled, “So when I offered them either spot cash outright for their property or stock in the new company, they took my money and laughed in their sleeves at my folly.”<sup>31</sup> Rockefeller knew, with his customary certitude, that the people who took shares would be enriched. Indeed, American high society in the twentieth century would be loaded with descendants of those refiners who opted for stock. At every opportunity, Rockefeller sounded a prophetic note about the future appreciation of these shares. One Cleveland refiner who took stock later ran into Rockefeller, who asked, “Do you still hold your stock?” When told that was the case, Rockefeller entreated him, “Sell everything you’ve got even to the shirt on your back, but hold on to the stock.”<sup>32</sup> Not all of them did, and Rockefeller always fancied that much of the venom turned against him came from disgruntled refiners who regretted having declined the stock.

Despite his stupendous borrowing needs, Rockefeller no longer needed to truckle to bankers and defied the most fearsome of them all: Amasa Stone. Cold, stern, and unapproachable, Stone amassed a fortune building bridges and railroads and became managing director of the Lake Shore Railroad at the personal behest of Commodore Vanderbilt. Twenty years older than Rockefeller, he expected the refiner to defer to him, and this irked the younger man. To ensure a steady flow of credit, Rockefeller put Stone on Standard’s board, but when the latter grew arbitrary and domineering, Rockefeller plotted to banish him. He soon had his chance when Stone inadvertently let an option expire for buying more Standard Oil stock. Several weeks later, recognizing his error, Stone showed up at the Standard office and induced Flagler to extend the expiration date. Itching for a showdown, Rockefeller overrode Flagler and refused to sell Stone any more shares, prompting the irate banker to liquidate his stake in the company. Rockefeller now considered himself the equal of any Cleveland businessman and wouldn’t grovel to anyone.

Just as he dreamed of emancipation from his bankers, Rockefeller hoped to escape the clutches of Vanderbilt, Gould, Scott, and other railroad barons. Early on, he had demonstrated the edge possessed by large-scale shippers in haggling with railroads. Now, he went a critical step further, figuring out how to insinuate himself into the very infrastructure of the industry.

Still uneasy at the specter of the oil fields drying up, the railroads shrank from investments in custom-made facilities for handling oil, worried that this specialized equipment might someday be rendered worthless. Exploiting this fear, Rockefeller worked out a clever bargain with the Erie Railroad in April 1874. The railroad would transfer control of its Weehawken, New Jersey, terminal to Standard Oil if Standard met two conditions: First, it would have to outfit the rail yards with modern apparatuses that would help to expedite oil shipments to New England and the South; second, it would have to ship 50 percent of its western refinery output over Erie tracks. For Rockefeller, the arrangement promised multiple advantages, for he not only received preferential rates from Erie but could also chart the oil movements of competitors across the country. He could even block the export of rivals’ oil—an option that, having made this huge investment, he freely exercised. As he argued, “I know of no parallel case in other branches of business where the competitor felt injured because he could not use his rival’s capital and facilities for his own advantage and the disadvantage of the owner of the capital and facilities.”<sup>33</sup> Rockefeller’s logic was unimpeachable—unless one accepted the still controversial proposition that railroads were common carriers and should deal with all shippers impartially.

Rockefeller was embraced no less warmly by the New York Central, which was controlled by the Vanderbilt family. Commodore Vanderbilt reportedly said that Rockefeller was the one man in America who could dictate terms to him; meanwhile, his son, William H. Vanderbilt, discreetly purchased Standard Oil stock for his own account.<sup>34</sup> It was the younger Vanderbilt who said presciently of Rockefeller in the 1870s: “He will become the richest man in the country,” thus inheriting the title from his father.<sup>35</sup> Standard Oil eventually became so enmeshed in the railroad business that it controlled virtually all the oil traffic that traveled over the Erie and the New York Central tracks.

Standard Oil also profited immeasurably from the revolution in oil transport as barrels gave way to tank cars. As Rockefeller later testified, “We soon discovered as the business grew that the primary method of transporting oil in barrels could not last. The package often cost more than the contents,

and the forests of the country were not sufficient to supply the necessary material for an extended length of time.”<sup>36</sup> Once again, the railroads balked at investing in rolling stock that couldn’t also transport general freight, so Rockefeller stepped boldly into the breach. In 1874, Standard Oil—with that kindly solicitude for the railroads’ welfare that artfully tied them up with myriad strings—began to raise tens of thousands of dollars to build oil-tank cars, which they would then lease to the roads for a special mileage allowance. Decades later, Armour and Company, the Chicago butcher, mimicked the same strategy by buying up refrigerator cars.

As the owner of almost all the Erie and New York Central tank cars, Standard Oil’s position grew unassailable: At a moment’s notice, it could crush either railroad by threatening to withdraw its tank cars. It also prodded the railroads into granting favors for tank cars not enjoyed by the small refiners who shipped by barrel. For instance, railroads levied a charge for the return of empty barrels, while tank cars traveled free on the return route from the East Coast to the Midwest refineries. Tank-car clients also received the exact same leakage allowance received by barrel shippers, even though the tank cars didn’t leak—which effectively allowed Standard Oil to carry sixty-two gallons gratis in every tank car.

In this impregnable position, Rockefeller fulfilled a longtime wish and abolished forever the freight advantage of the Oil Creek refiners. In high-level talks with railway officials at Long Branch, New Jersey, and Saratoga Springs in the summer of 1874, he made them equalize rates for all refiners shipping to the East Coast. Crude oil would now effectively travel free on the 150-mile stretch between Oil Creek and Cleveland, destroying the advantage of owning a refinery in the oil fields and creating parity for Cleveland. When this shocking news surfaced in the so-called Rutter Circular of September 9, 1874, it sparked mass meetings and howls of protest along Oil Creek, where Rockefeller was universally execrated. Unlike the situation with the SIC, the railroads didn’t tremble at the uproar but reacted with cool intransigence, knowing the independent refiners were now doomed. Three weeks passed before A. J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad issued a curt, unrepentant letter in defense of the new uniform rates. For a long time, the independents had fought a valiantly unequal contest with Standard Oil, but now that the railroads had fallen under Standard’s spell, the contest was over.

Had oil been found in scattered places after the Civil War, it’s unlikely that even Standard Oil could have mustered the resources to control it so thoroughly. It was the confinement of oil to a desolate corner of northwest Pennsylvania that made it susceptible to monopoly control, especially with the emergence of pipelines. Pipelines unified the Pennsylvania wells into a single network and ultimately permitted Standard Oil to start or stop the flow of oil with the turn of a spigot. In time, they relegated collaboration with the railroads into something of a sideshow for Rockefeller.

Only belatedly did Rockefeller discern the full potential of pipelines, and his entry into the business seemed somewhat of a defensive, rearguard action. He knew that the railroads felt threatened by the pipelines, and for a time he thought it worthwhile to help them safeguard their interests by delaying the introduction of this new technology. Then, one of the railroads forced him to modify his plans. During the summer of 1873, he was taken aback when the Pennsylvania Railroad expanded into pipelines through an aggressive, fast-freight subsidiary known as the Empire Transportation Company, which integrated two of the largest Oil Creek pipelines into its railroad network. Thus far, pipelines had only pumped oil short distances from the wellhead to the railroads, but this move presaged a time when pipelines would span great distances and supplant railroads altogether. Even worse from Rockefeller’s viewpoint, Empire seemed the harbinger of a pipeline monopoly under the thumb of his rival and sometime coconspirator Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Rockefeller’s paranoia was fully justified. In the perpetual game of shifting alliances, Tom Scott had made his tactical compromises with Rockefeller, but he generally feared Standard Oil and sought to shatter its refining monopoly, presumably to replace it with his own.

In a deft countermove, Rockefeller called upon Daniel O’Day, one of the most colorful figures in Standard history, to lay down a pipeline system. Born in County Clare, O’Day was a profane, two-fisted Irishman who tempered ruthless tactics with wit and charm. He inspired loyalty among subordinates and raw terror among adversaries. On his forehead O’Day bore a scar from an old Oil Creek brawl that was a constant reminder of his bare-knuckled approach to business. In 1874, under O’Day’s tutelage, Standard launched the American Transfer Company to construct a pipeline network. Jockeying for position, Rockefeller also acquired a one-third interest in Vandergrift and Forman, controlled by Jacob J. Vandergrift, the steamboat captain who had merged his refining interests with Standard Oil. The Vandergrift pipelines formed the core of a new venture, the United Pipe Lines, that pretended to be free of Standard Oil control. By giving small stakes in United to William H. Vanderbilt of the New York Central and Amasa Stone of the Lake Shore, Rockefeller tightened his grip over friendly railroads. This set him up to extract maximum advantage from both the railroads and pipelines so long as these two means of transport coexisted in the oil business. When the owners of the first pipeline systems established a pool to set rates and allocate quotas among putatively competing networks in the summer of 1874, Rockefeller’s pipelines gained an impressive 36 percent market share.

Between American Transfer and United Pipe Lines, Rockefeller now sat astride nearly a third of the crude oil flowing from Oil Creek wells. Henceforth, Standard’s influence in petroleum transport would be no less pervasive and even more profitable than its unmatched position in refining. This power offered many temptations for abuse. An oilman could make a tremendous strike and suddenly feel fabulously rich, but if he couldn’t hook up the gushing black liquid to a pipeline, it was worthless. The drillers had always credited Rockefeller with a life-and-death hold over them, and as the Standard Oil pipelines encroached upon the oil fields, snaking across the slopes of Oil Creek, that power took on a frighteningly tangible form.

## CHAPTER 10

### Sphinx

In April 1874, as befitted the status of this new oil colossus, Standard Oil moved into a new four-story building that Rockefeller and Harkness had erected at 43 Euclid Avenue, east of the Public Square. Behind a heavy stone façade, the two Standard Oil floors were roomy and airy, drawing extra light from a skylight above the central stairway. Every morning at 9:15 sharp, Rockefeller arrived, elegantly attired, with the letter *R* neatly incised in his black onyx cuff links; for someone from a frugal, rural background, he was unexpectedly fastidious. “Mr. Rockefeller came in with an air of calm dignity,” recalled one clerk. “He was immaculately dressed—he looked as if he had been turned out of a bandbox. He carried an umbrella and his gloves, and wore a high silk hat.”<sup>1</sup> He placed such faith in polished shoes that he provided, free of charge, a shoe-shining kit for each office unit. Tall and pale, with neatly trimmed reddish gold side-whiskers, he had a barber shave him each morning at the same hour. Extremely punctual for all appointments, he said, “A man has no right to occupy another man’s time unnecessarily.”<sup>2</sup>

In his imperturbable style, Rockefeller quietly bid his colleagues good morning, inquired after their health, then vanished into his modest office. Even within the Standard Oil kingdom, his employees found his movements as wraithlike as his most paranoid Titusville antagonists did. As one secretary remarked, “He is sly. I never have seen him enter the building or leave it.”<sup>3</sup> “He’s never there, and yet he’s always there,” echoed an associate.<sup>4</sup> Rockefeller seldom granted appointments to strangers and preferred to be approached in writing. Ever alert against industrial espionage, he never wanted people to know more than was required and warned one colleague, “I would be very careful about putting [someone] into a position where he could learn about our business and be troublesome to us.”<sup>5</sup> Even close associates found him inscrutable and loath to reveal his thoughts. As one wrote, “His long silences, so that we could not locate even his objections, were sometimes baffling.”<sup>6</sup> Schooled in secrecy, he trained his face to be a stony mask so that when underlings brought him telegrams, they couldn’t tell from his expression whether the news was favorable or not.

Rockefeller equated silence with strength: Weak men had loose tongues and blabbed to reporters, while prudent businessmen kept their own counsel. Two of his most cherished maxims were “Success comes from keeping the ears open and the mouth closed” and “A man of words and not of deeds is like a garden full of weeds.”<sup>7</sup> Big Bill’s deaf-and-dumb routine curiously prefigured his son’s habit of hearing as much as possible and saying as little as possible to gain a tactical edge. When bargaining, he employed his Midwest taciturnity to effect, throwing people off stride and keeping them guessing. When angry, he tended to grow eerily quiet. He liked to tell how a blustering contractor stormed into his office and launched into a snarling tirade against him while he sat hunched over his writing desk and didn’t look up until the man had exhausted himself. Then, spinning about in his swivel chair, he looked up and coolly asked, “I didn’t catch what you were saying. Would you mind repeating that?”<sup>8</sup>

Much of the time, he was closeted in his office, where he had oil prices chalked on a blackboard. He paced this spartan office, hands laced behind his back. Periodically, he emerged from his lair, mounted a high stool, and studied ledgers, scribbling calculations on pad and paper. (During meetings, he was a restless doodler and note taker.) Frequently, he stared out the window, motionless as an idol, gazing at the sky for fifteen minutes at a stretch. He once asked rhetorically, “Do not many of us who fail to achieve big things . . . fail because we lack concentration—the art of concentrating the mind on the thing to be done at the proper time and to the exclusion of everything else?”<sup>9</sup>

Rockefeller adhered to a fixed schedule, moving through the day in a frictionless manner. He never wasted time on frivolities. Even his daily breaks—the midmorning snack of crackers and milk and the postprandial nap—were designed to conserve energy and help him to strike an ideal balance between his physical and mental forces. As he remarked, “It is not good to keep all the forces at tension all the time.”<sup>10</sup>

In the early days, Rockefeller knew the name and face of each employee and occasionally perambulated about the office. He walked with a measured gait, steady as a metronome, always covering the same distance in the exact same time. He had the soundless movements and modulated voice of an undertaker. Gliding about with silent footfalls, he startled people by materializing at their desks and politely asking, in a mellow voice, to inspect their work. Since he was seldom seen, people often wondered about his whereabouts. “His was the least known face in the offices,” one employee recalled fifty years later, still perplexed about Rockefeller’s daily schedule. “He was reported to inhabit them three hours a day, but his appearances and disappearances were curtained, suggested private approaches, withdrawn stairways and corridors.”<sup>11</sup>



*A photograph of John D. Rockefeller that clearly shows his keen determination as a young businessman. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

As a former bookkeeper, Rockefeller devoted special attention to ledgers. One accountant recalled him stopping by his desk and saying courteously, “Permit me,” then flipping quickly through his books. “Very well kept,” he said, “very, indeed.” Then his eye leaped to a tiny error. “A little error here; will you correct it?” The accountant was flabbergasted by the speed with which Rockefeller had scanned so many dense columns of figures. “And I will take my oath,” he reported, “that it was the only error in the book!”<sup>12</sup>

Everybody noted the man’s preternatural calm. Though he had honed his will into a perfect instrument, he was even-tempered by nature. As he remarked, “You could do or say the most outrageous thing at this moment and I would not show the least sign of excitement.”<sup>13</sup> He was always proud of the fact that he had an abnormally low pulse of fifty-two. Many employees said he never lost his temper, raised his voice, uttered a profane or slang word, or acted discourteously. He defied many stereotypes of the overbearing tycoon and generally received excellent reviews from employees who regarded him as fair and benevolent, free of petty temper and dictatorial airs. This was nicely illustrated by an anecdote. As a fitness buff, Rockefeller placed in the accounting department a wood-and-rubber contrivance that he pushed and pulled for exercise. When he showed up one morning for exercise, a junior accountant didn’t recognize him, called the gadget a damned nuisance, and demanded that it be carted off. “All right,” said Rockefeller and had the contraption removed. Somewhat later, to his horror, the young man realized that he had berated the chief executive, yet he never endured one word of reprimand. Rockefeller even hesitated to punish serious offenses and instead of prosecuting the occasional embezzler simply dismissed him.

Throughout his life, Rockefeller was wounded deeply by accusations that he was a cold, malignant personality. In truth, like many retiring personalities, he provoked varied reactions in people. One cooper who sold him barrels in the early days told Ida Tarbell that “Rockefeller was never a great talker; that he was not liked by his fellows; that everybody was afraid of him; and that he was solitary.”<sup>14</sup> But Rockefeller never turned the ferocity that he trained against rivals against his own employees and people who worked for him usually found him a model of propriety and paternalistic concern. As one refinery worker remembered him, “He always had a nod and a kind word for everybody. He never forgot anyone. We had some trying times in the business in those early years, but I’ve never seen Mr. Rockefeller when he was not friendly and kind and unruffled. Nothing excited him.”<sup>15</sup> Rockefeller’s sister Mary Ann dismissed as an absurd canard the idea that he was a curmudgeon. “John could always get along so easily with anyone,” she declared.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, had he not possessed some charm, or at least cordiality, he could never have accomplished so much in the business world.

So highly did Rockefeller value personnel that during the first years of Standard Oil he personally attended to routine hiring matters. (After conquering the other refining centers, the payroll ballooned to 3,000 people, and this became impossible.) Taking for granted the growth of his empire, he hired talented people as found, not as needed.

Far more than a technocrat, Rockefeller was an inspirational leader who exerted a magnetic power over workers and especially prized executives with social skills. “The ability to deal with people is as purchasable a commodity as sugar or coffee,” he once said, “and I pay more for that ability than for any other under the sun.”<sup>17</sup>

Employees were invited to send complaints or suggestions directly to him, and he always took an interest in their affairs. His correspondence is replete with inquiries about sick or retired employees. Reasonably generous in wages, salaries, and pensions, he paid somewhat above the industry average. Forty years later, a former subordinate wrote of the firm, with some exaggeration, “It has never had a strike or a dissatisfied workman; and today no business organization cares for its veterans in their old age as does the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>18</sup> It is important to point out that oil refining was a capital-intensive industry without the seething discontents that afflicted the coal mines or steel mills. Even in lean years, Standard Oil was flush with profits, permitting it the luxury of good intentions. One biographer has gone so far as to say of Rockefeller, “He was the best employer of his time, instituting hospitalization and retirement pensions.”<sup>19</sup>

He was a fine boss if workers abided by his rules, but if they did something foolish, like show interest in a union, they promptly forfeited his sympathy. Rockefeller never acknowledged the legitimacy of organized labor, nor did he tolerate union organizers on the premises. He also reserved the right to pass judgment on the private lives of employees. Imposing his own prudish standards on his staff, he penalized any executive implicated in an adulterous affair and frowned on divorce. Sabbath observance was de rigueur, and if colleagues wrote to him when they should have been in church, they tended not to put the real dates on their letters.

The most remarkable instance of Rockefeller participating in an associate’s moral reformation occurred with John D. Archbold, the jovial young protégé whose pranks and infectious laughter so delighted Rockefeller. When Rockefeller initially entreated him to stop drinking, Archbold pretended to abide by the temperance pledge while keeping cloves in his vest pocket to mask telltale smells. By 1881, his drinking binges were too palpable and self-destructive to conceal, and he wrote a contrite letter to Rockefeller, renewing his pledge: “My Dear Mr. Rockefeller—Any words from me seem like a mockery. I give you the promise appreciating its solemnity and importance as I never did before. I will write you the letter every Sunday as long as our relation gives me the privilege, or until you ask me to stop.”<sup>20</sup> Thereafter, every Sunday for eight months, Archbold sent Rockefeller a letter confirming his sobriety that week, writing for instance, “Please let this bear witness to the completion of the 5th period.”<sup>21</sup> Archbold made a sincere effort, but he had at least one violent relapse four years later and felt mortified at having let his mentor down. “I have never before known him to be so thoroughly cast down and in such abject mental misery,” one Standard Oil executive told Rockefeller. “I do not think any one can fully realize the fight he must make against this unfortunate habit, nor the really heartbroken condition he is in after it has come over him.”<sup>22</sup> Aware of Rockefeller’s dismay, other executives tried to make it seem that Archbold had unwittingly swallowed some alcoholic medicine.

His employees tended to revere Rockefeller and vied to please him. As one said, “I have never heard of his equal in getting together a lot of the very best men in one team and inspiring each man to do his best for the enterprise. . . . He was so big, so broad, so patient; I don’t believe a man like him comes to this world oftener than once in five or six hundred years.”<sup>23</sup> Rockefeller worked by subtle hints, doling out praise sparingly to employees and nudging them along. At first, he tested them exhaustively, yet once he trusted them, he bestowed enormous power upon them and didn’t intrude unless something radically misfired. “Often the best way to develop workers—when you are sure they have character and think they have ability—is to take them to a deep place, throw them in and make them sink or swim,” he observed, recalling a method that Big Bill had used with his sons on Owasco Lake. “They will not fail.”<sup>24</sup> To orchestrate such a gigantic operation, he had to delegate authority, and part of the Standard Oil gospel was to train your

subordinate to do your job. As Rockefeller instructed a recruit, “Has anyone given you the law of these offices? No? It is this: nobody does anything if he can get anybody else to do it. . . . As soon as you can, get some one whom you can rely on, train him in the work, sit down, cock up your heels, and think out some way for the Standard Oil to make some money.”<sup>25</sup> True to this policy, Rockefeller tried to extricate himself from the intricate web of administrative details and dedicate more of his time to broad policy decisions.

Most of all, Rockefeller inspired subordinates with his fanatic perfectionism. He never did anything haphazardly and wrote hundreds of thousands of business letters that were models of concision and balanced phrasing, the products of painstaking revision. Dictating letters to his secretary, he went through five or six drafts until he had eliminated every superfluous word and produced precisely the impression desired before affixing his signature with the best penmanship at his command. As one top aide recalled: “I have seen him sign his name to hundreds of papers at a sitting. He did each signature carefully as if this particular one was to be the only one by which he was to be remembered for all time. Each signature became in his mind a work of art.”<sup>26</sup> This passion for excellence originated with Rockefeller and radiated throughout the organization. The ethos of Standard Oil’s operations around the world was John D. Rockefeller’s personality writ large.

While Rockefeller was responsible for policy questions and formulated the theoretical underpinnings of the trust, he didn’t introduce many technical innovations associated with Standard Oil. Rather, he was a matchless executive, an unerring monitor of the stream of proposals channeled to him daily. He had an extraordinary reactive ability, a first-rate power of judgment when presented with options. Perhaps for this reason, he resembles modern chief executives more than he does his domineering industrial contemporaries.

Given the primitive communications and record keeping of the late nineteenth century, Rockefeller couldn’t have managed his decentralized empire without masterfully coordinating a vast array of data. The ledger book enabled him to play the puppeteer and manipulate his empire by invisible strings. By mastering numbers, he reduced the most varied systems to a common standard, and he accepted their harsh verdicts without hesitation. “I charted my course by figures, nothing but figures,” he once said.<sup>27</sup> Mark Hanna disparaged Rockefeller as “a kind of economic super-clerk, the personification of ledger-keeping.”<sup>28</sup> This comment not only overlooks the farsighted nature of Rockefeller’s leadership but discounts the importance of ledger keeping in modern corporations. Numbers gave Rockefeller an objective yardstick to compare his far-flung operations, enabling him to cut through the false claims of subordinates. It was the way that he extended rationality from the top of his organization down to the lowest rung: Every cost in the Standard Oil universe was computed to several decimal places.

Having always shown an aptitude for math, Rockefeller valued this quality in underlings. When he hired his young secretary, George D. Rogers, Rockefeller drew forth a watch to see how fast Rogers could total up a sheet of figures. At the end, Rockefeller said, “Well, you have completed it in the required time,” and then promptly hired the young man, who served him ably for many years. Rogers left some interesting recollections of his boss’s attention to detail and punctilious regard for money. When leaving the office one day, Rockefeller fished in his pockets and realized that he had forgotten his change purse. When he asked to borrow a nickel from Rogers, his assistant volunteered to make a gift of it, but Rockefeller protested. “No, Rogers,” he said, “don’t forget this transaction. This is a whole year’s interest on a dollar.”<sup>29</sup>

Rockefeller attributed much of his success to his quick head for figures. While he was negotiating to buy the long-sought million-dollar Columbia Conduit Company from Dr. David Hostetter, he purposely kept his interlocutor talking for half an hour as he computed the ways the interest could be paid. “When we ended the talk,” Rockefeller said, “he agreed to the terms I offered—and I had saved \$30,000 on the interest by my mental calculations that had never ceased while we were talking.”<sup>30</sup> This episode brought out a subtle vein of anti-Semitism that is intermittently threaded through Rockefeller’s papers. Of his mathematical prowess in outwitting Dr. Hostetter, he boasted, “How well I remember when it helped me to beat a Jew!”<sup>31</sup>

As time went on, Rockefeller had little physical contact with the actual refining, transportation, or marketing of oil—activities that unfolded in dusty outposts of the Standard Oil kingdom—but stayed sequestered in the executive suite, concentrating on finance, personnel, administration, and general policy matters. He downplayed the significance of technical knowledge in business. “I never felt the need of scientific knowledge, have never felt it. A young man who wants to succeed in business does not require chemistry or physics. He can always hire scientists.”<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, in the first years of Standard Oil, Rockefeller regularly toured his facilities and was extremely inquisitive and observant, soaking up information and assiduously quizzing plant superintendents. In his pocket, he carried a little red notebook in which he jotted suggestions for improvements and always followed up on them. He knew the terror inspired by that red book. “More than once I have gone to luncheon with a number of our heads of departments and have seen the sweat start out on the foreheads of some of them when that little red notebook was pulled out,” Rockefeller admitted with relish.<sup>33</sup>

With a talent for seeing things anew, Rockefeller could study an operation, break it down into component parts, and devise ways to improve it. In many ways, he anticipated the efficiency studies of engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor. Regarding each plant as infinitely perfectible, he created an atmosphere of ceaseless improvement. Paradoxically, the mammoth scale of operations encouraged close attention to minute detail, for a penny saved in one place might then be multiplied a thousandfold throughout the empire. In the early 1870s, Rockefeller inspected a Standard plant in New York City that filled and sealed five-gallon tin cans of kerosene for export. After watching a machine solder caps to the cans, he asked the resident expert: “How many drops of solder do you use on each can?” “Forty,” the man replied. “Have you ever tried thirty-eight?” Rockefeller asked. “No? Would you mind having some sealed with thirty-eight and let me know?”<sup>34</sup> When thirty-eight drops were applied, a small percentage of cans leaked—but none at thirty-nine. Hence, thirty-nine drops of solder became the new standard instituted at all Standard Oil refineries. “That one drop of solder,” said Rockefeller, still smiling in retirement, “saved \$2,500 the first year; but the export business kept on increasing after that and doubled, quadrupled—became immensely greater than it was then; and the saving has gone steadily along, one drop on each can, and has amounted since to many hundreds of thousands of dollars.”<sup>35</sup>

Rockefeller performed many similar feats, fractionally reducing the length of staves or the width of iron hoops without weakening a barrel’s strength. He was never a foolish penny-pincher, however; for example, he saved on repairs by insisting that Standard build only solid, substantial plants, even if



that meant higher start-up costs. He also tried to use all of the fractions refined from the crude oil. During its first two years, Standard Oil had dealt largely in kerosene and naphtha. Then, in 1874, the company branched out into petroleum by-products, selling paraffin wax for chewing gum and residual oil tar and asphalt for road building. Before long, the company was manufacturing lubricants for railroads and machine shops, as well as candles, dyes, paints, and industrial acids. In 1880, Standard Oil took over the Chesebrough Manufacturing Company in New Jersey in order to strengthen its sales of petroleum jelly.

Ever since his first foray into refining, Rockefeller had relied for technical advice on the ruddy Sam Andrews, who first transmitted to him the technique for cleansing crude oil with sulfuric acid. In 1874, a stiff new competitor to Andrews emerged when Ambrose McGregor was named superintendent of the Standard Oil refineries in Cleveland. Rockefeller was beginning to think Andrews a mediocre man who couldn't keep up with new developments in the field and felt threatened by the more able McGregor.

A man of blinkered vision, Andrews was distressed by Rockefeller's soaring ambition, his constant borrowing and spending. The split between them worsened in August 1878 when Standard declared a 50 percent dividend on its stock. As Andrews later grumbled, "There was plenty of money made to throw that dividend out twice over and make a profit."<sup>36</sup> Though Rockefeller tried to avert clashes with colleagues, nothing nettled him more than directors who preferred fatter dividends to earnings plowed back into the business. One day, Andrews snapped at Rockefeller, "I wish I was out of this business." Calling his bluff, Rockefeller replied, "Sam, you don't seem to have faith in the way this company is operating. What will you take for your holdings?" "I will take one million dollars," Andrews shot back. "Let me have an option on it for twenty-four hours," said Rockefeller, "and we will discuss it tomorrow." When Andrews stopped by the next morning, Rockefeller had a check made out for one million dollars.<sup>37</sup> In truth, Rockefeller was petrified at the thought of Andrews's large stake being sold on the open market, which might have depressed the share price and harmed Standard Oil's credit at a time when he was borrowing heavily against those shares.

At first, Andrews exulted over the sale and was convinced that he had unloaded the stock at a premium. Then Rockefeller turned around and sold the same shares to William H. Vanderbilt for a quick \$300,000 profit.<sup>38</sup> When Andrews loudly cried foul, Rockefeller sent an emissary to tell Andrews that he could buy back his stock at the original sale price. Embittered, Andrews spurned this fair offer and opted to keep the money. Had he kept the stock, it would have been worth \$900 million by the early 1930s, by one estimate.<sup>39</sup> This rash decision, motivated by pure pique and a bruised ego, kept him from becoming one of America's richest men.

Irate at Andrews's behavior, Rockefeller lost whatever residual gratitude he felt for his founding partner and ridiculed his business abilities. Whenever he feuded with someone, he tended to turn that person into a reprobate, and he later said of Andrews, "He was ignorant, conceited, lost his head . . . governed by the same wicked sort of prejudice accompanying the egotism so characteristic of that type of ignorant Englishman."<sup>40</sup> It was one of many times that Rockefeller singled out the English for special abuse. As for Andrews, he not only squandered a chance to make a colossal fortune but later poured the money into an ugly, ornate house on Euclid Avenue where he dreamed of someday entertaining Queen Victoria. Once described as "the most pretentious residence ever built in Cleveland," this five-story monstrosity, with one hundred rooms and as many servants, won the well-deserved nickname of "Andrews's Folly."<sup>41</sup> For the rest of his life, Andrews lambasted Rockefeller in long-winded diatribes to anyone who would listen. Maurice Clark probably caught the truth about Sam Andrews when he said, "Before selling he was sore at John. After selling he was sore at himself."<sup>42</sup> Standard Oil was never kind to skeptics who doubted its bright future.

*The Holy Family*

At a time when America's brand-new millionaires reveled in garish houses that paid queer homage to everything from medieval romance to the Arabian Nights, Rockefeller preferred to own raw land. In 1873, he invested in seventy-nine scenic acres at Forest Hill, a lovely, thickly wooded spot, crisscrossed by steep ravines and gulleys, just four miles east of his Euclid Avenue home. Two years later, he assembled a team of investors who bought the land from him to construct a sanatorium that would specialize in homeopathic medicine and water cures. As part of the deal, Rockefeller and Stephen Harkness set up a short railroad to whisk people out to this suburban resort. When both ventures fell victim to the depression of the 1870s, Rockefeller repurchased the land, now crowned with an enormous rambling building. Starting in 1877, he began to use it as a summer home, perhaps with some therapeutic intention in mind, for the previous year doctors had diagnosed Cettie as consumptive. At the doctors' urging, Rockefeller and his family vacationed in the dry, fresh air of Colorado in the summer of 1876. Perhaps he believed his wife would find relief from the lake breezes at Forest Hill.

Eager to expose Rockefeller as a tasteless vulgarian, Ida Tarbell mocked the Forest Hill house as "a monument of cheap ugliness," and other satirical critics rushed to pile on equally insulting epithets.<sup>1</sup> This much-maligned house was, in fact, John D.'s favorite hideaway. "Oh, I like Forest Hill much better than any other home!" he proclaimed.<sup>2</sup> It enjoyed an excellent location, standing on the brow of a sharply sloping hill, with wonderful views of Lake Erie; it reminded Rockefeller of his boyhood home in Moravia, poised above Owasco Lake. This ungainly Victorian confection was a wilderness of porches and gables, turrets and bay windows, covered with gingerbread detail. Rockefeller loved the large, spacious rooms with their unobstructed views. Fond of light and air, he stripped away the curtains and wall hangings and flooded the house with sunshine, adding a glassed-in porch. He even had a huge pipe organ installed in one parlor.

Those who accurately faulted Rockefeller's taste missed a deeper point, however: At a time when moguls vied to impress people with their possessions, Rockefeller preferred comfort to refinement. His house was bare of hunting trophies, shelves of richly bound but unread books, or other signs of conspicuous consumption. Rockefeller molded his house for his own use, not to awe strangers. As he wrote of the Forest Hill fireplaces in 1877: "I have seen a good many fireplaces here [and] don't think the character of our rooms will warrant going into the expenditures for fancy tiling and all that sort of thing that we find in some of the extravagant houses here. What we want is a sensible, plain arrangement in keeping with our rooms."<sup>3</sup>

It took time for the family to adjust to Forest Hill. The house had been built as a hotel, and it showed: It had an office to the left of the front door, a dining room with small tables straight ahead, upstairs corridors lined with cubicle-sized rooms, and porches wrapped around each floor. The verandas, also decorated in resort style, were cluttered with bamboo furniture. It was perhaps this arrangement that tempted John and Cettie to run Forest Hill as a paying club for friends, and they got a dozen to come and stay during the summer of 1877. This venture proved no less of a debacle than the proposed sanatorium. As "club guests," many visitors expected Cettie to function as their unlikely hostess. Some didn't know they were in a commercial establishment and were shocked upon returning home to receive bills for their stay. The Rockefeller children were no less bemused and disoriented as they found themselves eating in a big dining room, attended by a troop of gentlemanly black waiters. After a year, Rockefeller scrapped this misbegotten venture, fired the waiters, and began to convert the large warren of tiny upstairs rooms into suites and master bedrooms.

From 1877 to 1883, the Rockefellers retained the Euclid Avenue house as their primary residence while spending summers at Forest Hill. Gradually, the stays at Forest Hill lengthened, the estate itself expanding to more than seven hundred acres and the number of employees eventually rising to as high as 136. After a time, the family spent only brief spring and autumn stints at Euclid Avenue. They still went there every Sunday, however, bringing in a cold lunch from Forest Hill when they attended the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church. After late 1883, when the Rockefellers moved to New York, they turned Forest Hill into their exclusive Cleveland residence but never renounced a sentimental attachment to 424 Euclid Avenue. They kept the old house in constant repair, always ready to receive family members, even though they never went there and it slowly lapsed into an honored, deserted monument to bygone days. Plans to turn it into a convalescent home for crippled children or aged couples never materialized. "It seemed too sacred for common use, we all loved it so," Cettie later said.<sup>4</sup>



***Laura Spelman Rockefeller, who seldom wore anything fancier than this dress. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)***

Despite its considerable distance from his office, Rockefeller, clad in goggles and duster, drove downtown each morning from Forest Hill, seated in a little two-seat surrey behind a pair of fast-trotting horses. He was still passionate about trotting horses and now had a dozen of them. He constructed his own half-mile racetrack at Forest Hill, shaded by maples planted by his son, and bought Welsh and Shetland ponies for each child. By the mid-1870s, he often returned home from the office for lunch then spent the rest of the afternoon *en famille* in a constant flurry of outdoor activity. He dammed a stream to make two artificial lakes, one for boating, the other for swimming, and on sultry days often swam the mile-long circuit, a straw hat perched on his head to guard his fair skin from the sun. After becoming a biking enthusiast, he smoothed out many dangerously curving paths and rewarded visitors who learned to ride with free bikes. He took unusual delight in ice skating and frequently as many as fifty people—many of them strangers from the neighborhood—skated on the Rockefeller pond on a frosty day. Since he wouldn't allow the pond to be flooded on the Sabbath, Rockefeller sometimes rose after midnight on a freezing Sunday night to direct the workmen in preparing for the next day's skating.

Though he lacked interest in the homely interior of Forest Hill, Rockefeller spent hours daily out on the grounds. A tall, angular figure striding about and surveying the property, he planned new vistas, gravel paths, gardens, barns, and carriage houses. He created a fair-sized farm with sixteen cows and thousands of chickens. Serving as his own engineer and following the natural grades, Rockefeller laid out twenty miles of roadway for horse and buggy rides through stands of aspen, beech, oak, and maple trees. Supervising fifty or sixty workmen, he developed a limestone quarry on the property to service his grandiose projects and adorned the roads with picturesque bridges over streams. To secure striking vistas, he also began to relocate large trees and did this so expertly that they weren't damaged in transition. This constant rearrangement of his domain was more than just a matter of framing pretty views or beautifying a patch of garden. It was Rockefeller's typical way of remaking his own miniature universe and working out some vast, never-ending design.

For the Rockefeller children, life at Forest Hill could seem melancholy as they drifted alone about the huge estate, cut off from worldly temptation by their parents. This mood of solitary yearning especially afflicted John Jr., who was tutored at home until age ten and later described his boyhood self as "shy, ill-adjusted and frail."<sup>5</sup>

From the start he wasn't made of his father's indestructible stuff. On January 29, 1874, in an unusual moment of tearful joy, Rockefeller arrived at the Standard Oil office and informed Henry Flagler and Oliver Payne that Cettie had given birth to their first son. Dr. Myra Herrick delivered the infant in an upstairs bedroom at Euclid Avenue while Rockefeller waited expectantly across the hall. "How glad all were that the baby was a boy—for there had been four girls—and that he was perfectly formed," Cettie wrote.<sup>6</sup> She always associated the birth of Junior—as he was known to distinguish him from John Senior—with the launch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Ohio. As a founding member, she had planned to aid her evangelical sisters with rousing prayers and biblical hymns in local saloons, and, as she later told Junior, "I might have joined them, if a wee baby boy had not claimed me."<sup>7</sup> She fired him with that same crusading, Christian spirit and horror of liquor.

The baby boy was small and sickly, lacking his father's robust energy and reflecting his mother's more delicate constitution; for three years, his parents worried about his health. He had a cloistered childhood, insulated from a world that might contaminate his values. In later years, he could recall only a single male playmate from these early years, Harry Moore, the son of the Forest Hill housekeeper. "I had a camera and he and I took pictures and played together constantly."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Junior found oases of enchantment on the estate and later cherished idyllic memories of summer afternoons spent rowing, swimming, and hiking. As they read aloud to one another, Junior and his sisters often lolled on a great beech tree whose limbs dipped over a creek. Even if his recollections sound highly idealized, with the shadows expunged, his boyhood letters are suffused with the warm glow of a protected childhood, secure in the love of his doting parents. Perhaps Junior's boyhood wasn't quite as lonesome as it seems from afar. Many decades later, his childhood friend Kate Strong reminisced to him, "You were quite the nicest boy that ever was in those days, so all your friends thought . . . affectionate, considerate, thoughtful and full of fun as well as wise almost beyond your years."<sup>9</sup> Junior was always bathed in female love, almost suffocated by it.

Just as Standard Oil workers never remembered a cross word from John Senior, so Junior couldn't cite a single instance of paternal anger. His father was patient and encouraging, if notably stingy with praise. As Junior said, his father was a "beloved companion. He had a genius with children. He never told us what to do or not to do. He was one with us."<sup>10</sup> In contrast to Big Bill's narcissism, John D. had an overdeveloped sense of family responsibility. John and Cettie never administered corporal punishment, and they inculcated moral principles by instruction and example. Each child was taught to listen to his or her conscience as a severely infallible guide.

For this boy destined to be the world's greatest heir, money was so omnipresent as to be invisible—something "there, like air or food or any other element," he later said—yet it was never easily attainable.<sup>11</sup> As if he were a poor, rural boy, he earned pocket change by mending vases and broken fountain pens or by sharpening pencils. Aware of the rich children spoiled by their parents, Senior seized every opportunity to teach his son the value of money. Once, while Rockefeller was being shaved at Forest Hill, Junior entered with a plan to give away his Sunday-school money in one lump sum, for a fixed period, and be done with it. "Let's figure it out first," Rockefeller advised and made Junior run through calculations that showed he would lose eleven cents interest while the Sunday school gained nothing in return. Afterward, Rockefeller told his barber, "I don't care about the boy giving his money in that way. I want him to give it. But I also want him to learn the lesson of being careful of the little things."<sup>12</sup>

When Rockefeller was complimented upon his son, he protested truthfully, "It was his mother who developed him."<sup>13</sup> Cettie brought up her children in her own ascetic style and tutored them in the rites of self-abnegation. She imagined that she presided with a light touch and had no idea that she could be quite overbearing. As she remarked, "I never like to interfere with the children so long as they make happy noises."<sup>14</sup> A sweet, good-natured woman, Cettie nevertheless had a strong didactic side that could verge on fanaticism. As she once confessed to a neighbor, "I am so glad my son has told me what he wants for Christmas, so now it can be denied him."<sup>15</sup> Dutiful, eager to please his mother, Junior absorbed the full force of her piety. "How good God is to have added to our lovely daughters our only son," Cettie later wrote. "Though the youngest, he is the strongest in courage, independence and Christian character."<sup>16</sup> She hemmed him in with numerous prohibitions. He was told that square dancing was promiscuous and immoral, and by age ten this little paragon had to sign a solemn oath that he would abstain from "tobacco, profanity, and the drinking of any intoxicating beverages."<sup>17</sup> Mother wasn't the only earnest female drumming him full of morality; Grandma Spelman also badgered him to attend children's temperance meetings. Thus, an

extraordinary contradiction lay at the core of Junior's life: While his father was being rebuked publicly as a corporate criminal, his mother was pumping him brimful of morality and religion. Like his father, Junior developed an upside-down worldview in which the righteous Rockefeller household was always under attack by a godless, uncomprehending world.

With three older sisters, John grew up in largely female surroundings as a delicate boy spared the rough play and teasing of brothers. He was feminized by the experience, wearing his sisters' cast-off dresses, learning to sew and knit, and even attending cooking classes, as if he might someday have to keep house and prepare his own sandwiches. Eight years older than Junior, Bessie was warmly attentive to her brother but inhabited a different world, and he grew up with the wilder and more willful Alta and Edith. One visitor remembered Alta as "mischievous, impulsive, the ringleader of the trio," while Edith was "scrutinizing, calculating," if high-spirited.<sup>18</sup> Because the girls got less attention than their brother did, they probably had more freedom to rebel and explore. As Alta once teased him, "We girls often thought John should have been a girl and we the boys of the family."<sup>19</sup> Despite his sex, Junior ended up as his mother's favorite because he was surely the most like her—obedient, crucified by duty, and almost too eager to please. The model child would struggle to become the model adult, with often painful consequences.

Soon after the Rockefellers had moved to 424 Euclid Avenue, they were followed by the Erie Street Baptist Mission Church—soon renamed the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church—the struggling church that had exerted such a formative influence upon Rockefeller's life. As far as fashion or convenience went, it would have behooved the Rockefellers to attend the nearby Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, where elegant couples stepped from tony carriages each Sunday morning. Instead, they drove back down Euclid Avenue to a plain brownstone church with a tall, narrow steeple and a lower-middle-class congregation. As Junior said, "There weren't half a dozen families that were not of limited means."<sup>20</sup> Rockefeller felt no discomfort at being surrounded by humble people and valued this continuity with his roots. He needed the spiritual refreshment of the plain but emotional Baptist style of prayer and probably also wanted to show that he wasn't being spoiled by wealth.

The Euclid Avenue Baptist Church was celebrated as the Rockefeller church and with good reason: By the early 1880s, he was covering half its annual budget, even pledging weekly money from his children and stipulating that "the 20 cents from each child will be earned by the sweat of their brows, pulling weeds, etc."<sup>21</sup> Avoiding clubs, theaters, and other such wicked haunts, Rockefeller was seen publicly only at church, a fixture in his ninth-row pew, his presence generating a growing army of ogles: curiosity seekers, feature writers, panhandlers, and idlers. He loved the bold, joyous, militant spirit of the Baptists and contributed openhandedly to their local charities. His foremost beneficiaries included the celebrated one-armed "Brother" J. D. Jones, who proselytized from a derelict barge moored to a Cleveland dock; the Ragged School, which taught the Bible and trade skills to vagabond teenagers; and the Cleveland Bethel Union, which preached temperance and Christianity to hard-drinking sailors and where Rockefeller himself often stopped by at lunchtime to mingle anonymously with the seamen.

Religion was a form of sustenance for Rockefeller, a necessary complement to his buttoned-up business life. Praising the ministry's role, he once said he needed "good preaching to wind me up, like an old clock, once or twice every week."<sup>22</sup> His life records no crises of faith, no agonizing skepticism toward the inherited orthodoxy of his youth. He believed that good works had to accompany faith, and even during the service his eyes darted around the room as he selected needy recipients of his charity. Taking small envelopes from his pocket, he slipped in some money, wrote the congregants' names on top, then unobtrusively pressed these gifts into their palms as they shook hands and said goodbye. He and Cettie also faithfully attended Friday night prayer meetings and were said to have seldom missed a gathering when in Cleveland over a forty-year period.

From 1872 until 1905, Rockefeller served as superintendent of the Sunday school—for a small portion of time he was seconded to a poor mission school—while Cettie headed the infant department. She liked to audit his classes and stare admiringly at him as he talked. He arrived early to kindle a fire then dimmed the gas lights at the close. In autumn, in an oddly poetic touch, he gathered up bushels of leaves and distributed them to the children. Many of his talks rang variations on the commonplaces of the temperance movement. "Boys, do you know why I never became a drunkard?" Rockefeller asked, scanning the room. "Because I never took the first drink."<sup>23</sup> To drive home his message, he told them not to be too free or easy or drink just to please the crowd. "Now I can't be a good fellow," he said sarcastically. "I haven't taken my first drink yet."<sup>24</sup> Each summer, he invited the Sunday-school teachers to a nonalcoholic picnic at Forest Hill, which was probably the most festive day on his annual calendar.

As word circulated that Rockefeller sometimes recruited Standard Oil employees from his Bible class, its size swelled enormously. He made any talk of business taboo, a lesson that one assistant superintendent, to his chagrin, belatedly learned. The man had bought oil at \$1.09 a barrel and tried to solicit Rockefeller's advice about whether to sell. The reaction, recalled by one member of the class, was swift and eloquent:

*Mr. Rockefeller immediately changed the expression of his face. He crossed his knees and then uncrossed them. He bent his body forward and proceeded to cross his knees again. But he never said a word. The assistant superintendent grew restless and a little embarrassed. . . . Finally the assistant superintendent asked: "If you were me, what would you do?" Rockefeller replied: "I would do what I thought best."*<sup>25</sup>

A fidgety silence was always Rockefeller's harshest expression of scorn.

While Rockefeller resented being pumped for advice, he himself mingled business and religion and converted the church into a powerful platform for espousing capitalism. He had no interest in theological disputation or in discussing otherworldly matters. To Sunday-school classes, he frequently reiterated his motto, "I believe it is a religious duty to get all the money you can, fairly and honestly; to keep all you can, and to give away all you can."<sup>26</sup> When he met his secretary out riding one Sunday, he advised her to save for a rainy day. "By way of apology for talking business on a Sunday," the secretary reported, "he said that there was a great deal of religion in good business."<sup>27</sup> The widening income inequality that accompanied industrialization didn't faze him because it formed part of the divine plan. By this stage of his career, Rockefeller's material success must have undergirded his faith. That he had earned so much surely signaled divine favor, a grace so awesome as to suggest that God had chosen him for some special mission—or else why had He favored him with such bounty? The usual picture of the Gilded Age is that greed eroded religious values, whereas for Rockefeller, his golden heaps seemed like so many tokens of heavenly support.

For John and Cettie, the temperance movement gratified their puritan itch to save the world, and their children joined a prohibition group called the

Loyal Legion, which scared them with evil visions of demon rum. As a charter member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Cettie and other well-bred ladies periodically descended on a Cleveland slum known as Whiskey Hill, which was mostly populated by immigrant mill hands. Around 11 A.M., they surged into the saloons, falling on their knees and praying for the sodden sinners. These militant ladies rented storefronts and set up a series of "friendly inns" that dispensed "wholesome foods and sarsaparilla" to thirsty "souls drowning in drink."<sup>28</sup> John was the principal donor of the main temperance outpost, Central Friendly Inn, making him an early pioneer in the settlement-house movement. Sometimes he joined Cettie on raids into the grogshops and never forgot how in one saloon he came upon a former classmate from E. G. Folsom's Commercial College who sat there, bloated and red-faced, doomed shortly to die from drink.

Cettie's parents had transferred their abolitionist ardor to the temperance cause after the Civil War. By 1870, they were living in Brooklyn, New York, where they exhibited the same fiery moralism that had distinguished their civic and religious activism in Ohio. In a division of labor, Mr. Spelman agitated to shut down the 2,500 rum shops he counted in Brooklyn, while Mrs. Spelman acted directly on drinkers through prayer and persuasion in taverns. During the post-1873 depression, Mr. Spelman foresaw an impending Armageddon pitting rum against temperance, Satan against Christ. He viewed hard times as the Lord's punishment for avarice manifested by the grasping demands of both workmen and employers. As he sternly concluded, "God's method for punishing man's folly and extravagance are silent, but resistless."<sup>29</sup> Mr. Spelman, who now drew a paycheck from Standard Oil in New York, couched his economic views in terms that suited his son-in-law. "The great trouble arises from extravagant management and reckless and ruinous competition on freights," he declared, tacitly endorsing monopoly. After Harvey Spelman died in 1881, his wife returned to Cleveland to live with John and her two daughters, Cettie and Lute, and the combined influence of the three Spelman women added to the militant, Christian spirit that informed the Rockefeller household.

The man who was now infuriating his rivals with the devilish cunning of his business methods was a tender son to his aging mother. Eliza retained the old Cheshire Street house, where John's portrait held pride of place above the parlor mantel. Though she spent most of her time with Frank and Mary Ann, she reserved summers for Forest Hill. She was still profoundly attached to her eldest son. She confided in John, felt a peaceful glow in his presence, and he responded with deep compassion. As Junior recalled, "She always sat next to Father at the table and how well I can remember often seeing him hold her hand lovingly at the table. Grandmother trusted Father absolutely and loved him devotedly. 'John's judgment' on any question was to her always right and the last word."<sup>30</sup> Rockefeller wrote often to "his dear mother" and struck a note of fond banter not evident elsewhere in his letters. "Your rooms at Forest Hill seem very lonesome and we hope you will not permit them to remain vacant all the summer," he wrote her one June. "The robins already begin to inquire for you and we can have the whole lawn full if you will only come back to greet them."<sup>31</sup>

By the late 1870s, Eliza's health began to fail—she was now in her late sixties—and John pleaded with her to stop smoking her pipe. In a preview of her son's later alopecia, all her hair fell out and she sometimes wore a gray toupee. As Eliza's strength declined, John grew more solicitous. "When she was feeling ill and confined to her room, Father would go to her in his quiet, cheery, reassuring way and tell her she was doing nicely and would soon be well," said Junior, "whereupon she never failed to take new courage and improve in health."<sup>32</sup> Her maladies took precedence over Standard Oil business, and if she had a nervous attack while John was at a meeting, he rushed back to Forest Hill, went straight to her bedside, took her hand, and said, "There, there, Mother. It's all right."<sup>33</sup>

To explain his father's disappearance, John D. often told people that Bill had asthma—which was true as far as it went—and needed a dry, warm western climate. Once or twice a year, Devil Bill—or Dr. William Levingston—popped up in Cleveland in his typically idiosyncratic fashion. Without any warning, he telephoned Forest Hill from the last stop of the Cleveland trolley line and asked to have a carriage sent to fetch him. Or he appeared in an impressive rig, behind a fine team of horses, and rode grandly up Euclid Avenue. Or, pulling up in front of the Standard Oil building, he bolted up the steps like a much younger man. A blithe spirit, he wandered about and always did as he pleased. As one Standard Oil attorney said, "If you didn't like it, you could go hang!"<sup>34</sup> He still looked impressive, with a bald head, massive forehead, and a full red beard now speckled with gray. In many respects, he was the same carefree, ebullient spirit of yesteryear, sporting snappy clothes and a diamond stickpin in his shirtfront, playing his fiddle, cracking jokes, and telling tall tales.

As they got older, the Rockefeller children were enchanted by Grandfather Rockefeller, whom they regarded as a colorful, folksy relic of the family's rustic past. Innocent of his darker side, they loved his rough country ways, lusty fiddling, and bawdy humor. His antics must have relieved the bottled-up tensions in this straitlaced household. Junior, who found him "jolly and entertaining," said, "My Grandfather Rockefeller was a most lovable person. . . . All the family loved him. He was a very entertaining man, coming and going when he felt like it."<sup>35</sup> Much as he once had with his own children, Bill gave his grandchildren rifles and taught them to shoot, nailing a bull's-eye to a distant tree and regaling them with tales of his wild-duck hunting. The sassy Edith pleased him most, and when she hit the target, he executed a dance (much like John) and hollered, "Bet you she hits it eight times out of ten!"<sup>36</sup> After a few days of such uproarious times, Grandpa would abruptly disappear, giving no sense of where he went.

John resented his father and never wrote to him, but he didn't poison the children's minds against him, and he behaved civilly in his presence, even if he kept studiously aloof. To strangers and the press, he never spoke of his father as anything but a fine, upstanding figure. Bill's visits provoked similarly ambivalent sentiments in Eliza. When he visited Forest Hill in 1885, she refused, at first, to see him, blaming a stitch in her side, then agreed to spend the day with him. By this point, she was surely glad to be rid of him.

In many respects, Bill's life as Doc Levingston resembled his former life with Eliza. He spent winters with Margaret in Freeport, Illinois, then took to the open road for the rest of the year, leaving her alone. A renegade individualist, he felt that footloose American urge to eke out a living on the fringes of civilization, and he penetrated ever farther into the wilderness. As a flimflam man, he had to practice his wiles on country bumpkins and other credulous folks and stay away from skeptical city slickers. Either because suckers had grown scarce or sheriffs more vigilant, he now traversed entire states to peddle his wares.

In his incarnation as Dr. Levingston, Bill had to not only endure the silent lash of John's indignation, but forgo any claims to his money. Could God have devised a more excruciating curse for his sins? Faced with his son's dizzying wealth, he must have sometimes pondered whether to throw off his

disguise and resume his Rockefeller identity. Yet this was not a feasible option, since he could not do so without shocking Margaret and betraying his own shameful bigamy. So the father of the leading figure in the oil industry went on practicing his petty scams on the road under an assumed name.

Rockefeller’s sisters played a limited role in his adult life. His favorite sister, Lucy, was sweet and placid, arguably the best-adjusted sibling, but she was chronically sick and died in 1878 at age forty—the event that probably triggered the deterioration of Eliza’s health. Her husband, Pierson Briggs, spent nearly fifteen years as a purchasing agent for Standard Oil of Ohio. He was a kindly, jolly man and very popular with John’s children. After Lucy’s death, Briggs remarried into a wealthy Cleveland family while his musical daughter, Florence, spent a great deal of time at Forest Hill under the watchful care of John and Cettie.

The younger sister, Mary Ann, married a genial man named William Rudd, the president of Chandler and Rudd, a Cleveland grocery concern, and they had two sons and two daughters. Quiet and withdrawn, Mary Ann turned into a queerly reclusive personality. Always clad in funereal black clothes that covered a deformed body—some people thought she was a hunchback—she laid down arbitrary social rules at her Euclid Avenue house. For example, visitors had to arrive punctually and could only stay briefly. Despite her husband’s wealth, Mary Ann insisted on a crackpot frugality and behaved as if they were always strapped for cash. In a morbid caricature of the Protestant work ethic, she scrubbed the front porch of their plain white house, performed her own housework, and refused to have any servants. She never went to church and seldom visited John and Cettie, even though they lived a short distance away. The antithesis of his hermit wife, William Rudd was a frequent visitor at Forest Hill, where he found a refuge from the lugubrious atmosphere at home. One of John D.’s favorite people, Rudd overflowed with gags and pranks, and his pockets always bulged with nuts and candy for the children. One day, he lugged a sack of dirty old potatoes to Forest Hill; the Rockefeller children were mystified until they found a gold piece artfully tucked into each potato.

Of the three brothers, John remained the most like Eliza, while William mixed qualities of both parents. Frank aped Bill’s swaggering ways. He was an avid hunter and rollicking storyteller who loved to drink, smoke cigars, make boisterous jokes, and hobnob in Cleveland clubs. Yet increasingly, a disagreeable side surfaced in Frank: Choleric, paranoid, and suspicious, he constantly clashed with John. As one of Frank’s friends said, “You never saw two men from one family that were more unlike.”<sup>37</sup> Though they went through periods of reconciliation, their mutual dislike soon ripened into a hatred that split the family, with William lining up with John and Big Bill siding with Frank. Although he liked William—who often tried to make peace between his brothers—Frank felt William was too much under John’s thumb, and it irked him that he, too, didn’t rebel openly against John’s leadership.

After being wounded in the Union army, Frank attended business school and, like John and William, got a bookkeeping job in a small commission house. But unlike his brothers, he didn’t prosper, foreshadowing things to come. Trying to emulate his brothers, Frank entered oil refining as a competitor to Standard Oil after he married the tall, handsome Helen E. Scofield in 1870. The Scofields were a relatively old Cleveland family, and Helen’s father, William Scofield, was a partner in Alexander, Scofield and Company, one of the major refiners that John absorbed during the 1872 Cleveland Massacre. That Frank married the daughter of one of John’s chief competitors could only have been interpreted by John as a provocation.

In 1876, the antipathy between the two brothers flared into open conflict when Frank testified before a congressional committee probing the South Improvement Company and charged John with heavy-handed tactics in buying out Alexander, Scofield. Already sensing the press’s insatiable desire for incendiary statements about his brother, Frank electrified reporters with John’s warning, “We have a combination with the railroads. We are going to buy out all the refiners in Cleveland. We will give every one a chance to come in. We will give you a chance. Those who refuse will be crushed. If you don’t sell your property to us it will be valueless.”<sup>38</sup> According to Frank, the experience of Alexander, Scofield wasn’t unique. “There are some twenty men in Cleveland who sold out under the fright, and almost any of them would tell you that story.”<sup>39</sup> Confronted with this indictment years later, John shook his head sadly and moaned, “Poor Frank!”<sup>40</sup> Indeed, after these public outbursts, Frank often came to John and apologized profusely. “John, can you forgive me? I have been an ass.”<sup>41</sup> One possible reason for this contrition was that Frank was chronically in debt to his brother.

Every time the brothers tried to call a truce, it ended abysmally. After allegedly being squeezed out in 1872, Frank took the money for his Alexander, Scofield interest and invested in a fleet of Lake Erie boats. In a conciliatory gesture, John gave him a contract for Standard Oil shipments, but Frank botched the opportunity. While Frank was away hunting, Standard Oil urgently needed more lake shipments, and his poorly maintained fleet couldn’t cope with the increased volume. When Frank returned to Cleveland, John reprimanded him sharply. “Frank, this will have to stop. If you are going to attend to business, very well. If not, we shall have to make other arrangements.” When Frank grew belligerent, John replied, “What do you think your interest in those boats is worth? State your figure!” The following day, John wrote a check and bought up Frank’s interest in the boats.<sup>42</sup> Frank incessantly gambled in stocks and commodities, further alienating his more prudent brother.

Also aggravating fraternal tensions was the fact that John despised Frank’s father-in-law, William Scofield, a relationship so acrimonious that John supposedly told Sam Andrews on one occasion, “There, Sam, is Scofield. I’ll knife that fellow under the ribs some day. You’ll see.”<sup>43</sup> The story was told to Ida Tarbell by Cleveland refiner J. W. Fawcett and might be apocryphal—Rockefeller almost never spoke so viciously—but he did bear a special grudge against Scofield. When Standard Oil bought out Alexander, Scofield in 1872, the selling partners pledged to steer clear of refining. Nevertheless, a year later—in what Rockefeller considered an unforgivable breach of faith—Scofield organized a new refining company, Scofield, Shurmer and Teagle. “They were a lot of pirates,” Rockefeller said later. “You may call them that with justice.”<sup>44</sup> After fuming for three years, he cut a secret deal with his nemesis in 1876. Investing \$10,000 in Scofield, Shurmer, he forged a joint venture, agreed to purchase crude oil for them, market their refined oil, and negotiate their railroad rebates, while also assigning them a refining quota. In thrashing out this deal, Rockefeller and his new secret partners agreed to communicate by a special post-office box, prompting Ida Tarbell to write, “In fact, smugglers and house-breakers never surrounded their operations with more mystery.”<sup>45</sup> If Rockefeller imagined he had neutralized a rival, he was soon disabused. When Scofield, Shurmer produced far beyond their quotas, Standard Oil was forced to sue them. In a significant decision—but one that didn’t inhibit Rockefeller in future—a Cleveland judge ruled against Standard Oil in 1880, saying that by assigning production limits to a competitor, it had executed a contract in restraint of trade.

In 1878, in yet another affront to his brother, Frank joined with C. W. Scofield and J. W. Fawcett to start a Cleveland refinery known as the Pioneer

Oil Works. Often operating through William as an intermediary, John began a determined campaign to bring Frank's company into Standard Oil, telling him that Standard could refine oil at half the cost. At first, this campaign seemed to backfire. In the spring of 1879, Frank began to plot strategy with some independent refiners from Marietta, Ohio, who had accused Standard Oil of colluding with the railroads and wanted to take the company to court. John D. was mortified when subordinates informed him that his youngest brother was holed up at a drugstore down the block along with men who were trying to buttonhole Standard Oil executives and serve them with subpoenas. Things grew only more lunatic with the passage of time.

## *Insurrection in the Oil Fields*

In 1875, Henry E. Wrigley, the head of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey, issued a doomsday warning that the state—and hence the world—production of oil had peaked and would soon experience a precipitous decline, aggravating fears that had overshadowed the oil industry since its inception. Within months, his forecast was refuted when a new field was discovered in Bradford, Pennsylvania, northeast of the old Oil Creek fields. As thousands of wild-eyed drillers besieged the area, oil production soared, and prices sank from \$4 a barrel in 1876 to 70 cents two years later. Once again, the industry’s salvation proved its undoing, with the boom-and-bust cycle unleashing volatile emotions among producers who found themselves rich one moment and then desperate the next.

As the master of storage tanks and pipelines, refineries and by-product plants, *Rockefeller* had become a byword in the oil fields, a phantom of vast, indeterminate proportions who operated entirely through agents. His remoteness frustrated opponents, who felt they were boxing with a ghost. In the crisis provoked by the new Bradford production, he was blamed for price manipulation even when he simply reflected the law of supply and demand. With the immediate-shipment controversy of 1878, the running warfare between Standard Oil and the producers expanded from minor skirmishes into a large, violent engagement reminiscent of the South Improvement Company furor.

The roots of the controversy were as follows. As oil wells sprang up around Bradford, Standard Oil wanted to retain its pipeline monopoly and worked overtime to connect new wells to its system free of charge. In a bravura performance, Daniel O’Day’s scrappy, hustling teams hooked up five wells a day to the United Pipe Lines network and threw up huge tank farms to store the surplus oil. They moved at a breathtaking tempo: Between April and November 1878, the Bradford tankage swelled from a little more than 1 million barrels to 4.5 million. Nonetheless, the producers, repeating past errors, exercised no discipline and drilled far beyond the system’s capacity. When their oil ran into the ground for lack of storage space, they didn’t praise Standard’s efforts to accommodate them but detected a malevolent conspiracy. O’Day’s letters to Rockefeller reflect exasperation at the misperception. No matter how fast they went, he moaned, “There will be at least ten thousand barrels a day that I don’t know how we can move, no matter how good our disposition to do it might be.”<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, if he didn’t create the crisis, as many producers believed, Rockefeller never passed up a chance to exploit a legitimate advantage against his beleaguered rivals. With its tanks overflowing, Standard Oil issued a sweeping edict that it would no longer accept oil for temporary storage but only for immediate shipment to refineries. Standard Oil quoted a purchase price for crude oil a full 20 percent below prevailing prices, then stalled on payments to desperate producers. One market letter caustically described this policy as a “bull issued by his infallible holiness Rockefeller.” It was a terribly high-handed and insensitive way to respond to the crisis.<sup>2</sup> But even by oil-industry standards, the producers reacted with exceptional fury. Every day, sullen mobs lined up at the Standard Oil office and grudgingly negotiated their oil shipments. With wide room for partiality, Standard Oil favored shipments to its own refiners—a fact that struck Rockefeller as eminently fair—while producers argued that the pipeline network was a common carrier and obligated to treat everyone equally. Producers felt that their fortunes, their very lives, hung in the balance. As one Standard Oil lawyer recalled, “Arson and murder were threatened by the producers, who marched in masked bands at midnight uttering their threats.”<sup>3</sup> One of O’Day’s men reminisced, “They paraded at night in big gangs, covered with sheets from head to foot in regular ku-klux fashion, groaning and booing the Standard.”<sup>4</sup> Orators urged the burning of Standard pumping stations, the skulls and crossbones appeared on Standard buildings, and vandalism spread.

To mollify producers, the state of Pennsylvania deputed William McCandless, its commissioner of internal affairs, to study the petroleum industry. Officials of the Standard pipelines, who now arrogantly behaved as if they owned the oil industry, ignored his subpoenas and boycotted testimony. Nevertheless, when McCandless issued a report in October 1878 that exonerated Standard Oil, the producers erupted in hysterical protest. It was widely rumored that McCandless had been bribed, and on the Bradford streets he was hung in effigy with a big, bogus \$20,000 check, signed by Rockefeller and endorsed by the Pennsylvania Railroad, protruding from his pocket. Newspapers told how one Bradford man invited Rockefeller to the region but then, remembering the imbroglio, warned him instead, “Don’t you do it, for if you do, you will never come back alive.”<sup>5</sup>



***William Rockefeller, brother of John D. and a leading Standard Oil executive. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)***

The immediate-shipment controversy engendered mutual enmity, for Rockefeller saw the producers as so many ingrates and malcontents whose oil was worthless without his superefficient United Pipe Lines system, which would soon be connected to twenty thousand wells. He mockingly described his foes’ attitude as follows: “We have disregarded all advice, and produced oil in excess of the means of storing and shipping it. We have not built storage of our own. How dare you refuse to take all we produce? Why do you not pay us the high prices of 1876, without regard to the fact that the glut



has depressed every market?”<sup>6</sup> The episode convinced Rockefeller that the producers nursed an unreasonable hostility against him, and this inoculated him against even valid criticism. But unlike the producers, Standard Oil paid no real penalty for the Bradford crisis and in 1878 declared an impressive \$60 dividend on shares with a \$100 par value. Rockefeller had positioned himself exactly where he wished to be—poised to profit from either surplus or scarcity and all but immune to the vagaries of the marketplace.

As masses of drillers descended upon Bradford, this major shift in the geography of oil awakened dormant ambitions in Rockefeller’s foe, Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad. As Standard Oil erased the surviving independent refiners, competing pipeline and railroad officials were petrified that Standard might soon be in a position to eliminate their oil traffic at whim. Since it had tracks near the Bradford wells, the Pennsylvania spotted a chance to loosen Standard Oil’s grip and win new business. Its vehicle for this challenge was its assertive subsidiary, the Empire Transportation Company, which owned five hundred miles of pipeline and one thousand tank cars. Empire had had the temerity to threaten Standard Oil in its refining strongholds, buying up rivals in New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh and trying to win over new refining customers with bargain transportation rates. Now, as if spoiling for a fight, the Empire began to lay pipes for pumping crude oil from Bradford to the seaboard refineries—a direct challenge to Standard Oil dominance.

The driving force behind this incursion was a man who was *almost* a match for Rockefeller but who fancied that, had Rockefeller only played fair, he would have been much *more* than a match: Colonel Joseph D. Potts, president of Empire Transportation. A civil engineer descended from a family of Quaker iron-masters, Potts was a capable man who had attained a colonel’s rank in the Civil War. He had a prominent nose and a long preacher’s face, fringed by a white beard. Gravely earnest, no less conversant with the Bible than with the oil industry, Potts aspired to be Rockefeller’s equal. If Rockefeller respected Potts’s “indomitable will,” he also patronized him as “a shrewd oily man, as smooth as oil.”<sup>7</sup> Potts repaid the compliment, castigating Rockefeller as a merciless predator. Of Rockefeller’s current refiners’ cartel, the Central Refiners’ Association, Potts said memorably, “It resembled the gentle fanning of the vampire’s wing, and it had the same end in view—the undisturbed abstraction of the victim’s blood.”<sup>8</sup>

When Potts poached on his territory, Rockefeller demanded a meeting with Tom Scott and A. J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad. As his private reminiscences attest, Rockefeller was cynical about Empire, which he thought a transparent front for corrupt Pennsylvania officials to line their pockets with profits that belonged rightly to shareholders; it was also, he saw, a handy vehicle for the railroad to cheat on pooling agreements while escaping detection. In confronting the railroad officials, Rockefeller struck a characteristic tone of injured innocence: “Here, I have gone out of my way to be friendly to the Pennsylvania in the allotment of oil shipments and now you gentlemen are permitting your associate, Colonel Potts, actually to invade the Central Association’s field. Why, it is nothing less than piracy! You must call off this poacher, Potts.”<sup>9</sup> Although nearly two-thirds of the oil carried by the Pennsylvania Railroad now originated with Standard Oil, Scott decided to flout his biggest customer and, if not annihilate Rockefeller, chop him down to size.

Rockefeller interpreted Scott’s intransigence as a declaration of war. In taking on the Pennsylvania Railroad, he was battling America’s most powerful corporation, yet he proceeded with unwavering confidence. In spring 1877, Rockefeller told railroad officials point-blank that if Empire didn’t retreat from refining, Standard Oil would divert its shipments to other railroads. When they didn’t flinch, Rockefeller launched an all-out attack. To starve out the railroad, he idled all his Pittsburgh refineries and ordered corresponding increases in output in his Cleveland refineries. He sent out word that Standard Oil refineries should fiercely undersell Empire refineries in every market where they vied for kerosene sales. Turning to the two railroads long solidly in his corner, the Erie and the New York Central, Rockefeller had them trim rates to ratchet up the pressure on the Pennsylvania Railroad. To handle the extra volume expected on these two railroads, Flagler negotiated a deal with William Vanderbilt to build another six hundred tank cars. With blazing speed, Rockefeller was on his way to humbling the world’s largest freight carrier, a company long thought invincible in the business and political world. Afterward, A. J. Cassatt admitted that the railroad had to grant such large rebates to keep up with Standard Oil that it ended up literally paying shippers to transport their oil.

In the end, providence itself conspired in the railroad’s comeuppance. As he slashed rates to withstand the Standard onslaught, Tom Scott fired hundreds of workers and reduced wages 20 percent. When he doubled the length of trains without expanding their crews, trainmen walked off the job in protest. After the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad announced comparable wage cuts in 1877, the protest flamed up into a general railroad strike, one of the bloodiest battles in American labor history, resulting in dozens of fatalities. In Pittsburgh alone, 500 tank cars, 120 locomotives, and 27 buildings were torched by union vandals, sabotage so costly that Pennsylvania officials tapped Wall Street for a large emergency loan from Drexel, Morgan and Company. As state governors ordered out their militias and President Rutherford B. Hayes supplemented them with federal troops, the country watched the insurrection in horror. However pleased by the railroad’s travails, Rockefeller must have felt a dreadful chill as rumors circulated that two thousand pistol-packing radicals would march down Euclid Avenue. After the riots ended, one Titusville reporter disclosed that the Oil Creek citizenry had nearly exploited the upheavals to take revenge against Standard Oil: “Had certain men given the word there would have been an outbreak that contemplated the seizure of the railroads and running them, the capture and control of the United Pipe Line’s property, and in all probability the burning of all the property of the Standard Oil Company in the region.”<sup>10</sup> Though after burning more than two thousand freight cars the strikers capitulated, their revolt inaugurated a new age of labor militance in American industry.

Reeling from these blows, the Pennsylvania Railroad skipped its dividend, sending its share price tumbling on the stock exchange. Though Potts wished to fight on, Scott was inclined to relent. Although the railroad didn’t wholly own Empire, it had an option to buy the remaining shares, and, faced with Potts’s recalcitrance, Scott did just that. It amused Rockefeller how agilely Scott switched direction when it served his interest and how—without notifying Potts, who would resent his treachery—he dispatched A. J. Cassatt to Cleveland to tell Rockefeller and Flagler that he was “anxious for a settlement.”<sup>11</sup> Rockefeller gloated over Potts’s crushing defeat: “The effort of Colonel Potts to make it appear that he was the great Moses failed, utterly failed.”<sup>12</sup>

Empire’s capitulation represented a greater boon than Rockefeller had envisaged, for the spoils were bountiful. The cash-strapped Scott didn’t simply agree to stop refining oil but offered Standard Oil a huge fire sale of assets—refineries, storage tanks, pipelines, a fleet of steamships, tugboats, barges, loading docks—in fact, far more than Standard could afford. During negotiations with Rockefeller at a Philadelphia hotel in October 1877, Scott swept

in with a selfconfident panache that thinly camouflaged his defeat. As Rockefeller recalled, “I can see [Scott] now with his big soft hat, marching into the room in that little hotel to meet us; not to sweep us away as he had always done, but coming in with a smile, walking right up to the cannon’s mouth. ‘Well, boys, what will we do?’ ” In the ensuing talks, Scott drove a tough bargain and refused to budge on two conditions: that Standard Oil buy *all* of Empire’s assets, including its antiquated lake vessels; and that within twenty-four hours it pay \$2.5 million of the \$3.4 million offering price by certified check.

This last demand taxed even Standard Oil, which had only about half the necessary cash in its coffers. Rockefeller raced back to Cleveland and flew through local banks in a hectic tour such as he hadn’t made in years. Climbing into his buggy, he approached one bank president after another and told them breathlessly, “I must have all you’ve got! I need it all! It’s all right! Give me what you have! I must catch the noon train.”<sup>13</sup> Unable to persuade his Standard Oil confrères to buy the steamships—Rockefeller always operated by consensus—he had the nerve to borrow several hundred thousand dollars on his own account and buy the ships himself. Although these money-losing ships drained him for years, their purchase was dictated by the larger interest of Standard Oil, and he never regretted his snap decision.

In dueling with Scott, Rockefeller didn’t try to demolish him—as Scott might have done to him—but called a truce to strengthen their alliance. His constant aim was to be conciliatory whenever possible and extend his range of influence. In a new pooling arrangement, Standard Oil agreed to ship at least two million barrels yearly over the Pennsylvania Railroad and restore its faded luster in the oil trade; in exchange, Standard would pocket a 10 percent commission (read: rebate) on its shipments over the road. More important, Standard was designated as the enforcer—that is, the enforcer—of a new master plan brokered by the railroads whereby the railroad would receive 47 percent of all oil traffic; the Erie and the New York Central 21 percent apiece; and the B&O 11 percent. Tightening the vise, Rockefeller’s pipeline chieftain, Daniel O’Day, informed the Pennsylvania Railroad in February 1878 that Standard would henceforth want at least twenty cents for *every* barrel of crude oil the railroad shipped—an arrangement Standard Oil had foisted upon the Erie and the New York Central. Having outsmarted the largest railroad, Rockefeller had acquired a stranglehold on the three major roads, and his taming of the imperious Tom Scott guaranteed that no railroad president would ever dare to tangle with him again.

The defeat left Colonel Potts a broken, humiliated man. As his son recalled, “He always believed some of the Pennsylvania directors had been approached by the Standard and bought out. Others talked of bribery; of course nothing could be proved.”<sup>14</sup> In all likelihood, Potts didn’t want to admit that he had been outwitted by Rockefeller. Ida Tarbell, in her romanticized view of some of Rockefeller’s foes, converted Colonel Potts into an incorruptible martyr, the Abraham Lincoln of the oil industry, crucified by Standard Oil, when he was just an able, aggressive businessman who lost out in a power struggle to a shrewder, bolder opponent. In the early 1880s, Potts renounced his principled opposition to Standard Oil and became an active director of the National Transit Company, a Standard Oil pipeline subsidiary.

The Grand Guignol of the Empire battle diverted attention from another momentous drama that unfolded at about the same time: the purchase of the Columbia Conduit Company from Dr. David Hostetter. For Rockefeller, the Columbia purchase had far-reaching strategic implications, for the pipeline functioned as the B&O’s crude-oil lifeline. Columbia pumped western Pennsylvania crude to the B&O’s Pittsburgh terminal, whence it traveled by rail to Baltimore refineries. Thus, if he could smother Columbia, Rockefeller would be able to conquer the fourth and last major railroad system while also gaining uncontested control of *all* major pipeline systems connecting oil wells to railroad trunk lines. He would have extended his reach, in short, into every nook and cranny of the oil industry. As Ida Tarbell noted, after the Columbia Conduit fell into Rockefeller’s lap, “Practically not a barrel of oil could get to a railroad without [Rockefeller’s] consent.”<sup>15</sup>

By this point, Standard Oil had effectively stamped out competing refiners in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh and faced only a smattering of weak New York holdouts. The last major pockets of resistance lay in West Virginia and Baltimore, whose refiners relied upon the B&O. Thus, by controlling the Columbia Conduit Company, Rockefeller would be able to snuff out the last independent refiners. Conversely, if he controlled the West Virginia and Baltimore refineries, he could pressure the railroad into submission.

The man assigned to carry out this convoluted campaign was Johnson Newlon Camden, the Parkersburg, West Virginia, refiner whose company had secretly joined Standard some years earlier. Elected to Congress several times, Camden later served as a U.S. senator, but his civic involvement didn’t translate into superior business ethics. On the contrary, Camden dealt with rivals in an especially coercive manner, as he showed in early 1876 when absorbing Pittsburgh refiners. To snuff out the last competitors, he peremptorily informed Alexander McDonald, the leading supplier of barrel staves to the city’s independent refiners, “that no staves must be sold to Pittsburgh, that it was our policy to control the oil business of Pittsburgh by controlling the supply of staves and barrels at that point,” as he told Standard headquarters. Further, McDonald was under strict instructions, he said, “that he must ship no staves to Pittsburgh without [Standard Oil’s] consent.”<sup>16</sup> Whenever competition flared up in Pittsburgh, Rockefeller dispatched Camden to douse the flames, once telling him, “At this particular moment it is especially important that outside Pittsburgh refineries should have no chance whatever in any market for local trade oil. . . . Our feeling of anxiety to accomplish the object of centralization is so strong we want you to yield to it for a few days longer when we hope you will be forever relieved.”<sup>17</sup>

Like Rockefeller, Camden had a devious talent for concocting anticompetitive practices and paralyzing the trade. To soften up local competitors, he cornered the supply of West Virginia crude, leaving independent refiners high and dry. When confronted with such shameless manipulation, Rockefeller sighed, disclaimed any knowledge, and blamed overly zealous subordinates—a recurring pose in his career. But Camden, like other subordinates, kept Rockefeller thoroughly posted about his actions and told him apropos of early negotiations with independents, “I am having interviews with all the little refinery men here [Parkersburg] and at Marietta. . . . We will either get them or starve them.”<sup>18</sup>

Camden was thwarted by the same problems that had confronted Rockefeller in forming cartels in other cities. Aware that Standard would buy ramshackle plants to shut them down, many blackmailers entered the business in order to sell out. The harried Camden grouched that small refineries were “multiplying like rats” and concluded despairingly that they would be “as hard to keep down as weeds in a garden.”<sup>19</sup> As Standard Oil succeeded in steadying kerosene prices, it drew people back into the business. At this point, Rockefeller took a tougher line with blackmailers who wanted to be bought out. In responding to several Baltimore refiners who had previously rejected fair prices from Standard Oil but now wished to sell, Rockefeller sounded like the voice of divine retribution, telling Camden that “they will be sick unto death now having failed in their wicked scheme. A good

sweating will be healthy for them. If . . . these people could wait and sell out their works at a loss, thereby making a poor speculation of blackmailing, it would probably cure this batch and save you endless trouble in future.”<sup>20</sup> Camden’s files support Rockefeller’s contention that he bought loads of worthless junk and enriched men who knew little about refining oil but everything about extortion.

Applying a formula that Rockefeller had perfected in New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, Camden bought waterfront property in Baltimore, where he erected wharves and warehouses for a B&O oil-export terminal. With Standard Oil now embedded in the local transportation infrastructure, it became impossible for Baltimore refiners to operate autonomously. Standard Oil had become virtually indistinguishable from the railroad industry. On December 21, 1877, Camden triumphantly told Rockefeller that they had completed their conquest of the last independent refining center. “We have cleared up every seed in which a refining interest could spring up in Baltimore, so far as we can at present determine.”<sup>21</sup>

Thus, only five years after the Cleveland Massacre, the thirty-eight-year-old Rockefeller, with piratical flair and tactical brilliance, had come to control nearly 90 percent of the oil refined in the United States. Perhaps a hundred tiny refineries still eked out a meager living in the interstices of the industry, but they were mostly tolerated as minor nuisances and scarcely threatened Standard Oil. As Rockefeller himself acknowledged, these isolated cases served a useful political purpose, providing a mirage of competition when it had ceased to exist altogether. He liked to point to these doughty survivors as proof that all the stories about the strong-arm tactics of Standard Oil were grossly exaggerated and that the oil industry was a scene of vibrant competition.

In his implacable quest to rule the oil business, Rockefeller shifted focus in the late 1870s from the railroads to outright ownership of the superior alternative: pipelines. Undeterred by prophecies of exhausted oil fields, Standard Oil had both the capital and the incentive to blanket western Pennsylvania with a gigantic maze of pipelines. By 1879, the combine controlled almost the entire pipeline system, siphoning crude oil from thousands of wells and pumping it to storage tanks or railroad depots. When a driller struck oil, Standard Oil swooped down in a flash to connect his well, assuring both his livelihood and irrevocable reliance on the combine.

Standard’s rough, brawling pipeline boss, Daniel O’Day, made sure that his construction gangs kept pace with the new fields, laying pipe at a furious pace of up to one and a half miles per day. O’Day stood forth as the agent of wealth or ruin for producers. If he wanted to punish a producer, he might hint that the producer’s backcountry well was too inaccessible for Standard to run a line through the woods. And if the producer lacked money to erect storage tanks, he might watch his fortune seep into the ground as he bickered impotently with Standard Oil.

That O’Day exploited his power to silence dissent and cripple refractory competitors is amply documented in Rockefeller’s papers. It is important to recall that O’Day, like other Standard Oil lieutenants in the field, was the executor of Rockefeller’s will, whatever the latter’s disclaimers. When O’Day discovered that a producer named Murphy held a small stake in a competing pipeline, he dispatched to the scene John D. Archbold, who pointedly reminded this upstart that he had expected Standard “to take care of his production that might be located far back in the interior, as we have always done for him, and where such companies as the Pittsburgh line would not care to go.”<sup>22</sup> O’Day scared the daylights out of railroads, too. When one railway official complained that Standard was hogging crude-oil shipments between Olean, New York, and Buffalo, O’Day retorted that Standard Oil might just decide to ship all the refined oil by pipeline as well. As O’Day reported with glee to Rockefeller—who again professed ignorance of such machinations—“This seemed to stagger him a little and we may be able to hold it over him (as a club) successfully.”<sup>23</sup> While Rockefeller communicated with his subordinates in genteel fashion, discussing muscular tactics with unctuous euphemisms, his colleagues were less restrained and gloried in their brutal shenanigans.

As Rockefeller consolidated his virtual monopoly over the pipeline network, it provoked pandemonium along Oil Creek, where he was now dubbed the Lord of the Oil Regions. In late 1877, desperate independents thronged a “Petroleum Parliament” in Titusville, hoping to plot their escape from Standard Oil servitude. These extended, crowded sessions generated a host of resolutions, including enactment of a free-pipeline bill and another to prohibit railroad-freight discrimination. But Standard Oil spiked all such reform efforts through the liberal application of backdoor payments to legislators.

In a historic departure, the independents endorsed plans for two long-distance pipelines that would bypass the whole Standard-rigged web of pipelines and railroads and open a path to the sea. The less ambitious project was the Equitable Petroleum Company, formed by Lewis Emery, Jr., to pipe oil from the Bradford fields to a railroad that would then carry the oil to Buffalo, where it would travel east over the Erie Canal. This roundabout route posed only a modest threat to Standard Oil, yet Rockefeller wired Daniel O’Day, “Don’t let them get a pipe to Buffalo.”<sup>24</sup> To sabotage the effort, Standard Oil unleashed its full arsenal of obstructive tactics. It bought up the connecting railroad to Buffalo; threatened to yank orders from pipe manufacturers who sold to Equitable; and disconnected pipelines from all Bradford refiners who dealt with it. Despite this intimidation, the pipeline commenced operations in August 1878, exposing the first small chink in Standard Oil’s armor.

The second, far more threatening project, led by Byron Benson, envisaged a pipeline to the seaboard, a revolutionary development in long-distance transport. Before this time, pipelines had never covered more than thirty miles. This seaboard pipeline would eclipse the railroads and shatter the whole complex structure of secret rebates and drawbacks that Rockefeller had cobbled together. Before the seaboard-pipeline battle, one could argue that Standard Oil had been an innovative force, modernizing the industry through up-to-date plants, superior management, and smoother coordination of the oil flow from wellhead to consumer. Now, it became a benighted custodian of the status quo, squelching progress to safeguard its own interests.

At first, the independents (acting through the Tidewater Pipe Line Company) contemplated running a line from Oil Creek to Baltimore, but J. N. Camden quickly dealt a mortal blow to this plan: He bought an exclusive pipeline charter in the Maryland legislature that carried an ironclad guarantee that no other company would receive a charter that session. The Standard Oil hierarchy in Cleveland was kept closely apprised of his underhanded activities. Of the substantial money needed to grease this shady deal, Camden told Flagler: “The price is nominally \$40,000.”<sup>25</sup>

Foiled in crossing Maryland, the Tidewater Pipe Line Company then opted for a 110-mile pipeline from Bradford to Williamsport in central Pennsylvania, where the oil would then journey east by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. On November 22, 1878, it began its great race to the sea,

laying down a ribbon of pipe at a rapid rate of two miles a day. Since the whole concept was experimental—nobody knew if oil could be pumped over 2,600-foot mountains—the Standard Oil cognoscenti reacted with cynical snickers. Writing to Rockefeller, a smug John D. Archbold professed himself “greatly amused” by the “seaboard scheme.”<sup>26</sup> Rockefeller was dubious yet circumspect, predicting at one point, “They are quite likely to have some disappointments yet, before consummating all their plans in that direction.”<sup>27</sup> The Tidewater people mobilized powerful financial interests, and two Wall Street tycoons, George F. Baker and Harris C. Fahnestock of First National Bank, aided them financially.

The fierceness of Standard Oil’s response was previewed in one of O’Day’s first letters to Rockefeller about the mavericks. “I would have no mercy on them that don’t deserve nor appreciate it.”<sup>28</sup> In combating this challenge, Rockefeller again showed himself a virtuoso of industrial warfare. He sent his underlings to tank manufacturers, warning them not to deal with Tidewater, and deluged tank-car manufacturers with orders that kept them busy, depriving the pipeline of rolling stock needed to transport construction materials. Refiners who used Tidewater were lured away with concessionary rates on Standard Oil pipelines, and Rockefeller swiftly bought up any remaining independent refineries that might be prospective Tidewater customers.

Standard Oil also embarked on a real-estate spree of monumental proportions, buying up strips of land or “dead lines” that ran in a straight line from the northern to the southern border of Pennsylvania, to block the Tidewater’s advance. Overnight, bewildered farmers became rich by selling parcels for extravagant sums to Standard Oil agents who invaded their sleepy towns. In another tack, Standard Oil placed stories in local papers, warning farmers who sold to Tidewater that their crops would be spoiled by pipeline leaks. And Standard Oil conspired with the railroads to withhold permission from any pipeline wishing to cross their tracks. Quick to exploit this, O’Day told Rockefeller, “The Penna R.R. should be informed of the efforts that are being made towards laying pipe lines from the Bradford District and they should see to it that the right of way secured some time since in their interest ‘across the country’ is well guarded and watched.”<sup>29</sup>

Still, Tidewater pushed relentlessly ahead. When Standard Oil bought an entire valley at one point, the unstoppable Tidewater changed course and climbed up over the surrounding hills. It began to look as if it might actually outflank Rockefeller and his resolute henchmen. Right on the eve of Tidewater’s success, Rockefeller decided that he might recoup in the political arena what he was on the verge of losing in the economic sphere. It was in the last-minute effort to halt Tidewater that Standard Oil first resorted to the wholesale bribery of state legislators.

Before wading into the muck of Standard Oil’s political operations, we should note the general squalor of business-government dealings in the Gilded Age. Rockefeller had emerged in a fluid business world, with little government regulation to check entrepreneurs. At the same time, the government was heavily involved in the economy as it awarded land grants, railway franchises, and bank charters. After the Civil War, Washington hotels were crammed with businessmen jockeying for government contracts and toting suitcases full of cash to obtain them. President Grant admired the industrial captains, aspired to their society, and assembled a cabinet full of cronies and mediocrities eager to do their bidding. Government degenerated into a sink of iniquity, reflected in Mark Twain’s witticism at a contemporary banquet, “There is a Congressman—I mean a son of a bitch—But why do I repeat myself?”<sup>30</sup> In 1876, politics touched a new nadir when Rutherford B. Hayes defeated Samuel J. Tilden for the presidency in what is now commonly regarded to have been a stolen election. A tremendous amount of money changed hands as businessmen and legislators trafficked in mutual manipulation. Businessmen such as Rockefeller preferred to think of themselves as victims of political extortion, not as initiators of bribes. Yet despite decades of categorical denials, Rockefeller’s papers reveal that he and Standard Oil entered willingly into a staggering amount of corruption. (We should remark in passing that Allan Nevins, who had access to Rockefeller’s papers, somehow managed to document only a single instance of Standard Oil bribery—in the Pennsylvania state legislature in 1887.) Standard Oil officials betrayed no qualms about paying bribes, and there is no recorded instance of Rockefeller rebuking a subordinate for engaging in graft.

During the Tidewater battle, Standard lobbied hard to perpetuate the system that allowed state legislatures to grant exclusive pipeline charters. Representing independent producers, reformers in the late 1870s introduced measures in several states to enact free-pipe bills, which would enable Standard Oil foes to lay competing lines and enjoy the right of eminent domain; under the existing system, Tidewater had to buy costly rights-of-way along its 110-mile east-west route. Standard Oil regarded these bills with such apprehension that Henry Flagler returned from Florida, where he was recuperating from poor health, to spearhead the lobbying campaign. To foster the impression of a popular groundswell against the bill, he hired lawyers to pose as incensed farmers and landowners in favor of the status quo. Flagler and A. J. Cassatt secretly exchanged drafts of the Pennsylvania bill and killed it with crippling amendments.

To stifle a similar pipeline bill in New York, Flagler coordinated efforts with Hugh J. Hewett of the Erie Railroad. Payoffs were an expensive business, and even Standard Oil welcomed rich partners to ease the burden. At one point, Flagler grumbled to a railroad leader, “We have spent a large sum of money to squelch Seaboard Pipe Line Charters,” and he sourly asked that the railroads pick up the tab for these “lobbying” efforts in the future.<sup>31</sup> When Flagler recruited an Albany lobbyist, aptly named Smith M. Weed, he was ready to distribute \$60,000 to legislators, but Hewett demurred and insisted that \$15,000 would suffice.<sup>32</sup> “I send \$10,000 currency,” Flagler agreed, adding, “if you need the other \$5000 or any part of it, send word by bearer and (we or he) can get it for you.”<sup>33</sup> That \$15,000 would today be worth \$220,000.

As always, Rockefeller floated serenely above the bustle, pretending to be oblivious to any wrongdoing, but his correspondence implicates him directly in this skulduggery. On March 4, 1878, A. N. Cole, a New York state senator, wrote to Rockefeller on New York State Senate stationery and presented himself as an “attorney” to be hired by Standard Oil to manage the campaign against the free-pipe bill. Evidently, Rockefeller responded favorably to this overture, for Cole then mapped out an extensive campaign of pressure and subornation, complete with precise money-laundering instructions:

*Two or three good attorneys will be wanted in the Senate, and five or six in the Assembly, and these I have no hesitation in undertaking to employ, if authorized to do so. . . . Government bonds are better to deal in than money, since, were “attorneys” to be paid in cash, it might be construed into corruption, but then one can sell bonds, you know, in fact, dealing in them is an eminently becoming business. . . . In Heaven’s name, don’t make this letter public, since, were you to do so, I fear my brethren of the Methodist Church might fear I had so far fallen from grace as to leave no hope of recovery.*<sup>34</sup>

While Standard Oil conducted statehouse offensives against free pipelines, it also put out brushfires in Washington as public sentiment began to lean toward railroad reform. The electorate was beginning to realize that big-business domination of the transportation network was incompatible with a competitive economy. In 1876, a bill was introduced in Congress “to regulate Commerce and prohibit unjust discriminations by Common Carriers.”<sup>35</sup> By this point, J. N. Camden was a West Virginia congressman. Since he also headed the Camden Consolidated Oil Company, covertly owned by Standard Oil, he kept Rockefeller and Flagler minutely informed of legislative developments and swapped messages with them in Standard Oil code. Regarding the railroad bill, Camden assured Flagler, “I have the ear of some half dozen Senators that I will see. I can’t think there is the least probable danger of such a bill getting through the Senate.”<sup>36</sup> True to Camden’s words, the railroad bill passed the House of Representatives then faltered in the Senate.

By the late 1870s, as news of his wealth spread, Rockefeller was badgered for campaign contributions, sometimes by the same politicians who lambasted Standard Oil. When Ohio representative James A. Garfield ran for president in 1880, he sounded out a Cleveland source, Amos Townsend, as to whether “Mr. Rockefeller” might be sympathetic. When Garfield asked, “Do you know his state of feeling toward me?” Townsend advised extreme caution. “It would not do for him to visit us, as it would be reported and *cut* like a *knife* in Pennsylvania.”<sup>37</sup> A more subtle approach was another matter, and Rockefeller, along with Jay Gould, Chauncey Depew, and Levi Morton, ended up a top contributor to Garfield’s victorious campaign. Garfield was the first of many presidential contenders who grappled with the quandary of whether it made better sense to court Rockefeller’s money or capitalize on public animosity against him.

For all his success in bottling up pipeline bills, Rockefeller couldn’t scotch the Tidewater. As the project neared completion, he executed a flurry of last-minute maneuvers and even tried to buy an interest in the operation for \$300,000—all to no avail. On May 28, 1879, the Tidewater people held their breath as the great pumps whirled into motion near Bradford and the oil began to slide eastward through the pipeline. Nobody knew if the crude oil would actually scale the intervening mountains, and for days people expectantly tracked its slow progress. After seven days of suspense, the first oil drops sputtered out the Williamsport end and led to jubilation in western Pennsylvania, where Tidewater promised deliverance from the Standard Oil monopoly. Construction of the pipeline rated as one of the supreme engineering feats of its day, and its impresario, Byron Benson, achieved heroic status.

Faced with a rare defeat, Standard Oil did not react with equanimity. Daniel O’Day wanted to resort to thuggery to smash the pipeline. “I feel extremely satisfied that the Tidewater Pipe Line can be stopped and torn up if it is thought best to do it,” he told Rockefeller. “I also think that the sooner the Tidewater knows this the better, as it might have a healthy effect upon them.”<sup>38</sup> Rockefeller vetoed such crude reprisals and conceived a more elegant solution to the Tidewater menace. He had to bide his time, though, because he first had to dispose of two legal challenges that dogged his footsteps throughout 1879.

Some of Rockefeller’s critics weren’t content to expose him but wanted to put this pious churchgoer and Sunday-school superintendent behind bars. The producers were still seething from the immediate-shipment controversy and Standard Oil’s refusal to store their surplus oil. One upshot was that on April 29, 1879, a grand jury in Clarion County, Pennsylvania, indicted nine Standard Oil officials—including Rockefeller, Flagler, O’Day, and Archbold—and charged them with conspiracy to monopolize the oil business, extort railroad rebates, and manipulate prices to cripple rivals. Those who resided in Pennsylvania, such as Warden, Lockhart, and Vandergrift, were arrested and released on bail while those, such as Rockefeller, who lived outside the state were able to evade prosecution. Reformers who stalked the Standard knew they had to get Rockefeller or Flagler on the stand, for many top executives were kept in the dark about the organization’s intricate inner workings. When Captain Jacob J. Vandergrift testified at an Ohio hearing that spring, for instance, Flagler was able to reassure Rockefeller: “If it is a question of railroad freights, and discrimination in them, my judgment is [Vandergrift] knows nothing, or if knowing will not be compelled to answer.”<sup>39</sup>

In spring 1879, Rockefeller began a thirty-year career as a fugitive from justice, learning to stay nimbly ahead of the law. For all his scoffing about the Clarion County indictments—“This case will never be brought to trial”—he took no chances.<sup>40</sup> Afraid of being extradited from New York, Rockefeller asked Chauncey Depew, the attorney for the New York Central, to approach New York governor Lucius Robinson, who agreed to deny any such requests from Pennsylvania. At the same time, Rockefeller had A. J. Cassatt approach Pennsylvania governor Henry M. Hoyt with a request that he cease further efforts to haul him into court. To make sure that the Pennsylvania Railroad didn’t double-cross him, Rockefeller boosted production at his Philadelphia refineries serviced by the railroad—a generous bonus that could be canceled at any moment for misbehavior. Meticulous in such maneuvers, Rockefeller made sure to leave no fingerprints and told Captain Vandergrift that it was “of utmost importance that nobody knows of [Standard Oil’s] thought of doing something about [the suit] outside the [Clarion] County.”<sup>41</sup>

From the outset, Standard Oil defendants saw an advantage in the Clarion County affair, which enabled them to refuse to testify at many civil proceedings by claiming it might harm them in the criminal case. Nevertheless, Rockefeller feared that the Clarion suit might set a precedent and adopted a combative approach. “We are disposed to fight the thing and not be subject to this blackmailing process always,” he insisted.<sup>42</sup>

At bottom, Rockefeller must have been genuinely alarmed by the impending criminal prosecution, for he decided to placate the producers and cut a political deal. On the day before Christmas 1879, Standard Oil rescinded the immediate-shipment policy and agreed to meet with producers at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York. In a historic agreement, Standard Oil renounced—or *seemed* to renounce—the use of secret rebates and drawbacks and consented to publicly posted freight rates; its United Pipe Lines would no longer discriminate among shippers and would transport all oil within reasonable limits. In return, the criminal and civil cases against Standard Oil in Pennsylvania were scuttled. In time, it emerged that Standard’s pledge to repudiate rebates was largely a rhetorical flourish to settle the cases.

Aware that Standard Oil’s fate was now being thrashed out in the political arena, Rockefeller reversed a long-standing prejudice and took shares in two Cleveland newspapers, investing \$5,000 in the *Herald* and \$10,000 in the *Leader*, explaining to Colonel Oliver Payne that since “Mr. Flagler felt perhaps we had given too little heed to influences of this kind, I decided best to do it.”<sup>43</sup> While Rockefeller’s official policy remained one of obdurate silence, he now had more avenues of press access than he admitted. Payne, meanwhile, believed that Standard Oil should move from bribing politicians

to controlling them directly, telling Rockefeller, apropos of the Ohio legislature, “I wish to say that I have got through with sentiment in politics. . . . We must see hereafter that there is one man in the Legislature from this County that has brains, influence and is our man.”<sup>44</sup> Rockefeller told Payne to do “all that is necessary.”<sup>45</sup>

Around this time, Rockefeller recruited to the Standard legal staff Roger Sherman, who had masterminded the producers’ case against him. For years a champion of Oil Creek, Sherman had fought valiantly to imprison Rockefeller. Now Rockefeller was wily enough to offer him a job, and Sherman was naïve enough—or original enough—to accept it. Always proud of his persuasive powers, Rockefeller took special pleasure in wooing opponents whom he had learned to appreciate by tracking their ploys against him. When a lawyer named Virgil Kline won two lawsuits against him in the 1880s, Rockefeller invited him to his office. “Mr. Kline,” he said, “you have given us a good licking. Now I would like to have you come and work for me.”<sup>46</sup> Kline agreed and became a long-standing member of the Standard Oil legal staff.

Things worked out differently for Roger Sherman, who realized after a strangely inactive year on the payroll that Rockefeller had given him a five-year contract expressly to neutralize him. When he tried to wriggle free of the contract, he was able only to strike a compromise that allowed him to resume his general practice in western Pennsylvania while remaining on retainer to Standard Oil. When he later returned to the crusade against Rockefeller, the independents were too disenchanted by his flirtation with Standard to deal with him. True to his wishes, Rockefeller had tarnished Sherman, separating him from his onetime admirers.

Ever since his boyhood as the son of the town pariah, Rockefeller had evinced more than a trace of paranoia. Now, embattled in courts and legislative chambers, he was convinced that evildoers were plotting against him and complained to one colleague about “this iniquitous proceeding of getting the United States out with a drag-net for the Standard Oil Co.”<sup>47</sup> As chief instigator of his misery, he cited George Rice, an independent refiner, who would pursue him with the tenacity of a harpy for decades.

Rockefeller’s movements in 1879 were governed largely by the need to duck subpoenas. In July, the New York State Assembly held hearings, chaired by Alonzo Barton Hepburn, to probe clandestine relations between the railroads and various industries. While the panel examined flour millers, meatpackers, and salt makers, it zeroed in on Standard Oil as the most notorious beneficiary of back-scratching with the railroads. That summer, Rockefeller stayed at Forest Hill, safely beyond the committee’s reach.

As was true of many exposés of Rockefeller, the Hepburn hearings fueled public indignation against him while it also inadvertently enhanced his mystique as an invulnerable genius. The committee trotted out William H. Vanderbilt, who paid resounding tribute to the disciplined craft of the Standard Oil executives. “Long ago I said if the thing kept on the oil people would own the roads. . . . These men are smarter than I am a great deal. They are very enterprising and smart men. I never came into contact with any class of men so smart and able as they are in their business.”<sup>48</sup>

John D. Archbold’s testimony previewed the manner—flippant, arrogant, glib, and high-handed—in which he disposed of future legal challenges to Standard Oil’s authority. Asked about his functions as a director, Archbold retorted, “I am a clamorer for dividends. That is the only function I have in connection with the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>49</sup> He blatantly perjured himself when he said that Standard didn’t control Acme Oil Company. When chairman Hepburn asked him to return for further questioning the next day, Archbold dismissed the committee, instead of the other way around. “I have given today to the matter,” he told them. “It will be impossible for me to be with you again.”<sup>50</sup> For the most part, Standard officers dodged questions with the ritual evasion, “I refuse to answer on the advice of counsel.”<sup>51</sup>

When the Hepburn report was issued, it lent credence to what might otherwise have seemed fantastic conjecture, documenting a pattern of pervasive railroad favoritism toward large shippers. The New York Central alone enforced six thousand secret contracts, while the Erie’s business was equally honeycombed with privileged arrangements. The committee assailed Standard Oil as “a mysterious organization whose business and transactions are of such a character that its members decline giving a history or description of it lest this testimony be used to convict them of a crime.”<sup>52</sup>

For years, refiners had debated whether railroads were unregulated enterprises, free to strike what bargains they pleased, or common carriers, committed to treat all alike. The Hepburn report buttressed the latter view, saying that railroad bias toward Standard Oil was “the most shameless perversion of the duties of a common carrier to private ends . . . in the history of the world.”<sup>53</sup> To remedy this, the New York legislature set up a railroad commission to regulate rates in a fair, uniform manner. The Hepburn report, however, was both belated and insufficient in hobbling Rockefeller’s triumphant march, for by this time he had parlayed his secret railroad contracts into preeminence in oil. More important, his firm had now advanced far beyond the railroads to more efficient pipelines. In fact, a cynic might argue that the advent of the Hepburn hearings was incontestable proof that the railroads no longer mattered.

The growing agitation over railway reform hardened Rockefeller’s determination to bring the Tidewater pipeline to bay, and he began to harass his competitor with a bewildering array of challenges. He tried to throttle the pipeline’s access to crude oil and explored the purchase of several New York refineries before they could become Tidewater clients. At one point, he reduced rates on Standard Oil pipelines while the railroads dropped prices to such risible levels that one freight agent said that they scarcely covered the wheel grease. This relentless price war forced Tidewater to operate at half capacity.

It turned out that Rockefeller’s adversary, Byron Benson, was no more enamored of free markets than Rockefeller was and had created the pipeline to join in the feast. In March 1880, Daniel O’Day chanced to meet Benson on a train traveling from Oil City to Bradford and was shocked by his rival’s words. As O’Day reported to Rockefeller, “[Benson] told me that he wanted to ‘let the bars down,’ as he expressed it, for any overtures that might be made to his company, with a view of an adjustment of the pipe line questions. He said that he felt that the time had about come when the companies should work together with a view of preventing other companies from engaging in the business.”<sup>54</sup> Benson’s solution suited Rockefeller just fine: Tidewater, instead of cutting rates to compete with the railroads, would collude with them to raise rates. Thus, within a year of its completion, the pipeline that was supposed to emancipate independents from Standard Oil bondage was drawn into a railroad pool supervised by John D. Rockefeller. In 1882, when Byron Benson decided to borrow two million dollars to expand Tidewater, it prompted vigorous opposition from a group of minority

shareholders. Exploiting this dissension, parties friendly to Standard Oil bought the minority stake, enabling Rockefeller to strike a bargain with Tidewater the following year. Under this pact, Standard Oil divided the pipeline business in Pennsylvania, taking 88.5 percent of the trade and leaving just 11.5 percent to Tidewater.

It was now abundantly clear to Rockefeller that the railroads represented a fading order. For a long time, he had resisted an irreversible shift to pipes for fear of antagonizing the railroads, but this concern had lost its force. When Standard Oil constructed four pipelines from western Pennsylvania to Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, and Buffalo, he pressured the railroads to grant it right-of-way concessions, even though the pipelines signaled their doom.

When Standard Oil subdued Tidewater, it again demoralized the independents and suggested that all opposition to the behemoth was a foolish, chimerical dream. While a band of intrepid reformers continued to joust with Standard Oil in courthouses and legislatures, most producers now surrendered hope of any improvement in their plight. They knew they would either have to quit the business or swallow their pride and make peace with the oil giant. With the passing of Tidewater’s complete independence, they could no longer ship oil from Pennsylvania without paying tribute to the all-powerful Mr. Rockefeller.



*Harriet E. Giles (left) and Sophia B. Packard, the founders of Spelman Seminary, later Spelman College, who recruited Rockefeller as the school’s major donor in the early 1880s. (Courtesy of the Spelman College Archives)*

## Seat of Empire

When John D. Rockefeller turned forty on July 8, 1879, he was already numbered among America's twenty richest men, yet he was likely the most obscure of the pantheon. While this resulted largely from his aversion to publicity, it also stemmed from his residing in Cleveland. As one chronicler said of the town, "Its rich folk were not scandalous or showy; its politics had not the violent quality essential to American fame."<sup>1</sup> In other words, it was an ideal place for a reclusive magnate. Throughout his career, Rockefeller pooh-poohed "exaggerated" press estimates of his wealth, yet they often understated his true worth. In the late 1870s, one newspaper pegged his wealth at more than \$5 million, when his Standard Oil stock alone was by then worth \$18 million, or \$265 million in 1996 dollars. By comparison, when America's richest citizen, Commodore Vanderbilt, died in 1877, he left an estate valued at nearly \$100 million.

Photos of Rockefeller from this period show two contrasting faces. In his serious mode, his expression seemed grim and unsmiling, with tremendous force in his gaze but no softness or joy. Yet when photographed in leisure hours in the sanctuary of Forest Hill, he looked trim and whimsical, surprisingly boyish for such a powerful man. Gone were the old side-whiskers, but he still had a full red mustache and sandy brown hair. In a period when moguls prided themselves on their embonpoint, Rockefeller was as lean as a greyhound. And at a time when top hats and watch chains were de rigueur for any self-respecting plutocrat, Rockefeller generally conformed to the requisite style, but his family constantly had to remind him to buy a new suit when his current one got too shiny.

If Rockefeller generally enjoyed excellent health, there were early warning symptoms of the toll taken by the excruciating pressures of Standard Oil. In 1878, he wrote to Eliza, "I am eating celery which I understand to be very good for nervous difficulty."<sup>2</sup> Colleagues plied him with advice to take more vacations and spend more time away from business, even though Rockefeller later said he was almost semiretired at this point. He tried to spend as many afternoons as possible at Forest Hill in "the bracing air of Lake Erie."<sup>3</sup> He displayed a strong interest in herbal medicines and other folk remedies, advising one associate that he could dispense more easily with tobacco if he had an orange peel before breakfast every day. Big Bill's interest in medicine, conventional and otherwise, began to surface in his son and became more pronounced with time.

Now that Rockefeller headed almost all of America's oil refineries and pipelines, the press belatedly awakened to his existence, acknowledging him as a new deity in the industrial firmament. In November 1878, he sat for his first full-length newspaper profile in the *New York Sun*. The article disclosed the scope of an ambition that Rockefeller took pains to deny: "The people of Cleveland say that it is his ambition to become the richest man in Ohio and one of the ten richest men in the United States. . . . He is in a fair way of being able to count on his fingers the men in the country who are richer than he is."<sup>4</sup> This first sketch, which portrayed him as quiet, reserved, and methodical, was shot through with ambivalence. Of Rockefeller's business ability, the reporter rhapsodized: "Business men in Cleveland, in the oil regions and in New York who know him or know of him, regard him as one of the great commercial intellects of the country."<sup>5</sup> Yet the article concluded that his Olympian success arose from a strange, unsavory bargain with the railroads—a pact that people surmised but could never quite prove. Within a year, the Hepburn hearings began to document what had long been mooted about Rockefeller's dealings with the railroads, and by the early 1880s he had moved a considerable distance from his former anonymity to something closer to universal notoriety.

In late 1883, Rockefeller's life assumed a marginally higher profile when he moved to New York. Eighteen eighty-four would prove to be a pivotal year for the country, marked by bank failures and panics and the demise of General Grant's brokerage firm, Grant and Ward. The Democratic reformer Grover Cleveland triumphed in the presidential election over the corrupt Republican candidate, James G. Blaine, installing a Democrat in the White House for the first time in many years.

Rockefeller had long felt the gravitational pull of New York, with its lively export trade in kerosene, and routinely spent part of each winter there. Haunted by his father's wanderings, he was loath to abandon Cettie and the children, and for two winters in the mid-1870s he lodged them at the Windsor Hotel on Fifth Avenue, where Jay Gould often plotted his corporate raids. From 1877 to 1884, Rockefeller and his family stayed at the Buckingham Hotel, a residential hotel on Fifth Avenue on the present site of the Saks department store. They had a large suite of rooms in the shadow of Saint Patrick's Cathedral, whose huge stained-glass windows loomed up dreamily outside their windows at night. (One of Junior's early memories was of being reprimanded sharply by his mother for failing to thank a hotel waiter for bringing him food.) After Harvey Spelman's death in 1881, Grandmother Spelman and Aunt Lute took a suite on the same floor and shared meals with them. From late spring through early fall, the entourage returned to Forest Hill, where Rockefeller stayed in touch with the New York office by sophisticated telegraphy.

Business now dictated Rockefeller's move to the East Coast. In an age of long-distance pipelines, huge volumes of crude oil were flowing to seaboard refineries where they fed a flourishing export traffic, relegating Cleveland and other inland centers to an inferior status. Responding to the export boom, Standard Oil established sprawling refineries in Brooklyn, Bayonne, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. A latent tension now strained relations between the Cleveland headquarters and its burgeoning New York branch. One day, Benjamin Brewster, a Standard director, told Rockefeller that a two-headed calf belonged only in the circus and that the combine needed a single head. "You can't have one head in Cleveland and another in New York," he told Rockefeller. "And therefore either you have got to quit Cleveland and come on here or we have got to pack up and leave New York and go out to Cleveland."<sup>6</sup>

By the time Rockefeller and Oliver Payne transferred to New York in late 1883 and early 1884, Henry Flagler had preceded them by two years. Though now immensely rich, John and Cettie possessed the low-key style and resolute sense of privacy of old money and searched for a house on a peaceful side street. They swapped nine parcels of Manhattan real estate, appraised at \$600,000, for a four-story brownstone mansion at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street. Garlanded with ivy, flanked by lawns, the residence stood on a site that would later house the Museum of Modern Art sculpture garden. If roomy and comfortable, it was extremely modest for someone of Rockefeller's wealth and, like his Cleveland residence, subtly masked the size of his fortune. For all its social cachet, Fifth Avenue was now a busy, nerve-jangling thoroughfare, as Junior remembered with dismay: "It was paved with



cobblestones and I can still hear the noise of the steel tires rumbling along the street. It was fearfully noisy.”<sup>7</sup> By contrast, West Fifty-fourth Street was a shady retreat, situated north of the Elgin Botanical Gardens, which later formed part of Rockefeller Center. Opposite the Rockefeller home stood Saint Luke’s Hospital, with lawns and gardens that spread a fragrant tranquillity over the street.

The home that the Rockefellers bought was the opulent boudoir of the beautiful Arabella Worsham, who had tried to pass herself off as a niece of railroad mogul Collis Huntington when she was actually his mistress. When Huntington’s wife died in late 1883, he decided to marry Arabella and make an honest woman of her. The sober brownstone that had sheltered their assignations went on the market, and it is amusing to think of the Rockefellers snapping up their love nest. A frugal man, John D. followed his accustomed practice of keeping the furnishings, even if the style in this case diverged ludicrously from his own. The interior contained touches of voluptuous sensuality, such as Arabella’s exotic Moorish salon on the ground floor and the Turkish bath upstairs. The sumptuous master bedroom was artistically designed in Anglo-Japanese style, with dark ebonized woodwork, a queen-size canopied sleigh bed, and a magnificent silver and gilt chandelier. The bay window provided an intimate Turkish corner, tantalizingly glimpsed through a stained-glass screen. Doubtless as a legacy of Arabella Worsham—one can’t picture the prudish Rockefellers shopping for such things—4 West Fifty-fourth Street had paintings by Corot, Meissonier, Daubigny, and other French painters then in vogue among local parvenus. The house also had the latest conveniences, including one of the city’s first elevators in a private residence. The only thing removed by Rockefeller were the worn carpets, which he donated to the needy through a local church.

Though West Fifty-fourth Street was a tree-lined oasis, the Rockefellers had chosen the most sybaritic precinct of New York society in the Gilded Age. Much of the wealth amassed in what Mark Twain called the “raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century” had now settled in Manhattan. The old New York aristocracy, huddled around Washington Square and Gramercy Park, shuddered at the pretentious uptown mansions, which paid tribute to postwar fortunes in railroads, steel, and oil. Along Fifth Avenue near the Rockefeller home, the palaces of the rich—notably the fantastic, turreted confections of William K. Vanderbilt at Fifty-first Street and Cornelius Vanderbilt II at Fifty-eighth Street—stretched uptown in gaudy profusion.

With Standard Oil moving its headquarters to New York, the neighborhood was becoming a colony of company directors. At one point in this corporate relocation, twenty-eight Standard Oil executives arrived in a single Pullman car from Cleveland and were taken straight to the Saint James Hotel, where William presided over their first breakfast and John their first dinner. The latter liked to greet new arrivals at the train station and help them to find houses. Soon, the Fifth Avenue strip near Rockefeller’s home was thickly populated with Standard Oil men, Henry Flagler occupying the southeast corner of Fifty-fourth Street and William Rockefeller the northeast corner, with Benjamin Brewster next door to William. William departed from his brother’s ascetic style and raised his children in a looser, freer atmosphere, causing envious pangs among John’s children. As Junior said, “We children didn’t have what those children had and we used to notice the difference. They had a gay kind of social life, with many parties which we used to wish we could have.”<sup>8</sup> Since William refused to take on debt to build his house, he sold \$50,000 of Standard Oil stock to John despite his brother’s heartfelt plea to retain the stock. William’s imprudent decision figured importantly in the enormous disparity in wealth that developed between the two brothers.

In New York, John D. did not acquire cosmopolitan interests but stuck with his old Cleveland pastimes, creating a large ice-skating rink every winter in a space adjoining his house. Each morning, curious pedestrians could glimpse the chief of the American oil industry, dressed in overcoat and top hat, ice skates strapped to his patent-leather boots, as he glided placidly around the horseshoe-shaped area. A great enthusiast for the sport, he created rows of shelves in his house on which dozens of guests could store their skates.

Though Rockefeller resisted the yacht-owning fad that swept New York society in the 1880s and owned neither a boat nor private railroad car, he spared no expense for fast-trotting horses in his large, heated stable at 21 West Fiftyfifth Street. Every afternoon after work, he took out his black gelding trotters and mingled with the pageant of fashionable carriages thronging Central Park, often racing against his brother William, with an excited Junior seated at his side. So keenly did Rockefeller relish trotting that at one point he told his son, “I drove four times yesterday making an aggregate in the two days of about eighty miles. Don’t you think I am an enthusiastic youth?”<sup>9</sup> Junior left a description of his father’s racing style that seems a metaphor for his assertive but careful stewardship of Standard Oil:

*Other drivers would often lose their tempers when a horse broke gait or pulled hard; Father never. If a horse was excitable or difficult he always kept his temper, and patiently, quietly worked with the animal until he steadied it. Frequently I have seen him driving at a very rapid pace through Central Park; in the middle of the roadway through two streams of traffic, pushing always a little to the left, as he explained to me, so as to open his way through, but keeping margin enough on the right so that if the approaching traffic did not swing over in time, he would still have room enough to pass.*<sup>10</sup>

Never dazzled by New York, Rockefeller was insulated from the beau monde that threw costly dinners and costume balls and frequented the theater, opera, and clubs. He had no interest in debauchery, and it is hard to picture him milling about with portly men smoking cigars or women wearing expensive furs and jewels. The newspapers noted his total boycott of social functions. As one periodical said, “He never entertains notables, his home is never given to entertainment, and he follows the policy of self-effacement at all times and in all places.”<sup>11</sup> Although he joined the Union League Club, Rockefeller did not feel comfortable with the splendor of the Astors and Vanderbilts. When Cettie asked for a new four-wheeled carriage in 1882, John stared at her, aghast, and said they could scarcely afford it unless they traded in the old one. Abiding by his daily rituals, he still enjoyed bread and milk in the morning and a paper bag of apples in the evening. Each morning before work, a barber shaved him in his dressing room before he trotted down the brownstone stoop at exactly the same hour and for a nickel took the Sixth Avenue elevated train downtown. The wheels of his mind already turning, he jotted penciled notes on his shirt cuff as the train jolted toward Wall Street. Moving with spectral stealth, as if tiptoeing on a cushion of air, he slipped into the Standard Oil building at the stroke of nine. “I never knew anyone to enter an office as quietly as Mr. Rockefeller,” said his private secretary, George Rogers. “He seemed almost to have a coat of invisibility.”<sup>12</sup>

In late 1883, Standard Oil began to assemble real estate at the southern tip of Manhattan for new headquarters, destined to soar above Broadway at Bowling Green on the onetime site of Alexander Hamilton’s home. Having long outgrown William’s old offices at two different locations on Pearl Street, the firm had operated for three years from modest, unprepossessing quarters at 44 Broadway. Now, on May 1, 1885, after spending nearly one

million dollars on it, Standard Oil moved into its impregnable new fortress, a massive, granite, nine-story building. The combine's name didn't appear outside, just the building number. Twenty-six Broadway soon became the world's most famous business address, shorthand for the oil trust itself, evoking its mystery, power, and efficiency. Standard Oil was now America's premier business, with a reach that ramified into a labyrinth of railroads, banks, and other businesses. The purple prose aroused by the new building perhaps owed less to its imposing neoclassical architecture than to its symbolic heft. Said one reporter: "Many worthy men are convinced that No. 26 Broadway is the most perilous shelter on earth—a cave for pirates, a den for the cutthroats of commerce."<sup>13</sup> Otherwise sober writers seemed to swoon before the saturnine grandeur of Rockefeller's seat of power:

*At the lower end of the greatest thoroughfare in the greatest city of the New World is a huge structure of plain gray-stone. Solid as a prison, towering as a steeple, its cold and forbidding facade seems to rebuke the heedless levity of the passing crowd, and frown on the frivolity of the stray sunbeams which in the late afternoon play around its impassive cornices. Men point to its stern portals, glance quickly up at the rows of unwinking windows, nudge each other, and hurry onward, as the Spaniards used to do when going by the offices of the Inquisition. The building is No. 26 Broadway.*<sup>14</sup>

Reporters who managed to slip past the watchful guards found a world at odds with the grim exterior, a dignified place with mahogany rolltop desks and mustard-colored carpets. The subdued atmosphere—people instinctively conferred in hushed tones—mirrored Rockefeller's own personality. Rockefeller's office faced south and east, with a spectacular view of New York harbor. As one reporter commented, "There is an absence of bustle and noise. While transactions involving millions may be involved, the negotiations are conducted in a quiet methodical manner, apparently free from excitement."<sup>15</sup> The offices had some unusual security features, including ground-glass partitions that reached to the ceiling and obscured the proceedings within. In a quintessential Rockefeller touch, the doors were equipped with special secret-rim locks: One had to know how to twist the rim with thumb and forefinger before turning the knob, so that an intruder could find himself suddenly trapped in a maze of ostensibly locked doors.

In these new quarters, the Standard Oil mandarins preserved a tradition launched years before. Each day at noon, the executive committee gathered for lunch in a top-floor room decorated with hunting and fishing trophies and with a port view that suited their global empire. There was no surer proof of favor in the Standard Oil empyrean than to receive an invitation to dine at the long table. Arriving in silk hats, frock coats, and gloves, the directors always took the same assigned seats. In his deceptively self-effacing style, Rockefeller yielded the head of the table to his most frequent adversary, Charles Pratt, who was the group's oldest member; Flagler sat to Pratt's right, then Rockefeller, then Archbold. It says much about his managerial approach that Rockefeller sat indistinguishably among his colleagues, though the leveling arrangement scarcely disguised his unique status. As philosopher Herbert Spencer once said, "A business partnership, balanced as the authorities of its members may theoretically be, presently becomes a union in which the authority of one partner is tacitly recognized as greater than that of the other or others."<sup>16</sup>

Few outsiders knew that one of Rockefeller's greatest talents was to manage and motivate his diverse associates. As he said, "It is chiefly to my confidence in men and my ability to inspire their confidence in me that I owe my success in life."<sup>17</sup> He liked to note that Napoleon could not have succeeded without his marshals.<sup>18</sup> Free of an autocratic temperament, Rockefeller was quick to delegate authority and presided lightly, genially, over his empire, exerting his will in unseen ways. At meetings, Rockefeller had a negative capability: The quieter he was, the more forceful his presence seemed, and he played on his mystique as the resident genius immune to petty concerns. As one director recalled, "I have seen board meetings, when excited men shouted profanity and made menacing gestures, but Mr. Rockefeller, maintaining the utmost courtesy, continued to dominate the room."<sup>19</sup> Sometimes, he dozed on a couch after lunch. "I can see him now," one executive recalled, "lying back on a lounge at a directors' meeting, eyes closed taking it all in. Now and then he'd open his eyes and make a suggestion."<sup>20</sup>

Rockefeller placed a premium on internal harmony and tried to reconcile his contending chieftains. A laconic man, he liked to canvass everyone's opinion before expressing his own and then often crafted a compromise to maintain cohesion. He was always careful to couch his decisions as suggestions or questions. Even in the early days, he had lunched daily with brother William, Harkness, Flagler, and Payne to thrash out problems. As the organization grew, he continued to operate by consensus, taking no major initiative opposed by board members. Because all ideas had to meet the supreme test of unanimous approval among strong-minded men, Standard Oil made few major missteps. As Rockefeller said, "We made sure that we were right and had planned for every contingency before we went ahead."<sup>21</sup>

Even though Rockefeller feuded sporadically with Charles Pratt, Henry Rogers, and others, the firm was free of the petulant bickering and bureaucratic jealousy that usually accompany vast power. At least to hear Rockefeller tell it, the directors—former foes who had banded together in corporate brotherhood—were bound by an almost mystic faith. For him, their belief in each other explained their cohesion and certified their virtue. "Crooked men cannot be held as these Standard Oil Company men were held for all this long term."<sup>22</sup> The continuity of leadership made the firm all but impervious to snooping reporters and government investigators, who could never penetrate the tight-knit phalanx of like-minded men who ran the oil empire for four consecutive decades.

The unity of the Standard Oil partners was especially impressive given the organization's byzantine structure, a far-flung patchwork of firms, each nominally independent but in reality taking orders from 26 Broadway. In the absence of a federal incorporation law, Rockefeller, like other contemporary businessmen, had to cope with a tangle of restrictive laws that made it fiendishly difficult to run an interstate company. As he said, "Our federal form of government, making every corporation created by a state foreign to every other state, renders it necessary for persons doing business through corporate agency to organize corporations in some or many of the different states in which their business is located."<sup>23</sup> This handicap forced business leaders to devise cunning ways to circumvent laws and led them to corrupt politicians and legislatures; much of Rockefeller's political cynicism issued from this source. For Standard Oil, a national operation from the start, the antiquated legal framework lured it into myriad legal adaptations. But if Rockefeller correctly considered the legal system an unfair impediment, it was also a spur to his ingenuity.

His first major improvisation came with an ingenious trust agreement that was executed privately in 1879. Under its charter, Standard Oil of Ohio couldn't own companies outside the state, so it assigned three midlevel employees—Myron R. Keith, George F. Chester, and George H. Vilas—to serve as trustees who held stock in a score of subsidiaries outside the state. When they received dividends, they distributed them to the thirty-seven investors

of Standard of Ohio *as individuals*, in amounts proportionate to their stakes in the parent company. (Of the 35,000 Standard shares, Rockefeller held nearly 9,000, or three times the amount of Flagler, Harkness, Pratt, or Payne.)<sup>24</sup> This jerry-built structure enabled Rockefeller to swear under oath that Standard Oil of Ohio didn't own property outside of Ohio, even though it controlled most of the pipelines and refineries in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland; technically speaking, the trustees owned these properties.

The 1879 agreement, a makeshift arrangement, lasted only three years. When the state of Pennsylvania tried in 1881 to tax the property of Standard of Ohio within its borders, Rockefeller feared that other states might copy this precedent and hold him hostage. At the same time, he had absorbed so many new pipelines and refineries that he was struggling to coordinate policy among many scattered units. The time had come to streamline operations, impose guidance, and attain new efficiencies. The brains behind this next stage of development was an affable, roly-poly lawyer and Presbyterian elder named Samuel C. T. Dodd, a man so fat that one wag claimed he was the same size in every direction. As general solicitor of Standard Oil from 1881 to 1905, he was its leading theoretician and publicist, as much ideologist as lawyer. A carpenter's son from Franklin, Pennsylvania, and an amateur poet passionate about classical literature, he had been a vocal, high-minded resident of Titusville. Ironically, as a Democratic member of Pennsylvania's constitutional convention in 1872, Dodd had won attention as a scourge of the railroads, excoriating Rockefeller and the South Improvement Company for taking advantage of rebates.

The way Dodd entered Standard Oil should have tipped him off to the depth of Rockefeller's guile. In 1878, two refiners named Taylor and Satterfield hired him in a dispute against United Pipe Lines, which was ostensibly owned by Vandergrift and Forman. Since Dodd was also a lawyer for Captain Jacob J. Vandergrift, he found himself representing both sides in the case. At one point, Vandergrift made a shocking confession to him: United Pipe Lines actually belonged lock, stock, and barrel to Standard Oil. At the behest of his clients, Dodd journeyed to Cleveland to draw up a mutually satisfactory settlement. As he recalled:

*Here, for the first time, I met John D. Rockefeller, a very pleasant, gentlemanly, unassuming man, but slow in his deliberations and particular as possible at every point of negotiation. Being a little vexed one day at my objection to some clause he desired in the contract which was being drawn, he said in a sarcastic tone: "Mr. Dodd, do you often act for both sides in a case?" I said, "Not often, Mr. Rockefeller, but I am always ready to do so when both sides want an honest lawyer." This seemed to amuse him and we soon brought the matter to a settlement.*<sup>25</sup>

When Rockefeller hired him in 1879, Dodd held out, not for more money or titles but for assurances of his integrity. Taking a relatively small salary (it would never exceed \$25,000 a year), he resisted Rockefeller's plea that he take Standard Oil stock, arguing that this might compromise his legal judgment, and he never became a Standard director for that reason. He also emphasized that he would never alter his settled views on the injustice of railroad rebates. To all these conditions, Rockefeller assented breezily—perhaps too breezily. As will be seen, he spent years fooling Dodd about Standard Oil's relations with the railroads, to the point that one must conclude that Dodd fairly asked to be duped and suspended all skepticism. After being hired by Rockefeller, Dodd was ostracized by many former clients along Oil Creek. To these critics, he shrugged and said, "Well, as the ministers say when they get a call to a higher salary, it seems to be the Lord's will."<sup>26</sup> Rockefeller bestowed this encomium on Dodd: "A more just man never lived. . . . He was a lovable, loyal man."<sup>27</sup> In many antitrust hearings, Rockefeller looked to the redoubtable Dodd and awaited his nod of approval before answering questions.

Dodd was a wizard at contriving forms that obeyed the letter but circumvented the spirit of the law. As the Keith-Chester-Vilas travesty became known, Dodd studied new organizational structures that might allow Standard to expand business while maintaining centralized control. That the major directors lived in separate cities—mostly Cleveland, New York, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—was impeding finely meshed coordination. Dodd came up with a sudden brainstorm as to how to meld intrastate firms into an interstate giant. The first step was to set up a separate Standard Oil company in each state in which it had major interests. As a result, Standard Oil of New York was formed on August 1, 1882, with William Rockefeller as president; four days later, John became president of the new Standard Oil of New Jersey. This stratagem was designed to prevent each state from taxing Standard Oil property located outside the state. Dodd realized that separate companies required separate boards of directors and considered how to prevent a fragmentation of power. The answer, he explained, was that "you could have a common name, a common office, and a common management by means of a common executive committee. The stock could in effect be made common by placing the corporate stock in the hands of Trustees who shall issue certificates of interest in the Trust estate, which certificates will be entitled to their due proportions of the various stock dividends."<sup>28</sup> As Dodd noted, this elaborate stock swap would create a union not of corporations but of stockholders, ensuring that the companies could behave in concert without running afoul of the law.

Dodd and Flagler drafted the new Standard Oil trust agreement, which was dated January 2, 1882. The public knew nothing of this contrivance that spawned a \$70 million enterprise and controlled 90 percent of American refineries and pipelines until it emerged, accidentally, in antitrust hearings six years later. The agreement created a board of nine New York-based trustees—the group that assembled daily for lunch at 26 Broadway. Today, we would term it a holding company, but at the time it seemed an imaginary entity, lacking any real legal existence. It couldn't make deals, sign contracts, or keep books, though it wielded infinite power. It received the stock of Standard of Ohio and forty other companies—twenty-six of them partially, fourteen fully owned—with the power to name their officers and directors. Among the shareholders, the distribution of power and wealth remained lopsided, with Rockefeller holding more than one-third of the trust certificates, a block worth \$19 million. The five members of the Cleveland wing—John and William Rockefeller, Flagler, Payne, and Harkness—retained a commanding majority of shares and formed a pool within the top echelon to buy and sell jointly interests in other companies.

For the first time, the trust's formation created negotiable securities, and this profoundly affected the Standard Oil culture. Not only did Rockefeller urge underlings to take stock but made money abundantly available to do so. As such shareholding became widespread, it welded the organization more tightly together, creating an esprit de corps that helped in steamrolling over competitors and government investigators alike. With employees receiving huge capital gains and dividends, they converted Standard Oil into a holy crusade. Rockefeller hoped the trust would serve as a model for a new populist capitalism, marked by employee share ownership. "I would have every man a capitalist, every man, woman and child," he said. "I would have everyone save his earnings, not squander it; own the industries, own the railroads, own the telegraph lines."<sup>29</sup>

In many ways, Standard Oil's metamorphosis previewed the trajectory of other major American business organizations in the late nineteenth century as they moved from freewheeling competition to loosely knit cartels to airtight trusts. The 1882 agreement introduced the concept of the trust as something synonymous with industrial monopoly. During the 1880s, industrywide pools sprouted in many industries in America, England, and Germany, but their leaders found it difficult to prevent cheating and secret price-cutting among members. Now, Standard Oil came up with a way to introduce centralized control, backed by enforcement powers and managerial direction. So many companies duplicated the pattern over the years that one can say, with pardonable exaggeration, that the 1882 trust agreement executed by Standard Oil led straight to the Sherman Antitrust Act eight years later.

Rockefeller was a unique hybrid in American business: both the instinctive, first-generation entrepreneur who founds a company and the analytic second-generation manager who extends and develops it. He wasn't the sort of rugged, self-made mogul who quickly becomes irrelevant to his own organization. For that reason, his career anticipates the managerial capitalism of the twentieth century.

Since he never owned more than a third of his company, he needed the cooperation of other people. Having created an empire of unfathomable complexity, he was smart enough to see that he had to submerge his identity in the organization. Many people noted that Rockefeller seldom said "I," except when telling a joke, preferring the first-person plural when discussing Standard Oil. "Don't say that *I* ought to do this or that," he preached to colleagues. "*We* ought to do it. Never forget that we are partners; whatever is done is for the general good of us all." <sup>30</sup> He preferred outspoken colleagues to weak-kneed sycophants and welcomed differences of opinion so long as they weren't personalized. In their private deliberations, the Standard executives, for all their swashbuckling reputation, tended to be cordial and formal. As Cleveland Amory said of them, "No group of American tycoons were ever more forbidding or high and mighty publicly or more gentle and shy and retiring privately."<sup>31</sup>

By creating new industrial forms, Rockefeller left his stamp on an age that lauded inventors, not administrators. That he created one of the first multinational corporations, selling kerosene around the world and setting a business pattern for the next century, was arguably his greatest feat. As he said, "Our nation was in a state of transition from agriculture to wholesale manufacture and commerce, and we had to invent methods and machinery as we went along."<sup>32</sup> Whatever the debates about his ethics, economists and historians have unanimously extolled his role as a pioneer of the modern corporation. Despite the legal impediments, he was able to fuse together dozens of disparate firms into a seamless whole. What might have been a cumbersome apparatus developed into an efficient instrument in Rockefeller's hands. Standard Oil led the way in industrial planning and large-volume production, exploiting economies of scale that might otherwise have been hard to achieve at this stage in a purely competitive state. Under Rockefeller's tutelage, the trust made notable strides in improving kerosene, developing by-products, and reducing the cost of packaging, transporting, and distributing petroleum products worldwide. As one biographer has remarked, "Rockefeller must be accepted as the greatest business administrator America has produced." <sup>33</sup> An oil historian echoes this verdict: "Rockefeller was the single most important figure in shaping the oil industry. The same might arguably be said for his place in the history of America's industrial development and the rise of the modern corporation."<sup>34</sup>

The secret to unifying the dozens of affiliated concerns proved to be the committee system patented by Standard Oil. The inner sanctum was the executive committee. Though they recommended actions to field supervisors, they held considerable power in reserve, for they had to approve all expenditures above \$5,000 and salary increases above \$50 a month, enabling them to retard the growth of any unit. Below the executive committee came a battery of specialized committees dedicated to transportation, pipelines, domestic trade, export trade, manufacturing, purchasing, and so on. These committees standardized the quality of subsidiaries engaged in similar work, enabling managers to swap insights and align their operations. As Rockefeller said of this innovation: "A company of men, for example, were specialists in manufacture. These were chosen experts, who had daily sessions and study of the problems, new as well as old, constantly arising. The benefit of their research, their study, was available for each of the different concerns whose shares were held by these trustees."<sup>35</sup> Under the committee system, Standard Oil created a self-sufficient universe, overseeing plants that made acid, chemicals, staves, barrels, wicks, pumps, and even tank cars. It shut down more than thirty obsolete refineries, concentrating more than a quarter of world kerosene production in three monster plants in Cleveland, Bayonne, and Philadelphia.

The committee system was an ingenious adaptation, integrating the policy of constituent companies without stripping them of all autonomy. We must recall that Standard Oil remained a confederation and most of its subsidiaries were only partially owned. A top-down hierarchical structure might have hampered local owners whom Rockefeller had promised a measure of autonomy in running their plants. The committee system galvanized their energies while providing them with general guidance. The committees encouraged rivalry among local units by circulating performance figures and encouraging them to compete for records and prizes. The point is vitally important, for monopolies, spared the rod of competition, can easily lapse into sluggish giants. At Standard Oil, in contrast, as Rockefeller stated, "the stimulus to make the best showing, each concern for itself, led to active and aggressive work in competition."<sup>36</sup>

For many years, Rockefeller had tried to free himself from details and applauded the committee system as relegating him to a fifth wheel. He never attended individual committee meetings but sometimes, in his odd way, dropped by when committee heads conferred. As one member said:

*I have seen Mr. Rockefeller often at a meeting of the heads of the different departments of the Company, listening carefully to each one and not saying a word. Perhaps he would stretch out on a lounge and say: "I am a little tired, but go right on gentlemen, for I know you want to reach a decision." He might close his eyes now and then; but he never missed a point. He would go away without saying a word but good-bye. But next day when he came down he had digested the whole proposition and worked out the answer—and he always worked out the right answer.*<sup>37</sup>

Although Standard Oil encouraged cooperation and allowed strong executives to flourish, Rockefeller retained unrivaled influence. While colleagues embarked on shopping binges to buy palatial homes and European art, Rockefeller husbanded his money. He believed in Standard Oil and gladly purchased all available stock from other directors. "Oh, I was the dumping ground for them all in those days," he once laughed, and his unequalled shareholding gave his opinions extra weight.<sup>38</sup>

Beyond the size of his stake, Rockefeller also possessed an unlikely charisma. He never backslapped, roughhoused, or skylarked with his colleagues, and his statesmanlike calm evoked feelings of awe. As one reporter said in 1905, "No man, however unimpressible he may be, can stand in the

presence of Mr. Rockefeller without feeling the repressed power of the man.”<sup>39</sup> He seemed to possess oracular powers. As Archbold conceded, “Rockefeller always sees a little further than the rest of us—and then he sees around the corner.”<sup>40</sup> Another Standard executive, Edward T. Bedford, paid him this high tribute: “Mr. Rockefeller was really a superman. He not only envisaged a new system of business upon a grand scale but he also had the patience, the courage and the audacity to put it into effect in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, sticking to his purpose with a tenacity and confidence [that were] simply amazing.”<sup>41</sup>

He also had a tactful, easy manner with less exalted employees and never reacted angrily when presented with grievances. Once a year, each employee had the right to appear before the executive committee and argue for a higher salary, and Rockefeller always reacted pleasantly. As one employee recalled, “When H. H. Rogers would say gruffly that he had had enough and we had no right to ask for an increase of salary, Mr. Rockefeller would say, ‘Oh, give him a chance.’”<sup>42</sup> But the mildness was deceiving, for while Rockefeller might sometimes be prepared to pay wages 10 or even 20 percent above the prevailing levels, he would never countenance unions or organized employee protest.

In the last analysis, Rockefeller prevailed at Standard Oil because he had mastered a method for solving problems that carried him far beyond his native endowment. He believed there was a time to think and then a time to act. He brooded over problems and quietly matured plans over extended periods. Once he had made up his mind, however, he was no longer troubled by doubts and pursued his vision with undeviating faith. Unfortunately, once in that state of mind, he was all but deaf to criticism. He was like a projectile that, once launched, could never be stopped, never recalled, never diverted.

Amid the murky temptations of Manhattan, the Rockefeller home was a tranquil island of missionary work, temperance meetings, and prayer vigils. Beset by fears of big-city vice and determined to avoid exposure to liquor, cards, tobacco, and dancing, the Rockefellers still socialized only with kindred spirits. The greater the controversy surrounding Standard Oil, the more decorous their home life.

The family belied John Wesley’s dictum that “wherever riches have increased, the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion.”<sup>43</sup> The Rockefellers had also figured out how to solve the riddle that John Adams posed to Thomas Jefferson in 1819: “Will you tell me how to prevent riches from producing luxury? Will you tell me how to prevent luxury from producing effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, Vice and folly?”<sup>44</sup> The fear that wealth would adulterate their values only pushed John and Cettie deeper into church activism and the temperance movement. In 1883, John sat on an advisory committee of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, which was campaigning for an amendment to the Ohio constitution to outlaw the manufacture and sale of liquor. Though the initiative petered out, he later became a major benefactor of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League and grew steadily more militant in the cause. “I fear unless a great temperance reform sweeps over our whole land, the Republic itself may be imperilled,” he thundered.<sup>45</sup> Among other pet causes of this period, he gave substantial sums to the revivalist Dwight L. Moody and urged Henry Flagler to follow suit.

Right before the Rockefellers left Cleveland, some friends asked Cettie why her children hadn’t been baptized, and she was haunted by the question. She began intensive prayer meetings with her children, which led three of the four—Alta (twelve), Edith (eleven), and John (nine)—to be baptized jointly on October 28, 1883, the last Sunday before their move to New York. Afterward, Cettie recorded her impressions: “It was a beautiful and impressive sight, after the morning service—there were plants and flowers around the baptistry, and a dove suspended over it.”<sup>46</sup> Since the Rockefellers returned to Cleveland each summer, John and Cettie retained their positions at the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church. Upon arriving in Manhattan, they joined the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church and imported the Reverend William H. P. Faunce from Springfield, Massachusetts, to head it. It never occurred to the Rockefellers to trade up to a more socially prestigious denomination. “Most Americans when they accumulate money climb the golden spires of the nearest Episcopal Church,” H. L. Mencken later observed. “But the Rockefellers cling to the primeval rain-god of the American hinterland and show no signs of being ashamed of him.”<sup>47</sup> They would not have felt comfortable with the splendor and formality of a high-church denomination.

After having been taught at home for many years, the Rockefeller children began to venture forth tentatively from their often-stifling family cocoon. Rockefeller said he educated his children at home because he had divided his time between Cleveland and New York for several years, but he also might have wanted to sequester them from forbidden contacts. Bessie, Alta, and Edith now attended the Rye Female Seminary in Westchester County, directed by a Mrs. Life, the former Susan La Monte, who had tutored Rockefeller in his early adolescence in Owego. Though the progeny of one of America’s richest men, the three young heiresses seemed to drift about in a state of perpetual longing. As one intimate companion recollected,

*The allowances given to the children were small. Edith confided to me one day while we were shopping that it was the dearest wish of her heart to have some silk underwear, but that “Mother wouldn’t hear of it.” Alta yearned for a high hat to wear with her riding costume, and when after months of cajoling she finally got it, she had [a] picture taken. . . . Then the dream of her life became riding boots.*<sup>48</sup>

Edith became positively clothes crazy, displaying a craving for fashionable outfits and jewelry in defiance of her parents’ values.

By avoiding talk of money as unbecoming, Rockefeller concealed from his children the magnitude of his fortune. When Bessie enrolled at Vassar in the mid-1880s—she was the only daughter to attend college—she went on a shopping expedition with some classmates to purchase a Christmas present for a favorite teacher. At a Manhattan store, they found the perfect gift: a \$100 desk. Since Bessie and her companions had only \$75, they asked the merchant if he could wait a few days for the remaining \$25. He agreed to do so if a New York businessman would vouch for them. “My father is in business,” Bessie offered meekly. “He will vouch for us.” Who is your father? asked the man. “His name is Mr. Rockefeller,” she said. “John D. Rockefeller; he is in the oil business.” The merchant gasped. “John D. Rockefeller your father!” When he agreed to ship the furniture, Bessie imagined he had merely changed his mind to please them.<sup>49</sup>

When it came time for Junior to dispense with private tutors, he went to the New York School of Languages, followed by a school run by C. N. Douglass, and then the tony Cutler School, whose student body included Albert Milbank, Cornelius N. Bliss, and Cornelius Vanderbilt. Junior trudged the pavement to school each morning while he watched poorer classmates rolling by in fine carriages. Though he belittled his own intelligence, this

bright, dutiful boy always scored high grades and led a purposeful life that allowed small time for leisure. When not doing homework, he often practiced his violin, and for eight years he took lessons from Richard Arnold, first violinist of the Philharmonic Orchestra. Though never spanked or punished, Junior had to put up with unremitting religious indoctrination from Cettie.<sup>50</sup> By comparison, Father was almost playful. Eager to please his parents and other adult authority figures, Junior took things too seriously and was petrified of making a mistake.

It is a small miracle that, with so much duty so regularly dinned into their heads, the Rockefeller children didn't go batty. They did, however, erupt in a mass of psychosomatic symptoms. During his first year at Cutler, at age thirteen, Junior racked up a 98.1 grade average only to succumb to some sort of nervous collapse from overwork.<sup>51</sup> Too much expectation had been heaped on this frail vessel, and he buckled beneath the weight. His father ordered the staple Victorian cure of hard outdoors work. In late 1887, Junior and his mother wintered at Forest Hill, where he furiously chopped wood (fifteen cents a cord), broke stones, burned brush, and raked leaves, working the nervous tension from his system. Junior enjoyed this fleeting monopoly on his mother's affections and the respite from his regimented New York life. His letters to his father evoke the melancholy beauty of a snowbound winter, with moonlit sleigh rides and afternoons skating on the frozen lake as he pushed Cettie before him in a wooden chair.

Reinvigorated by his stay, Junior completed a second year at Cutler before being transferred to a school custom-made for him. John and William Rockefeller conferred with a talented instructor, John A. Browning, who created the tiny Browning School with just two classes: one built around Junior, the other around William's son Percy. A Rockefeller operation from the outset, it was set up in a family-owned brownstone on West Fifty-fifth Street, with John and William paying Browning's salary and reserving the right to screen applicants. From the beginning, the school emphasized manual crafts as well as classical studies and was animated by an egalitarian spirit. Nettie Fowler McCormick of the Chicago reaper clan sent her two sons, Harold and Stanley, and the student body of twenty-five also included two sons of William's estate superintendent in Greenwich, Connecticut. The Browning School was yet another attempt by John D. to prevent his children from putting on airs or slipping into idle dissipation.

The letters Junior sent his father from Forest Hill during the winter of 1887–1888 make clear that his mother was also recuperating from a bout of ill health. He told a friend, "Although it would be pleasant to be with the rest of the family, when we think how much good it is doing mother—and she really is getting much better, she sleeps so well and feels so much better—we are perfectly happy to be separated."<sup>52</sup> Always weak, Cettie was beginning to betray signs of the frailty that would convert her into an invalid. She enjoyed driving with her husband and shared his love of skating but took these activities only in small doses. "She was not strong . . . and could not endure much exercise," said her son.<sup>53</sup>

For the biographer of John D. Rockefeller, the most exasperating lacuna in his story is Cettie's transformation from a bright, witty girl into a rather humorless woman, prone to a nunlike religiosity. One wonders what happened to the high-spirited, vivacious young woman who was the high-school valedictorian and literary editor at Oread Collegiate Institute. By the 1880s, when she was in her forties, her letters were suffocated by a treacly piety and endless platitudes as she grew righteous and slightly unreal. As one magazine noted, "It would be hard to find anyone who has anything to say against Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, for the reason that Mrs. Rockefeller's life is almost wholly devoted to religious and benevolent work."<sup>54</sup> She uttered only noble and uplifting thoughts, constantly thanked the Lord, and never stooped to gossip or flip remarks.

Was this the case of another smart Victorian woman who felt trapped by the few options open to her and took to bed and religion from boredom or self-defense? The social conventions of her day clearly approved of her decision to confine herself to church and home. But one also wonders whether her cloistered religiosity wasn't a reaction to the mounting controversy surrounding Standard Oil. This gentle, brown-eyed woman adored her husband and believed implicitly in his goodness, but she was bothered by the charges hurled against him. We know from two of Rockefeller's colleagues that Cettie sometimes wanted him to respond to attacks that he preferred to slough off and ignore. In the 1860s and early 1870s, Rockefeller wrote her confidential, highly informative letters about his business dealings, including the SIC. Starting in the 1880s, however, his letters suddenly became bland and empty, full of banalities about the weather and barren of business news.

In general, Rockefeller kept his family apart from Standard Oil matters, with one curious exception. At the breakfast table, he sometimes read aloud samples from the reams of abusive crank mail that swamped his office. Perhaps he did this to make light of the threats or take the sting from controversy. Aside from this, he steered clear of anything even faintly controversial. Did Cettie's religion become her impenetrable shield against the venomous criticism of her husband? And did John become more self-righteous about temperance and other social issues to assert his own virtue and assuage his conscience? These are intriguing questions, but ones avoided so sedulously by Rockefeller and his family that they left no comments that might shed any light on them. Certain aspects of Rockefeller's married life—those critical things whispered about Standard Oil in the privacy of the bedroom at night—will likely remain a mystery forever.

Rockefeller always took umbrage at the accusation that he was a narrow workaholic, yet he didn't begin to travel abroad until after he had moved to New York and was well into his forties. A stubborn provincial, he didn't hanker after the exotic, and he shunned Asia, Africa, Latin America, and other distant outposts serviced by Standard Oil. For him, the aim of travel wasn't to submit to the charms of an alien place but to transport his culture there intact. He never traveled without a clergyman (typically Edward Judson or Augustus Strong) and a doctor (usually Hamilton Biggar) in tow to cater to his spiritual and physical needs. Although Rockefeller never owned a private railroad car, the railroads hooked one up for him, as needed, to a transcontinental train for domestic trips. These plush carriages were divided into six compartments, including a kitchen, pantry, observatory room, private room, and staterooms. Streaking across the Great Plains, the family exuberantly sang hymns, or the children practiced their musical instruments. For an hour each morning, the clergyman led a Bible session, expounding another beatitude. In mapping his itinerary, Rockefeller ensured access to a Baptist church each Sunday, and he especially liked to drop in on black churches, often leaving a substantial donation in his wake. Most of all, he rejoiced to find a good, rousing tent meeting on the road—that was a real vacation treat for a man who always found religion an uplifting experience.

In 1883, Rockefeller and Henry Flagler toured Jacksonville and Saint Augustine, Florida, and reviewed the state's economic prospects with Dr. Andrew Anderson and tobacco mogul George P. Lorillard. The next year, the Rockefellers headed down to Atlanta, swung west to New Orleans, and wound up in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Two years later, they made an extended trip to Yellowstone Park and returned by way of Chicago. By this point, even Rockefeller wondered whether he would ever escape the continental United States, telling Benjamin Brewster, "I may never get to Europe with my family although we have been expecting we might go in a year or two, but I am very desirous to know more of this dear land in which we

Deliverance came on June 1, 1887, when Rockefeller and his family set sail for a three-month European vacation, the Standard Oil executives trailing after them on a tugboat to wave good-bye. They must have been relieved because they feared that his indefatigable exertions at Standard Oil might injure his health. It took Rockefeller time to shed his obsessive concern for Standard Oil and allow himself to be lulled by the restful sea spirit. While still 460 miles from Southampton, unable to stop wondering about oil, he broke down and wired George Rogers, “I find I already thirst for knowledge about the business.”<sup>56</sup> A month later, he pleaded from Berlin, “Can’t you glean more of interest from Ex[ecutive] Com[mittee] for me about current business. Am anxious for every scrap of information.”<sup>57</sup>

After the Civil War, so many Americans flocked to Europe for vacations, presenting a cavalcade of innocents abroad, that their showy vulgarity and bumptious patriotism were frequently parodied by contemporary writers. The Rockefellers must have struck the Europeans as a dry, antiseptic family, somewhat awkward and ill at ease with foreign languages. Rockefeller made no concessions to the European milieu, which only accentuated his homespun style. In London, he booked a hotel room in Piccadilly that gave his family a front-row seat for Queen Victoria’s jubilee, and they stared agog as she whisked by in a magnificent golden carriage.

As the party crossed to France, John D. was alert for sharp characters out to swindle him and prey upon his American innocence. Because he didn’t speak French, he knew he looked like a vulnerable rube. At one point, he suspected, correctly, that their tour guide was fleecing them. Politely firing the man, he took charge of financial matters and pored over stacks of incomprehensible bills. Junior left a splendid vignette of his father trying to decipher a French check:

*I can see him now, going over the long French bills, studying each item, many of them being unintelligible to him. “Poulets!” he would exclaim. “What are poulets, John?” Or again, “Bougies, bougies—what in the world is a bougie?” And so on down the bill. Father was never willing to pay a bill which he did not know to be correct in all its items. Such care in small things might seem penurious to some people, yet to him it was the working out of a life principle.*<sup>58</sup>

Another traveling companion remembered the Rockefellers sitting at a private dining room in a Roman hotel as the paterfamilias dissected the weekly bill, trying to ascertain whether they had really consumed two whole chickens, as these slippery foreigners alleged:

*Mr. Rockefeller listened for a while to the discussion, and then said quietly: “I can settle that very easily. John, did you have a chicken leg?” “Yes.” “Alta, did you have a chicken leg?” “Yes.” “Well, Mother, I think I remember that you had one. Is that right?” “Yes,” said the mother. “I know that I had one, and no chicken has 3 legs. The bill is correct.” I can still see the faces of that family group and hear the tone of Mr. Rockefeller’s voice as he so quietly and so uniquely settled that dispute.*<sup>59</sup>

As he grew older, Junior was deputized to handle tips and bills, which he later cited as excellent business training.

Needless to say, Rockefeller spurned the European music halls and spent most of the trip making pilgrimages to churches or touring pretty scenery. At first, he declined an audience with the pope and yielded only when advised that it might please the Catholic workmen at Standard Oil. Still a man of exceptional fortitude, he and Junior went off for a vigorous mountain climb in Zermatt, Switzerland, and his stamina amazed his son. On this European trip, Rockefeller even found time to read and grew enraptured in Paris by Lew Wallace’s *Ben-Hur* and by Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s *Last Days of Pompeii* on a visit to Vesuvius. Yet he couldn’t disappear into a reverie for long. He was now so famous that as he went from city to city, his arrival was celebrated in the local papers and crank mail and begging letters began to follow him. So many letters piled up at hotels along the way that he finally had to purchase a big trunk just to carry them back. It was testimony to Rockefeller’s thoroughgoing sense of responsibility that he preserved each letter for review at home. For a man who had fled to Europe for a peaceful interlude, it must have been startling to realize that his fame and notoriety were now so widespread in a world dominated by Standard Oil that he could no longer find refuge anywhere from his own reputation.

Beleaguered by supplicants, Rockefeller tried to expand his disbursements to keep pace with his mounting income, and his donations nearly doubled from \$61,000 in 1881 to \$119,000 three years later. Notwithstanding his somewhat frigid image, he took a close interest in the recipients of his charity and directly monitored their progress. Even as he was being reviled as a corporate malefactor in the press, this contradictory man agonized over the judicious application of his money and found it harder to exercise scrutiny over charities than over business. In this seminal phase of Rockefeller philanthropy, the entire family judged the merits of applications, and the children sometimes audited important meetings. Once grace was said at breakfast, Rockefeller pulled out a folder stuffed with appeals from around the globe and assigned them to the children for further study. At this point, he drew no invidious distinctions among the children and involved all four equally in disposing of his fortune.

Rockefeller’s benevolent innovations have often been credited to his extraordinary philanthropic chief, Frederick T. Gates, who arrived on the scene in the 1890s. Yet by the 1880s, Rockefeller had already formulated certain core principles for his bequests, many of them stemming from beliefs he had long entertained as a businessman. For instance, like other industrialists, he worried that charity fostered dependence and pauperized recipients. After he had escorted his family to the notorious Five Points slum of lower Manhattan on their first Thanksgiving Day in New York, he lauded a shelter for homeless men but carped at the “policy of feeding all the tramps that came. My impression is they only do it once a year. I would give them work and make them earn their food.”<sup>60</sup>

Again, contrary to his stereotype, Rockefeller was acutely concerned about the poverty that accompanied industrialization, urbanization, and immigration in the late nineteenth century. Far from taking refuge in the world to come, he also stressed salvation in this world, prodding one clergyman to go into “the midst of the multitudes thronging up and down the Bowery or thereabouts, and settle and stay right there with them, establish a church.”<sup>61</sup> Starting in 1882, he underwrote the ministry of Edward Judson, who exemplified his belief that a shepherd should abide with his flock. He was the youngest son of Adoniram Judson, a saintly figure among nineteenth-century Baptists for converting the Burmese and translating the Bible into their tongue. Abandoning an affluent congregation in New Jersey, Edward Judson took over the Berea Baptist Church on Manhattan’s West Fifteenth Street to

evangelize among poor Italian immigrants. As an exponent of the social gospel, which blended social work with spiritual comfort, he convinced Rockefeller to contribute to a fresh-air and cool-water fund offering poor immigrants a refreshing two-week retreat in the country each summer.

As a regular dinner guest on Fifty-fourth Street, Judson won over Rockefeller to his vision of a comprehensive religious center that would unite elements of both an urban church and settlement house, ministering to both the worldly and spiritual needs of congregants, a vision spectacularly realized with construction of the Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square in 1892. For this imposing edifice, designed in Greco-Romanesque style by McKim, Mead and White with stained-glass windows by John La Farge, Rockefeller contributed \$40,000 of the original \$256,000. Both a community center and house of worship, it offered a broad spectrum of services from day nurseries to sewing classes for the poor. By this point, Rockefeller was indisputably the most powerful Baptist layman, and his largesse was already stirring fierce dissension in the ranks—not at all surprising in a denomination filled with working people. In the late 1880s, Judson told him about a convention of Baptist ministers in Philadelphia at which “some very shallow and ill-advised . . . vehement insinuations were made against the Standard Oil,” prompting another clergyman to deliver a “brave, ringing speech” in Rockefeller’s defense.<sup>62</sup> During the next two decades, this controversy grew more obstreperous as the Baptists tried to figure out whether the munificent oil mogul had been sent to them from heaven or hell.

The most important concept Rockefeller bequeathed to philanthropy was that of wholesale giving, as opposed to small, scattershot contributions. As Cleveland’s wealthiest philanthropist in the early 1880s, Rockefeller already felt oppressed by the appeals cascading in on him. In 1881, he apologized to Reverend George O. King of the Willson Avenue Baptist Church in Cleveland, saying, “I have been holding back [an] answer in part from the fact that I had so many obligations for benevolent objects that I was almost overwhelmed.”<sup>63</sup> Since for Rockefeller the imperative to make money and donate money emanated from a common religious impulse—“I am more and more satisfied no member of a church can afford not to contribute as the Lord prosper him,” he told a friend—he approached his donations with extreme gravity.<sup>64</sup>

In 1882, two of Rockefeller’s interests dovetailed memorably in a commitment to a black women’s school at a time when higher education for both blacks and women was held suspect. He had had a long-standing interest in education, having contributed for years to Denison University, a Baptist college in Ohio. In the 1880s and 1890s, he gave so openhandedly to A. C. Bacone’s Indian University (today Bacone College) in present-day Oklahoma that its first major building was named Rockefeller Hall. During the Civil War, Rockefeller gave to black ministers, churches, orphanages, and a deaf and mute society. He never relinquished a special solicitude for black welfare—quite atypical for a businessman at that time. Imbued with Baptist egalitarianism, he was ripe for conversion to a new cause when Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles reentered his life.

The Rockefellers had first met Packard and Giles on their honeymoon stopover at Oread Collegiate Institute, where the two women were newly recruited teachers. They were absorbed in the dismal plight of poor blacks, partly as an extension of their Baptist evangelism. After the Civil War, Baptists had been in the vanguard of forming churches for freed slaves and teaching them to read the Bible and had enjoyed the strongest growth in the black community of any denomination. So when Packard was named corresponding secretary of the new Woman’s American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1878, she had a serviceable vehicle for advancing black education. When she and Giles toured southern black schools two years later, they were appalled by the educational facilities for black women and found one especially glaring omission: Georgia, with the largest black population, lacked a single institution of higher learning for black women. To rectify this, in 1881 they opened a school for young black women—many of them born under slavery and still illiterate—in the dank, dilapidated basement of the Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, christening it the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary. The first class had eleven students, mostly mothers. For two sedate, decorous New England ladies to venture into the troubled area of southern race relations represented a courageous act.

In June 1882, Packard and Giles visited Cleveland to make an appeal to potential donors at the Willson Avenue Baptist Church. For forty years, the Spelmans had passionately backed abolitionism and sundry black causes. The recently deceased Harvey B. Spelman had sat on the executive committee of the American Freedmen’s Union Commission. In consequence, Reverend King had a powerful hunch that the Rockefellers would respond enthusiastically to the pleas of Packard and Giles and promised the two women that if they came to his church, he would deliver John and Cettie Rockefeller in the audience.

Packard and Giles dressed with the same spinsterish simplicity, but the similarities ended there. Tall and blue-eyed, Packard was a brisk woman with a ready wit and great managerial gifts, while the younger Giles seemed timorous, gentle, and retiring in manner. That evening they made an affecting presentation, summoning up images of the 150 students, many unlettered but eager, who crowded the drab church basement to learn. As rain dripped down the walls and gathered in stagnant pools on the muddy floor, Packard and Giles sometimes stood in puddles as they taught eleven or twelve classes apiece each day; some classes were tightly wedged into a dusty area formerly used for coal storage. Breathing air thick with smoke and dust and ducking overhead heating pipes, the students had to kneel and write on wooden benches. To teach math, Packard and Giles laid sticks across the planks and had the students count them. At first, most of the women were provided with little more than a Bible, pad, and pencil, and the lighting was so poor that they couldn’t read on rainy days.

This poignant presentation would have wrung tears from a stone, and the Rockefellers were transfixed. As Harriet Giles recalled, “It was at that meeting that Mr. John D. Rockefeller first became interested in the school. After having emptied his pockets when the box was passed, he asked [us] the characteristic question, ‘Are you going to stick?’ and added, ‘If so, I will do more for you.’”<sup>65</sup> On the spot, he pledged \$250 more for their building fund. Much to the amazement of the teachers, he returned the next afternoon with three carriages and took them off to Forest Hill, where they drove about as honored guests.

Inspired by these women, Rockefeller, though socially conservative, became unalterably committed to black education. As one chronicler of Rockefeller philanthropy has noted, “The Rockefeller files are more extensive on this subject of the welfare of the Negro race than on almost any other.”<sup>66</sup> More than any benevolent project, the black women’s college in Atlanta became a Rockefeller family affair, as John was joined in his interest by his Spelman wife, sister-in-law, and mother-in-law. When it came to black education and welfare, Rockefeller displayed unwonted ardor. “Kindly assure the colored people of my sympathy for and interest in them and tell them, I hope they will in addition to securing knowledge from books, strive to learn to do all kinds of work, and better than any other class of men,” he wrote to one minister friend in the late 1880s.<sup>67</sup> Reciprocating the personal tone of his



correspondence, Sophia Packard always saluted him as “Dear Brother” or “Dear Friend.” Amid the hectic rounds of his life, Rockefeller always found time to send letters and small, thoughtful gifts to Packard and Giles to buck up their morale.

Rockefeller’s involvement in the Atlanta school was at first cautious but gradually acquired irresistible momentum. In late 1882, the Atlanta school bought nine acres and five buildings that had housed Union occupation troops. By late 1883, the fast-growing school had enrolled 450 students, the mortgage on the barracks property was coming due, and the school wavered on the edge of fiscal crisis. At this point, Packard and Giles entreated Rockefeller for a donation to secure the school on a permanent footing: “Give it a name; let it if you please be called Rockefeller College, or if you prefer let it take your good wife’s Maiden name or any other which suits you.”<sup>68</sup> Although Rockefeller retired the \$5,000 debt, he humbly declined to use his own name. Instead, in a fitting tribute to his in-laws, he opted for the Spelman name, thus giving birth to Spelman Seminary, renamed Spelman College in 1924. It developed into one of America’s most respected schools for black women, counting Martin Luther King, Jr.’s mother and grandmother among its many prominent alumnae.

On April 11, 1884, Rockefeller and his family went by train to Atlanta to celebrate the school’s third anniversary, and 450 students packed the chapel to glimpse their patrons. Rockefeller adored Negro hymns and spirituals and now heard them in abundance. After the opening hymn, Sophia Packard exclaimed, “I bless the Lord that I have lived to see this day.”<sup>69</sup> In a string of brief speeches, Cettie Rockefeller paid tribute to the liberating power of song, sister Lute memorialized their father’s abolitionist work, and their mother told how the Spelman home had been a stop on the Underground Railroad. Though Rockefeller virtually never spoke in public, he delivered a talk of unaffected eloquence: “It is in your hearts to make the school one that people will believe in. God will take these small beginnings to do a great work. I am thankful to be here.”<sup>70</sup> When Rockefeller sat down, it was announced, amid sustained cheers and hosannas, that the school had been renamed Spelman Seminary.

As a paradigm of future Rockefeller philanthropy, several things about Spelman should be flagged for attention. In a delicate balancing act, Rockefeller gave enough to get projects under way, yet not so much as to obviate future fund-raising. In 1886, Rockefeller Hall was dedicated, which included dormitory rooms and a beautiful chapel. During the coming years, he gave another eleven acres plus the money for additional dormitories, a laundry, a dining hall, and numerous other buildings, creating a lovely, elegant campus. Presented with architectural plans for one new building, he commented, “My suggestion is to err in getting what seems at present too much room rather than not enough. I judge the crop of colored folks will be large.”<sup>71</sup> In the 1890s, Rockefeller sent his own landscape architects to redesign the campus, and he himself selected the trees and shrubbery.

Yet for all this fervent support, Packard and Giles had to struggle for years to keep the school afloat. With one check, Rockefeller might have relieved their anxiety forever, but he wanted to avert excessive dependence and keep alive a creative ambiguity about his intentions. While briefly serving on the Spelman board of trustees, he preferred to remain slightly detached and subtly enigmatic, never telegraphing his plans too far in advance.

Another cardinal principle of Rockefeller philanthropy was to rely upon expert opinion. Many of his gifts to Spelman Seminary were channeled through Dr. Henry L. Morehouse, the field secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which increasingly functioned as a conduit for Rockefeller’s wholesale philanthropy in education. Taxed by too many pleas for money, Rockefeller wrote to Morehouse on December 24, 1883, and inquired whether “to avoid having all these people from every part of the country calling” on him it might not be “much better for the cause” for him “to give all through the Home Mission Society.”<sup>72</sup> Frederick T. Gates later took credit for this sane, efficient method of giving through umbrella groups that would then allocate money locally, but the idea had already taken root in Rockefeller’s mind. In these early years, one also sees Rockefeller using contributions to stimulate collaboration from others as he inched toward the concept of matching grants. For instance, in 1886, he pledged \$30,000 to Morehouse, hoping that it would prove the catalyst for a \$150,000 fund drive.

Since Rockefeller believed in meritocracy, not aristocracy, he favored educational opportunities for minorities. Spelman Seminary taught nursing, teaching, printing, and other useful trades, but the focal point was training young black women for a good Christian life. Some of the first graduates went to the Congo as missionaries. As Packard and Giles told Rockefeller several years later, “God is blessing the school spiritually as well as temporally; a number [of students] have entered upon the Christian life since the term commenced. We believe the salvation of the race and our country depends upon the Christian training of these girls who are to be future mothers and educators.”<sup>73</sup> In the early years, Spelman Seminary encouraged a Victorian gentility among the students, turning out well-bred young ladies in hats and gloves. At the same time, it evinced much of the practical, enterprising spirit espoused by Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, who stressed vocational training for blacks. Before long, this approach to black education would be anathematized as futile and condescending by W.E.B. Du Bois and other critics who thought blacks capable of the same higher education as whites and felt they were doomed to mediocrity by vocational training. But whatever its early imperfections, Spelman College ultimately evolved into one of the most highly regarded institutions for black women in America.

*The Puppeteer*

Because Standard Oil had long exercised a global monopoly, Rockefeller's name was already known abroad. Foreign markets were larger and more lucrative than domestic markets—some 70 percent of American oil went abroad in the mid-1880s—while some feeble competition managed to sputter on at home in the face of daunting odds. In the early 1870s, kerosene penetrated China, Japan, and other far-off spots, and one American traveler in 1874 saw Standard kerosene flickering in the ancient quarters of Babylon and Nineveh. In the early 1880s, 85 percent of world crude-oil production was still extracted from Pennsylvania soil, making it America's fourth-largest export, and only Russian oil constituted a serious competitive threat. Since it made no sense to clamp down excess capacity at home only to see it expand abroad, Rockefeller could never tolerate foreign rivals, telling one colleague, "We have the capacity to do all the home trade as well as the export, and I hope we can devise ways and means to accomplish it later on; at all events we must continue to strive for it."<sup>1</sup>

Standard Oil studied foreign markets and posted a cultivated oil merchant, William Herbert Libby, to the Far East in 1882 to make a two-year survey. Observing that oil had "found its way into more nooks and corners of the civilized and uncivilized countries than any other product in business history emanating from a single source," Libby proselytized for kerosene in Japan, China, and India.<sup>2</sup> After translating into Chinese a pamphlet touting the safety of kerosene lamps, Libby had the satisfaction of seeing sampans laden with Standard Oil products floating up rivers deep in China's interior. To inflate demand, the combine sold hundreds of thousands of cheap lamps and wicks and sometimes distributed them gratis along with the first kerosene purchase. "In many countries," said Rockefeller, "we had to teach the people . . . to burn oil by making lamps for them; we packed the oil to be carried by camels or on the backs of runners in the most remote portions of the world; we adapted the trade to the needs of strange folk."<sup>3</sup>

For a time, Standard ruled foreign markets no less dictatorially than domestic ones, and with crude oil found in large quantities only in western Pennsylvania, it seemed this idyll might last forever. Then this fool's paradise was roughly shattered in the early 1870s by a giant scramble for oil at the Russian port of Baku on the Caspian Sea. For more than a century, the natives had scooped up crude oil from huge pits, selling it mostly to Persians to lubricate their cart wheels, grease leather harnesses, and alleviate rheumatic pains. In the early 1870s, this primitive industry was suddenly thrust into the modern world when drillers struck wells of unprecedented force. Amid deafening roars, black geysers shot into the air with such staggering power that some of them couldn't be capped for months; one raging gusher spouted 2,400 tons of oil within its first twenty-four hours.

In 1873, Robert Nobel, a member of the illustrious Swedish family, arrived in the Caucasus on a mission unrelated to oil. His brother had a contract to produce rifles for the Russian government, and Robert was scouting walnut trees for use as rifle stocks. Instead, he stumbled upon the bedlam of Baku, a frantic scene of such ghastly beauty that Maxim Gorky later limned it as "a dark hell painted by an artist of genius."<sup>4</sup> A crossroads as exotic as it was hellish, a Moslem enclave bristling with minarets, mosques, and palaces, Baku presented two faces to the traveler. In the bazaars, vendors hawked everything from Russian sugar to Persian silks, while outside of town a thick canopy of black smoke enveloped the refineries.

Robert Nobel took his 25,000 rubles of walnut money and plumped it down to buy a refinery. Where local kerosene had hitherto been mocked as Baku sludge, the Nobel refineries produced kerosene equal to that of Standard Oil, which monopolized the Russian marketplace in the early 1870s. Bringing sophisticated management and ample funds to the industry, Nobel and his brothers had created by decade's end an eight-mile pipeline to the Caspian Sea, where they floated the world's first oil tanker, the *Zoroaster*. They pioneered a continuous refining method that was superior to Standard's batch system for sorting out distillates. In 1879, the Nobels organized the Nobel Brothers Petroleum Producing Company and soon cobbled together an impressive distribution system, complete with flatcars, tank cars, and storage depots, ejecting Standard Oil from Russia. That year, a roving Standard operative, William Brough, sent Rockefeller samples of Russian crude and refined oil along with prophecies that in a few years the Nobels would build a pipeline or railroad from the Caspian to the Black Sea, setting the stage for Russian oil to challenge Standard Oil in European markets.



***Rockefeller's first influential critic, Henry Demarest Lloyd, in Boston in 1903. (Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin)***

By the early 1880s, two hundred refineries cluttered Baku's oil-stained slopes, and in 1883—true to Brough's forecast—a railroad connected Baku

on the Caspian Sea to Batumi on the Black Sea. The potent Russian wells flowed with such fierce abundance that it was cheaper to produce oil in Russia than at Titusville, and cut-rate kerosene soon flooded European markets, undercutting Standard's prices. The American consul in Batumi, J. C. Chambers, who had been dispatched by Standard Oil to harvest intelligence, kept Rockefeller apprised of these developments and sounded an alarm about the Russians' "quixotic ambition to drive the American oil from the markets of the world."<sup>5</sup> Whatever the coolness between Rockefeller and American officialdom at home, they cooperated overseas to stop tariffs against American oil. Paying tribute to the State Department, Rockefeller later said, "Our ambassadors and ministers and consuls have aided to push our way into new markets to the utmost corners of the world."<sup>6</sup>

Rockefeller seems to have been caught napping by the Russian incursion just as he had snuffed out all his major domestic rivals. When his Hamburg agent, Charles F. L. Meissner, reported in 1885 on extensive Russian penetration of European markets, Rockefeller, taken aback, fired off an indignant blast at his executive committee: "I am at a loss to understand how the bulk transportation could have been carried on to the extent referred to in Switzerland and elsewhere, without our having received more information about it."<sup>7</sup> To retaliate, Rockefeller resorted to the usual high-powered weaponry, cutting prices across Europe and starting an insidious whispering campaign to question the safety of Russian kerosene. His files also reveal numberless secret contacts in Paris and London hotels with shadowy, self-appointed intermediaries inquiring whether Standard wished to buy a stake in Nobel Brothers or join with them in slicing up European markets. In 1885, Standard's peripatetic emissary, W. H. Libby, held talks with the Nobels in Saint Petersburg, but these overtures faltered. The Nobels' power in Russia hinged on their relationship with the despotic czarist government, and they didn't intend to admit Standard Oil into their preserve.

By the mid-1880s, another powerful force appeared on the world oil scene. The Paris Rothschilds, led by Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, had built refineries at Rijeka and Trieste on the Adriatic Sea. In organizing the Caspian and Black Sea Petroleum Company—better known by its Russian initials, Bnito—they stood to reap a fortune from inexpensive Russian oil. No sooner had the Rothschilds entered the business than reports filtered back to Rockefeller that the Nobels, who were heavily in debt to the Rothschilds, could not meet their payments and might be forced to make common cause with the French bankers. For many years, the Rothschilds, the Nobels, and Standard Oil circled around each other, each trying to forge links with a second party to isolate the third.

This vigorous competition abroad aroused Rockefeller's fighting spirit, and he even took to lecturing his colleagues in verse: "We are neither old nor sleepy and must 'Be up and doing, with a heart for any fate; Still achieving, still pursuing, learn to labor and to wait.'"<sup>8</sup> Both Rockefeller and Archbold favored scrapping their former system of operating through European brokers and instead launching their own marketing subsidiaries. For a time, they were held back by Benjamin Brewster, and Rockefeller, unwilling to move without a consensus, yielded against his better judgment. When the Rothschilds set up a British oil-marketing firm in 1888, Brewster's logic suddenly crumbled, and twenty-four days later Standard Oil set up its first overseas affiliate, the Anglo-American Oil Company, which soon monopolized the British oil trade. Two years later, Standard started the Deutsche-Amerikanische Petroleum Gesellschaft in Bremen to handle the north German market. Neither old nor sleepy, Rockefeller set up an oil terminal at Rotterdam, struck a deal to supply all of France's crude oil, took stakes in oil firms in Holland, Italy, and Scandinavia, and orchestrated heated price wars in India. Taking a cue from the Nobels, Standard launched its first oil-tank steamer to Europe, a mammoth vessel that transported a million gallons of oil, the first of what would shortly be an entire ocean fleet piloted from 26 Broadway.

Despite the low price of Russian oil, Standard barred it from America and retained nearly 80 percent of world markets in the late 1880s. For all the complaints about adulterated kerosene that Rockefeller heard on his European travels, the Nobels and Rothschilds never matched the quality of Standard's products or surpassed its integrated operation. For Archbold, it was the Russians' failure to consolidate their domestic industry—that is, to suppress competition and establish a trust—that consigned them to secondary status. "If there had been as prompt and energetic action on the part of the Russian oil industry as was taken by the Standard Oil Company, the Russians would have dominated many of the world's markets which have been made to inure so largely to the benefit of the American oil industry."<sup>9</sup>

If the Nobels and the Rothschilds weren't mortal threats, neither did they capitulate tamely to Standard Oil, as so many American rivals had. These contending forces clashed repeatedly in the oil wars of the 1890s, a protracted battle that saw periods of blistering competition followed by cozy deals to divvy up markets. When competition forced price-cutting in the early 1890s, Rockefeller advocated a tactical rapprochement with his erstwhile foes and induced Baron Alphonse de Rothschild to visit 26 Broadway in secret. Archbold's report to Rockefeller about the July 1892 meeting revealed that, beneath the competitive veneer, the Rothschilds were eager to come to terms with Standard Oil:

*We reached a tentative agreement with them. . . . I need hardly report again that it seems desirable on all sides that this matter be kept exceedingly confidential. It was thought best that we should not see the Nobel people, but that the approach be made to them on the subject by the Rothschilds. We were treated with great courtesy by Baron Rothschild, and we [were] much delighted that he spoke English fluently, which greatly facilitated our intercourse.*<sup>10</sup>

In the end, Count Sergei Witte, the Russian finance minister, spiked the scheme for a grand alliance of Standard Oil with the Nobels and Rothschilds—to the dismay of countless European newspaper cartoonists who had made sport evoking the clumsy embrace of the octopus and the bear. All the while, Russia kept pumping crude oil and by the late 1890s briefly overtook the United States in oil production, even though Standard Oil handily eclipsed it in refining.

By 1890, it was self-evident that oil existed throughout the earth's crust and that only a freak accident (plus some timely Yankee ingenuity) had led to the business being founded in Titusville. In 1884, Dutch drillers began prospecting for oil in Sumatra and six years later received a royal charter to exploit Dutch East Indian reserves, christening their company Royal Dutch. Meanwhile, another aggressive contender waited in the wings. In 1891, the enterprising London merchant Marcus Samuel signed a contract with the Rothschilds to market their kerosene in the Far East. Samuel used the Suez Canal to speed the export of Russian kerosene to Asian markets. Oil had taken four months to travel from New York to the Far East but now reached it from Batumi in a month. Even though Samuel designed a custom-made bulk tanker, the *Murex*, to conform to the canal's strict requirements, Standard Oil hired London solicitors to sow doubts about the project, spreading nasty rumors about a "powerful group of financiers and merchants" under "Hebrew influence" who planned to take tankers through the canal.<sup>11</sup> Rockefeller later ranted against "our Asiatic competitors controlled by Jewish men who cry

‘Wolf ! Wolf! Standard Oil Company!’ and keep moving in and getting control of markets.”<sup>12</sup> (He once compared Standard Oil’s supposedly “fair-minded” methods with “the old, old Jew method of treating one customer one way and another in another [way].”) <sup>13</sup> Warding off this verbal sabotage, Samuel managed to defeat Standard Oil decisively, and his trademark red oilcans—in contrast to Standard’s blue cans—soon became known throughout Asia.

By 1892, with oil production booming in Burma and Java, Standard Oil belatedly recognized the need for concerted action in Asian markets. It tried in vain to buy the business of both Royal Dutch and Marcus Samuel, who renamed his company Shell Transport and Trading Company in 1897 to honor his family’s old seashell-box business. Standard even stooped to trading for Russian kerosene in order to serve better its Asian customers. It finally set up a series of Asian stations and assigned a small army of agents to Shanghai, Calcutta, Bombay, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, and Singapore. These operatives sold Standard kerosene in tin cans with wooden frames because Asian customers recycled the tin as roofing and turned the wooden cases into household objects. For all these smart marketing ploys, Standard Oil was forced to coexist with Royal Dutch and Shell, which merged to create a rival empire in the early 1900s. Henceforth, competition was enshrined as a permanent fact of the international oil business—despite a multitude of secret, market-sharing deals—and it was only a matter of time before the deadly contagion of competition infected North America.

Even as it was menaced by new competitors abroad, Standard Oil seemed omnipotent in American oil. Everything about its operation was colossal: Twenty thousand wells poured their output into 4,000 miles of Standard Oil pipelines, carrying the crude to seaboard or to 5,000 Standard Oil tank cars. The combine now employed 100,000 people and superintended the export of 50,000 barrels of oil to Europe daily. Rockefeller’s creation could be discussed only in superlatives: It was the biggest and richest, the most feared and admired business organization in the world. Earning steady, reliable profits, year in and year out, Rockefeller could be forgiven for believing he had outwitted the business cycle. For a man who craved order, he had reached his apogee. No longer at the mercy of unpredictable economic forces, he thrived even in recessions.

Rockefeller was exceedingly pleased by the harmonious workings of his fantastic machinery and the neat, orderly unfolding of his days. When he arrived at work each morning, he sat at his rolltop desk and examined two stacks of paper, one representing decisions made, the other matters to be thought over, and he slowly burrowed his way through both piles. Starting in the 1880s, he adopted a policy of never doing business with strangers or even meeting them, avoiding unwanted solicitations and controversy. If this simplified his life, it also strengthened the unsettling image of an untouchable tycoon, hidden behind the scenes.

Many of Rockefeller’s critics alleged that he divided his life into compartments and kept two separate sets of moral ledger books: one governing his exemplary private life, another sanctioning his reprehensible business behavior. But he saw his entire life guided by the same lofty ideals. In retirement, he wrote to Harvard president Charles Eliot, apropos of Standard Oil, “I can say without hesitation that no business organization with which I have ever been connected has been controlled by higher ideals.” <sup>14</sup> One way that he upheld this belief was to become self-righteous about his opponents, whom he reviled as undisguised rascals. “The other people were up to all sorts of tricks, mixing benzine with the oil, and so forth,” he said of rival refiners. <sup>15</sup> Nobody was more vigilant about being cheated than Rockefeller nor quicker to seize the moral high ground. To convince himself that he was a highly ethical businessman, he redefined exactly what that meant. For instance, he always made much of the fact that he honored contracts, paid bills and debt promptly, treated small shareholders fairly, and never watered stock. To confirm his clean, sanctimonious image of himself, he reiterated these ideals with a kind of incantatory relish, and the more naysayers dwelled on his railroad dealings or secret subsidiaries, the more he affirmed his own compensating code of business honor. This was as much to preserve his own self-image as to persuade a skeptical public that he was honorable, for Rockefeller desperately needed to have a good opinion of himself.

What further blinded Rockefeller to his misdeeds was that by the 1880s he always stood at several removes from any mayhem. He was now a master puppeteer, adroitly manipulating his marionettes, with the strings artfully concealed. As Standard Oil’s leading figure, he was the only person who didn’t have any direct operational responsibility. Instead, statesmanlike, he applied himself to general policy and monitored the performance of lieutenants, who sent him copious reports about their activities and often boasted shamelessly of their unsavory deeds. In contrast, Rockefeller replied in brief, opaque letters. He never assumed total confidentiality, even in internal memorandums, and cultivated a spare, elliptical style, devoid of names or specifics, that would have baffled any prosecuting attorney. In creating this self-protective structure, Rockefeller could run Standard Oil while simultaneously sidestepping responsibility, erasing incriminating evidence, and avoiding contact with his victims. It enabled him to distance himself from the dirty work down below and feign ignorance of what was happening. When confronted with well-documented cases of terror tactics used by subordinates, he blandly conceded some few indiscretions by overly zealous employees and cast himself as a helpless spectator. But if one examines the reams of letters sent to him by his associates, his pose of innocence crumbles. He knew everything that was going on and now, for the first time, we can document it. For that reason, we will digress occasionally in this chapter from the linear narrative of Rockefeller’s life to examine reports he received from the field. They leave no doubt that he was the brains of the operation, directing activities he professed to deplore and setting the tone for his subordinates. This, of course, only complicates the mystery of how he integrated the various facets of his life—of how the enlightened patron of Spelman Seminary could also be the brutal overlord of Standard Oil. In the end, we can only explain how he rationalized his behavior to himself and others; given the absence of revelatory letters or diaries, we can say little about the unconscious drives that led him to do this or the mental strains it might have caused.

In his memoirs, Rockefeller implied that Standard took no rebates after 1880, whereas his files disclose that collusion with the railroads became even more brazen after that date. By the early 1880s, the railroads had ceded supremacy in oil transport to the Standard-dominated pipelines, which now carried more than three-fourths of the crude oil from the Pennsylvania wells to coastal cities, charging Standard Oil’s own refineries half the posted price. Not surprisingly, as the railroads weakened, Standard Oil only browbeat them more. The combine owned a subsidiary, the Galena-Signal Oil Company, which monopolized the manufacture of high-grade railroad lubricants. Simply by stalling on shipments of this indispensable grease, it could bring any railroad to a halt. If Standard wished to extract a railroad rebate, it merely tacked on a surcharge to the price of Galena cylinder or engine oils. And Rockefeller continued to play his favorite trump card: the tank-car fleet. By the late 1880s, Standard Oil was leasing its tank cars to 196 railroads, forcing most of them to pay a double-mileage tribute to 26 Broadway—that is, a mileage royalty on outward-bound trips, when the cars were topful of oil, and also on inward-bound trips, when they returned empty.

One reason for Rockefeller's continuing solicitude toward the roads after the pipeline revolution was that he himself had a significant investment in them. He conceded as much when he stated that Standard Oil stockholders "as the years had gone by were becoming more and more a factor in railway problems and other enterprises."<sup>16</sup> At the time, railroad shares were among the few blue-chip securities available to rich investors, which meant that Rockefeller invested heavily in the Erie, the New York Central, and other oil-carrying roads. In March 1881, Rockefeller wrote A. J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad about rumors that his railroad would soon issue \$400,000 worth of stock. He suggested they set up a joint private account of Pennsylvania stock—with Rockefeller making the payment.<sup>17</sup> Whether this deal was executed is unclear, but it was a blatant bid to connive with a major railroad executive.

In later years, when Ida Tarbell made railroad manipulation the focal point of her Standard Oil indictment, Rockefeller pleaded ignorance of such dealings, claiming they were handled by his colleagues while he magisterially confined himself to broader matters. In fact, his papers document that he either met directly with railroad presidents or else was given graphic, blow-by-blow accounts of negotiations by Flagler, Archbold, O'Day, Payne, Warden, and a formerly little-noticed figure, Colonel W. P. Thompson, who had headed a Virginia cavalry unit for the Confederacy. The secretary of Standard Oil of Ohio and a brother-in-law of Standard power broker Johnson N. Camden, Colonel Thompson shared a Cleveland office with Rockefeller and Payne, and his letters furnish explosive proof of extensive railroad collusion in the 1880s. While Rockefeller made it seem as if such shenanigans occurred far from his sphere, he was fully briefed by Thompson, who liked to boast of his maneuvers.

Rockefeller's files are chock-full of examples of rebates well into the 1880s. In March 1886, William G. Warden reported from Philadelphia that the Pennsylvania Railroad had agreed to the following discounts: Fifty-two cents per barrel to ship oil from Oil Creek to New York (versus a listed rate of 78 cents) and 39 cents to Philadelphia (versus 65 cents for other refiners). Rockefeller was always insistent that Standard's competitive advantage had nothing to do with preferential transport rates, but his correspondence reveals that rebates could single-handedly transform an unprofitable plant into a profitable one. In 1886, Colonel Thompson told him that it made sense to proceed with a new naphtha plant at Oil City (naphtha was a crude-oil fraction used to make gas or solvents) only if the Lake Shore hauled the finished product to Cleveland for ten cents instead of seventeen.<sup>18</sup> During these negotiations, Colonel Thompson also reported that low freight rates would enable them to rehabilitate an otherwise insolvent Oil City refinery. Wherever possible, Thompson preferred oral agreements, once telling Rockefeller of his talks with two railroads, "I think they will concede the undesirability of a regular written contract."<sup>19</sup>

The backdoor deals with the railroads necessarily generated more speculation than proof at the time. But it was the trust's marketing operation that ultimately proved its undoing, for it directly touched consumers and tens of thousands of small businessmen located in every congressional district. In the 1870s, Rockefeller began to assemble a marketing organization to eliminate the middlemen, independent agents who had earned three to five cents per gallon of kerosene. Since they handled Standard kerosene *and* competing products—an intolerable situation for Rockefeller—and often cared more about gouging consumers than expanding markets, he decided to get rid of them.

Furthermore, Standard's refinery flow was now too huge to depend upon this fragmented, obsolete distribution system. Kerosene demand was booming as it illuminated mills, factories, hotels, and office buildings in the growing cities. To exploit economies of scale, Rockefeller noted, "we had to create selling methods far in advance of what then existed; we had to dispose of two, or three, or four gallons of oil where one had been sold before, and we could not rely upon the usual trade channels then existing to accomplish this."<sup>20</sup> To have high-volume, low-cost production, the Standard needed huge guaranteed sales. This forced Rockefeller to integrate vertically the entire industry, controlling everything from the wellhead to the consumer.

Around 1882, in a revolutionary development, the trust began to sweep away the old distribution system, with its horse-drawn carts full of swaying barrels, and disburse millions of dollars to build thousands of tank wagons to service every American town. Rockefeller hailed the efficient new system: "I believe it one of our best means for getting and holding the trade."<sup>21</sup> It worked thus: Standard's tank cars or pipelines delivered refined oil to storage tanks, where the tank wagons were filled up. From here, the wagons set out for local groceries and hardware stores—the principal retail outlets—where they replenished special canisters that the trust provided. Sometimes, over the furious opposition of storekeepers, tank wagons even went door-to-door, selling directly to households and putting Standard smack in the retail trade. (In some places, the trust manipulated local retailers by saying that they would refrain from this practice *if* storekeepers dealt exclusively in Standard kerosene.) The combine also sold, almost at cost, heaters, stoves, lamps, and lanterns to widen the market; in the manner of a modern corporation, Standard Oil created demand as well as satisfied it, and its obliging agents helped consumers clean lamps and burners to enhance their use.

Grocers and hardware merchants resented the demand to stock only Standard Oil kerosene or be starved out of the business. Along with wholesalers rendered obsolete by the Standard marketing effort, they emerged as Rockefeller's most potent enemies. Conveniently, Rockefeller never set eyes on these men, had no sympathy for them, and chided them for standing in the way of progress. "Of course it is natural that the man who drove the stage coach should be antagonistic to the railroad and that the man who used to keep the small inn should look with disfavor upon the big, magnificent hotels."<sup>22</sup>

Since jobbers often adulterated Standard Oil kerosene with poor-quality product from independent refiners, Rockefeller hoped that his marketing operation would ensure a uniform quality of Standard Oil products. The 1870s witnessed five thousand to six thousand deaths annually from accidents caused by faulty kerosene.<sup>23</sup> Far from being immune to complaints, however, Standard Oil was bedeviled by reports that its kerosene emitted an offensive odor, crusted wicks, and smoked lamps. One day in Cleveland, an angry woman pushed her way into Rockefeller's office and demanded to know what he planned to do about his poor kerosene. Indignantly, he marched off to the lab and had the woman's sample analyzed, the results unknown. At 26 Broadway, he tracked the activities of the manufacturing committee, which burned kerosene lamps for six hours at a time to test oil quality. Always touchy about complaints, Rockefeller often blamed poor wicks and developed the Acme wick to eliminate those complaints. To his consternation, customers still grumbled even after they switched to this allegedly foolproof article.

Standard's marketing subsidiaries were conducted with such controlled ferocity that they became the most hated part of the entire organization. One must recall that Standard Oil was a federation of companies, not a single firm, and held only a partial interest in many affiliated companies. This invited trouble, for Standard often retained the original managers and allowed them a fair degree of autonomy. When the combine absorbed established

marketing concerns, it brought into the organization several rogue proprietors who tarnished the Standard Oil name. Later on, Rockefeller feigned ignorance of their actions and disclaimed responsibility when, as we shall see, he received elaborate warnings about their methods.

In 1873, Standard secretly bought half of Chess, Carley and Company, which had a Louisville refinery and a lucrative marketing operation in the Southeast. The owner, F. D. Carley, was a lapsed Methodist minister who set a new standard for pitiless methods in oil marketing. Confidential reports informed Rockefeller that Carley was a charming scoundrel, an inveterate gambler who went straight from board meetings to his bookie's office; even the circumspect Rockefeller referred euphemistically to Carley's "want of balance."<sup>24</sup> Although Rockefeller planned to pack Chess, Carley's board with a majority of Standard directors, Carley blocked outright control from 26 Broadway until 1881, and another five years elapsed before Standard swallowed the firm whole and renamed it Standard Oil of Kentucky.

By then, Chess, Carley had become a byword for vicious tactics. When F. D. Carley learned that Standard Oil's nemesis George Rice had shipped a scant seventy barrels of kerosene to a Louisville merchant, he reacted furiously. As a director of the Louisville, Nashville and Great Southern Railroad, which had granted Rice low freight rates, Carley had an underling dash off a peremptory letter to the railroad's freight agent, telling him exactly how to treat Rice: "Please turn the screw."<sup>25</sup> When this quotation was revealed by investigators years later, it was emblazoned in newspaper headlines across America.

Carley went to extravagant lengths to stop competitors. When he learned that Rice planned to sell kerosene in Columbus, Mississippi, he sent local grocers an unambiguous letter: "If you do not buy our oil we will start a grocery store and sell goods at cost and put you all out of business. " <sup>26</sup> No bluffer, Carley set up a store that sold Standard Oil kerosene at cut-rate prices, as well as oats, meat, sugar, coffee, and other household items at or below cost. In many localities, grocers gladly took a 5 percent discount offered on foodstuffs by Carley in exchange for an agreement to carry only Standard kerosene, one of many anticompetitive practices perfected by Standard Oil that shaped future antitrust legislation. Notwithstanding the public uproar, Rockefeller claimed to be unaware of Carley's practices. Yet at one point, Colonel Thompson confidentially told Rockefeller that Carley was a "secret, surreptitious" man with "mysterious, dishonest secrets" who even cheated on his agreements with Standard Oil.<sup>27</sup>

In 1878, Standard Oil boldly expanded its marketing territory by acquiring a 40 percent stake in the Waters-Pierce Company, which was based in Saint Louis and dominated a wide swatch of territory from Arkansas to Texas. It was decided that Chess, Carley would monopolize the oil trade east of the Mississippi, while Waters-Pierce would control the area southwest of the river. The Waters-Pierce deal brought another patent scoundrel into the trust, Henry Clay Pierce, who made F. D. Carley look like a cherub in comparison. By age nineteen, this country doctor's son monopolized the kerosene trade in Saint Louis, and then he mounted a pony and branched out into Arkansas and Texas. Even Standard Oil people never defended Henry Clay Pierce. One executive recalled him as a gifted businessman but added, "He couldn't do a thing straight if it could be done crooked. He was cordial and polite enough, and it was only when he got into a jam with people that he became nasty. Then they knew they were fighting someone. He was the greatest fighter you ever saw."<sup>28</sup>

Once again, Rockefeller self-servingly disclaimed knowledge of the rough-house tactics used by the Waters-Pierce salesmen and portrayed Pierce as a loose cannon who operated on his own initiative. He said that he never gave "a minute in a month to this local trade" and that any marketing excesses, when exposed, were condemned by the executive committee, but his files show that he received a full accounting of Pierce's high crimes and misdemeanors.<sup>29</sup> When Pierce made a highly profitable foray into the Mexican market in 1880, Colonel Thompson reported to Rockefeller that this had been accomplished "largely by evasion of the enormous duty placed upon Refined oil by Mexico."<sup>30</sup> Enriched by this operation, Pierce declared a 100 percent dividend on capital the next year. Thompson repeatedly warned Rockefeller about Pierce, branding him "a man not without designs" and relaying a letter "showing great duplicity on the part of Mr. Pierce."<sup>31</sup> Far from rebuking Pierce, in 1892 Rockefeller extended him a personal loan for \$200,000—a king's ransom—and patiently carried him for eight years. Clearly, he had no qualms about the buccaneering spirit of the Waters-Pierce business.

The Standard Oil marketing subsidiaries fanned out across the remaining sections of the continent. In 1878, the Consolidated Tank Line Company took over the territory north of the Missouri River, spread across Michigan and Minnesota, then expanded westward into the Dakotas. Formed in 1884, the Continental Oil Company covered the Rocky Mountain states. In the mid-1870s, the trust sent a young executive to California, Wesley H. Tilford, who foresaw the state's potential as both an oil producer and consumer; a decade later, Standard Oil of Iowa developed this West Coast trade. Many frustrated customers of Waters-Pierce turned, in revenge, to Republic Oil, a New York-based company that specialized in cultivating retailers who loathed the trust. Of course, Republic was secretly owned by Standard Oil.

Around 1886, 26 Broadway divided the continent into eleven marketing districts, with boundary disputes to be resolved by a domestic-trade committee. As subsidiaries raided each other's territories, their clashes were arbitrated by headquarters. Nothing so clearly reveals the trust's imperial character than its deliberations about marketing territories, where exclusive rights to entire states and countries were dispensed like so many royal charters. At one point, when Chess, Carley; Waters-Pierce; and Consolidated Tank Line tangled over the virgin southwestern territory, Colonel Thompson explained to Rockefeller, "I have, for a long time, waited for the opportunity of defining the western limits of all these connections and take the liberty of saying on behalf of Standard Oil Co. that we had never conceded to any one the right to go and occupy Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona or Mexico."<sup>32</sup> In the end, Standard Oil ceded Mexico to Henry Pierce in a swap for the state of New Mexico.

Once Rockefeller controlled a marketing territory, he protected it fiercely and quickly dispatched troops to fend off the smallest incursion. If Standard Oil spotted even one carload of outside oil entering its territory, it traced its source through railroad agents and moved swiftly to halt it. Standard Oil marketing men were known to trail competitors' wagons and undersell them if necessary. This unceasing drive, this implacable need to win, emanated from Rockefeller himself. When told that competitors had appeared in Saint Louis, he exhorted Oliver Payne, "Regret to hear that those parties have established an agency in St. Louis. We must not let them get the business. Why not make a good, hard, vigorous fight with the view of taking it all back again and not let them retain a foothold there, and the same in St. Paul."<sup>33</sup>

As the capstone of this system, Rockefeller fostered an extensive intelligence network, assembling thick card catalogs with monthly reports from field agents, showing every barrel of oil sold by independent marketers in their territory. From 26 Broadway, the titan could peer into the most distant corners of his realm. Standard Oil spies collected much of this information from grocers and railway-freight agents. One Cleveland refiner discovered that Standard paid his bookkeeper twenty-five dollars a month to provide information on his shipments, mailing these trade secrets to Box 164 at the Cleveland post office. Standard's reputation as a pervasive, all-seeing presence was richly deserved.

The manic vigor of Standard's salesmen becomes understandable in light of a secret policy that Archbold enunciated to Rockefeller in an 1891 letter. Station managers were expected to command at least 85 percent—and, if possible, much more—of the oil trade in their district, a punishing standard that goaded them into aggressive tactics.<sup>34</sup> Because they had carte blanche to reduce prices and use any other means necessary to hold the trade, they created pitched battles in many cities. One repentant Standard Oil marketer named Charles Woodbury recalled a favorite scare tactic. "Substantial rumors that the few independents surviving might not much longer be able to supply oil at all continually alarmed their customers."<sup>35</sup>

Rockefeller found nothing reprehensible about this intelligence network and could never understand the eternal fuss. "The practice of the Standard Oil Company in this regard brings no credit or discredit to the Standard Oil Company," he later told William O. Inglis. "It was following out a method in universal use by the largest and most intelligent distributors of goods the country over."<sup>36</sup> Some Standard Oil people, however, refused to stoop to these methods. When Charles Woodbury protested eavesdropping on competitors, his superior gruffly insisted, "We do not intend merely to grasp the situation—we must control it." Woodbury replied, "But this is espionage. I cannot stand over these men and make them go after these details."<sup>37</sup> After being censured for such squeamishness, he quit in protest. Recounting this in 1911, Woodbury left some tart comments about Rockefeller's assumed innocence. "Results were what the master asked for," he explained. "Details [Rockefeller] need not know. He could be left to his own self-effacement. He had selected his staff."<sup>38</sup> In short, Rockefeller posted the sales targets, whipped up the fervor, then foreswore any knowledge of the inevitable consequences.

To square his actions with his conscience—always a necessity for Rockefeller—he needed to invoke an overarching theme: vouchsafing cheap light to humanity. Touring a well drilled on Oil Creek in the early days, he stared at it silently and then intoned, "This is the poor man's light."<sup>39</sup> Such remarks weren't just for public consumption but were commonplaces in his correspondence. In 1885, he instructed a young colleague, Henry C. Folger, "Let the good work go on. We must ever remember we are refining oil for the poor man and he must have it cheap and good."<sup>40</sup> Having grown up in secluded farmhouses, reading by candlelight, he understood the revolutionary impact of cheap kerosene.

Rockefeller never had a single motive for any action and was surely motivated by more than altruism in championing cheap kerosene. He was obsessed with high-volume, low-cost production to maintain market share, even if he temporarily sacrificed profit margins. As he noted, "This fact the Standard Oil Company always kept in mind: that they must render the best service and be content with a largely increasing volume of business, rather than increase the profit so as to tempt others to compete with them."<sup>41</sup> When discussing prices with subordinates, he frequently reminded them, "We want to continue, in reason, that policy which will give us the largest percentage of the business."<sup>42</sup>

The public tolerated the trust's brawny tactics for a long time because it believed that it had, over the long run, cheapened kerosene and exercised a relatively benevolent dictatorship. As journalist Henry Demarest Lloyd wrote scornfully to George Rice in 1891, "Thus the public—dear fools—believe, and it entirely reconciles them—knaveish fools—to the piracies, treasons and murders by which the fabled cheapness has been brought to them."<sup>43</sup> Befuddled reformers assailed the trust for selling both too high and too low, for fleecing consumers and underselling rivals. As John Archbold summed up the paradox, "It is usually alleged that whenever the Standard, for whatever reason, advances its prices, it is oppressing the consumer, and when if, on the other hand, it lowers its prices, it is then oppressing its competitors."<sup>44</sup> Of course, both things were often true, since Standard Oil kept prices high where it faced no competition and low where it had to keep rivals at bay. On balance, the trust wielded its monopolistic power to keep prices artificially low to forestall competition.

In general, Standard Oil did an excellent job at providing kerosene at affordable prices. It boasted far lower unit costs than competitors and relentlessly drove down costs over the years. Between 1880 and 1885, its average cost of processing a gallon of crude oil went from 2.5 to 1.5 cents. In a rare 1890 newspaper interview, a supremely confident Rockefeller said that since Standard's birth twenty years before, the retail price of kerosene had plunged from 23.5 to 7.5 cents per gallon. Only half that drop, he contended, had resulted from the steep fall in crude-oil prices, and he credited the tank-wagon system for much of the savings. In the early 1900s, the Bureau of Corporations attributed most of the drop in kerosene prices to a sharp dip in crude-oil prices, not to Standard's superefficient management. Whatever the truth, the resulting low prices inoculated the public for a long time against the anti-Standard venom.

Many of Rockefeller's foes contended that routine underselling was his most lethal weapon, even more destructive than railroad rebates. As the industry's low-cost producer, Standard merely had to dump oil at cost to stamp out competitors. The practice of selling at or below cost, which started in the 1870s, intensified with the tank-wagon system, which permitted the trust to set retail prices. Hesitant to initiate price wars, which smacked of the old, Darwinian competition, Rockefeller said that he cut prices only defensively—that is, when forced to retaliate against price-cutting independents. When he did so, he showed no mercy against these reprobates and said with righteous indignation, "These people did not want cooperation. They wanted competition. And when they got it they didn't like it."<sup>45</sup>

Allan Nevins cited a federal study of predatory pricing that found that Standard Oil practiced it in only 37 of 37,000 towns serviced by its tank wagons and then only in response to cuts by competitors. Yet Rockefeller's files are so rife with references to this practice as to refute Nevins's verdict. In an 1886 letter, Colonel Thompson told Rockefeller that Standard sold at cost wherever competition appeared and compensated for the lost profits by raising prices in less competitive locales: "We find the outsiders mainly from Pittsburgh and the Oil Region had 2,000 barrels of oil in Cincinnati. . . . We have lowered the Cincinnati market an additional half cent temporarily to meet that competition and forced them to sell their oil without a profit." In contrast, he noted that with independents now banished from Chicago, "we jacked that price up a quarter or so, without multiplying instances, we are doing all around. The system is working well, better than any other we can devise and our feeling is to hold along on this basis—I beg you and the other gentlemen will keep in mind the fact that we are selling ¼ of all the oil we handle without a farthing of profit to this department."<sup>46</sup>

If Standard Oil sold one-quarter of all its oil at cost, as Thompson alleged, that would have meant anticompetitive price cuts in more than 9,000 towns — quite different from the 37 cited by Nevins. The trust used such infinite sleight of hand in setting prices, obscuring the real price through secret discounts, that a definitive accounting is impossible. Though many states had already outlawed predatory pricing, they found such a ban difficult to enforce. On this issue, Rockefeller remained an unreconstructed monopolist, defending Standard Oil’s price-cutting years later by commenting, “If in doing so they were losing money, which they made up on some of the specialties—they made up the difference—would it be a crime?”<sup>47</sup> Eventually, a national ban on such predatory pricing formed an integral component of antitrust legislation.

Standard’s policy of differential pricing also proved expedient in the global marketplace. During the 1880s and 1890s, trying to stem the tide of Russian and East Indian oil, the organization charged lower prices in Europe and compensated with higher American prices. Its tight control of the home market enabled it to prosecute savage price wars against the Nobels, Rothschilds, Royal Dutch, and Shell. For this reason, Standard Oil always considered its domestic monopoly a necessary precondition for its overseas conquests.

But Standard Oil never sought a perfect monopoly because Rockefeller realized that it was politically prudent to allow some feeble competition. As he admitted, “We realized that public sentiment would be against us if we actually refined all the oil.”<sup>48</sup> The combine ceded about 10 percent of the refining and marketing business to a tiny group of fringe rivals. Even in the mid-1880s, ninety-three mostly marginal refineries were allowed to operate. A very smart monopolist, Rockefeller kept prices low enough to retain control of the market but not so low as to wipe out all lingering competitors.

We must retire one common canard about Rockefeller: He didn’t set crude-oil prices through blanket edicts. In his correspondence, one sees the oil king trying to guess the trend of crude prices and bemoaning speculation. As he told one of his personal financial advisers in 1882, crude oil “is about the worst commodity in the world to speculate in. . . . It is about as uncertain as railroad stocks.”<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the chief way that Standard Oil influenced crude prices was by elevating or dropping storage charges at its pipelines, which the firm sometimes used to break speculative raids. By issuing certificates against oil stored by its pipelines, it stimulated a free market in crude oil, and hundreds of thousands of people speculated in or borrowed against these certificates, creating the first oil-futures market and setting the trend for spot prices. After the National Petroleum Exchange opened in Manhattan in late 1882, the speculators far outweighed the trust in importance in pegging prices.

As Rockefeller boasted, Standard Oil was an infallible moneymaker. In the late 1880s, Henry M. Flagler testified it had average earnings of 13 percent a year on net assets, which considerably understated its performance. When Teddy Roosevelt’s Bureau of Corporations later examined the matter, it computed a more handsome 19 percent return from 1882 to 1896. Rockefeller defended these high returns as justified by the fear that the oil might run dry and render the trust’s vast investment worthless. He knew public opinion was inflamed by the exorbitant dividends declared on Standard Oil shares, which sometimes ran as high as 200 percent. These figures were misleading, Rockefeller argued, since Standard Oil’s actual capital was typically ten times its official capitalization. In terms of real capital, the 200 percent dividend declared in January 1885 was more like 20 percent—extremely high but not astronomical. Such a rich but not altogether outrageous return was just what the politic Rockefeller wanted.

Rockefeller knew that if he got greedy, other products could be substituted for kerosene, and this, too, curbed his appetite for excess profits. Oil was just one of many fossil fuels and kerosene one of many potential illuminants. In the fall of 1878, America’s wunderkind, Thomas Alva Edison, boasted to reporters at Menlo Park, New Jersey, that he had dreamed up a practical electric lightbulb; within a year, he had created a miraculous bulb that glowed brightly for one hundred straight hours and directly threatened Rockefeller’s kerosene business. The new Edison Electric Light Company enlisted affluent bankers, including the august Drexel, Morgan and Company. On September 4, 1882, Edison stood in J. P. Morgan’s offices at 23 Wall Street and threw a switch that brightened Morgan’s office with electric lighting, inaugurating a generating plant in lower Manhattan. Luckily for Rockefeller, the lightbulb didn’t instantly drive out kerosene: It took time for Edison to cover the country with power stations, and by 1885 only 250,000 lightbulbs shone across America.

Instead of electric light, the soft, shimmering glow of gaslight began illuminating many American cities in the 1880s. For a long time, natural gas had been discarded by oilmen as a waste product until a business group led by J. N. Pew piped natural gas to Pittsburgh in 1883. Quick to perceive that natural gas complemented the oil business, Rockefeller advised Daniel O’Day that Standard Oil should develop its own strength in this area rather than turning to outsiders. O’Day and his ebullient team assured Rockefeller that they could pipe explosive gas long distances without mishaps. Within two years, they were piping gas from western Pennsylvania to cities in Ohio and New York, and by the late 1890s Rockefeller secretly oversaw natural-gas companies in Titusville, Oil City, Buffalo, and thirteen other localities. As one newspaper said, “Consumers in some of these places would be surprised to learn that they are burning Standard Oil gas.”<sup>50</sup>

To counter competition from gaslight, Edison based his promotional scheme upon a moral and aesthetic contrast between good electric light and evil gaslight. Of the flickering gaslight that later generations found so enchantingly poetic, he sneered, “It is a nasty, yellow light, too, and far removed from the color of the lovely natural light,” while he touted the “soft radiance” of electric lights as “singularly powerful and even . . . perfectly steady.”<sup>51</sup> With a persistence worthy of Standard Oil’s crusaders, Edison sales agents approached customers using “outmoded” gas jets and urged them to switch to advanced electric lamps.

The promotion of natural gas involved Rockefeller in sanguinary battles, for the major customers were municipalities, and the decisions were always highly political. The natural-gas business fed rampant corruption, a veritable cornucopia of graft, as companies manipulated urban officials to get these franchises. Though Rockefeller regularly denied knowledge of such machinations, his papers tell a different story: He exercised a supervisory role and knew all about the money funneled to politicians. In securing the Detroit franchise, Standard Oil furnished an emissary, G. A. Shelby, with \$15,000 in cash and \$10,000 in gas stock to sway politicians. When payment came tardily, Shelby groused to Rockefeller: “Will you guarantee the amount stated if Ordinance passes and is approved by the Mayor. . . . I have been to considerable expense and want to be sure of prompt settlement when work is completed.”<sup>52</sup>

In the natural-gas battles, the porous boundaries between politics and business began to crumble and disappear. In 1886, Daniel O’Day met behind closed doors in Philadelphia with the rival Columbia Natural Gas Company and fairly gasped at the political luminaries who were represented. As he



told Rockefeller, “I was astonished to learn the people who are in it. All of the Republican local politicians of Philadelphia are stockholders. They are very much afraid of their investment, and feel now that unless they make some alliance with us that they will in all probability lose all their money, or a great share of it.” From pure expediency, O’Day favored a deal with their rivals, telling Rockefeller, “The feeling generally was to push the co. to the wall, a feeling in which I would fully share, were it not for the fact that the stockholders of the company might be very bad enemies to have in the Penna. legislature next winter.”<sup>53</sup> Unconvinced by such pragmatic reasoning, the executive committee overruled Day.

The most bitter natural-gas fracas erupted in Toledo, Ohio, where the former governor, Charles Foster, was an old boyhood friend of Flagler and a recipient of Standard Oil campaign largesse. In July 1886, O’Day reported to Flagler that the ex-governor had agreed to merge his Fostoria Illuminating Gas Company with the Standard’s Toledo gas start-up to form the Northwestern Ohio Natural Gas Company. O’Day relayed the secret terms of this arrangement: “That Gov. Foster be President of the Co. But that we would have full control of management.”<sup>54</sup> Toledo citizens were delighted when the Eastern Ohio Natural Gas Company decided to vie with Northwestern for a gas franchise; in a compromise settlement, both companies received franchises. Then it surfaced that *both* rival companies were controlled by Standard Oil, and in the ensuing brouhaha city officials decided, in retaliation, to erect their own municipal gasworks. Politicians in the Gilded Age tended to dispense with euphemisms, preferring cash on the barrelhead. Having done Standard Oil’s bidding in the gas business, Foster demanded his payoff from Rockefeller in January 1888, saying his campaign committee had a debt of almost \$1,200. “My suggestion to you,” he told Rockefeller bluntly, “is that you send me a cheque for this amount. . . . I have refused to ask you or your people for contributions for several years past. In this case I did it because I know that you feel an interest with us, and for the further reason that I thought it would be helpful in warding off the blows made at you, and at our Gas Co.”<sup>55</sup> In reply, Rockefeller sent Foster a thousand dollars, though he couldn’t resist appending some barbed comments on his past performance. “Our friends do feel that we have not received fair treatment from the Republican Party, but we expect better things in the future.”<sup>56</sup>

In 1886, Standard Oil set up the Natural Gas Trust, with Rockefeller as its largest shareholder. As such, he presided over these sordid municipal skirmishes, albeit keeping a sanitary distance. He followed matters closely but never soiled his hands, so that he could profess ignorance of the whole matter.

If Rockefeller tried to deny responsibility for his more deplorable actions, he had legions of critics who loudly proclaimed that he had maliciously ruined them. As Ida Tarbell noted, his foes endowed him with superhuman powers. “Strange as the statement may appear, there is no disputing that by 1884 the Oil Regions as a whole looked on Mr. Rockefeller with superstitious awe.”<sup>57</sup> Each day’s mailbag brought more invective from total strangers who cursed him and pleaded for relief. The most bile flowed from western Pennsylvania oilmen who believed that he capriciously decreed crude-oil prices each morning. As one Bradford producer told him, “The situation here is truly alarming and hundreds of families are in actual distress that need not be if the price of oil was what thousands believe you could make it.”<sup>58</sup> Another correspondent warned him, “There are thousands here on the verge of financial ruin on account of the low price obtained for their product, and *if it is within your power* to give them a better price you would bestow a boon inestimable in its value to this entire country.”<sup>59</sup> Sometimes these malcontents seemed torn over whether Rockefeller was Satan or Santa Claus, as shown by this muddled query from P. O. Laughner:

*I am a poor devil of a pyker on the oil market and have been in the business for eight years. During all this time I have been cursing the Standard Oil Company with the rest of the boys—curses loud and deep. But with all the anathemas hurled at it the S.O.C. is still in existence and continues to pile up enormous wealth. Now as the market is completely dead and my occupation gone, I have come to the conclusion that it would be wisdom to stop cursing the Standard and strike it for a good fat position.*<sup>60</sup>

After his scandal-ridden childhood with Big Bill, Rockefeller had a fine instinct for enemies and was sensitive to this crescendo of criticism. When out for a walk, he was vigilant and preternaturally aware of anyone following him; it was impossible to sneak up behind him. Yet he lent no credence to his critics and regarded their putative idealism as a flimsy cover for selfish motives. Rockefeller saw himself stoically suffering the fate of all revolutionary figures. “The ideas on which we worked were new . . .,” he explained. “But knowing that we were right, we went steadily about our business, founded on ideas that were an irresistible force.”<sup>61</sup> He identified many critics as competing refiners who had foolishly taken cash instead of Standard Oil stock for their plants. His melodramatic rendition of it was this: “We think about Hades. What more can punish a man than to sit and groan as he contemplates what might have been!”<sup>62</sup>

Despite being the target of so much public obloquy, Rockefeller seemed fearless. “The word ‘fear’ is not found in my father’s vocabulary,” his son once said, “nor does he know what the sensation is.”<sup>63</sup> Junior recalled being driven to a train station in Manhattan by his father at a time when he was swamped by anarchist threats. Though Junior begged him to hire bodyguards, his father scoffed:

*“Why John,” he said, “I can protect myself. If any man should be foolish enough to attack me—well.” . . . He did not boast. I have never heard him boast. But he stood up full height with his fists clenched. What he said was to the effect that if anyone should attack him he was feeling sturdy—and he hoped he wouldn’t hurt the poor fellow too much.*<sup>64</sup>

Junior remembered the evening in Cleveland years earlier when a maid shrieked that a burglar was upstairs. Rockefeller unhesitatingly seized a pistol and strode to the back door, hoping to nab the burglar, who had already slipped down a post and escaped.

Rockefeller professed that he bore no malice toward critics and approached them in a spirit of Christian tolerance—so long as they conceded their error. To those “who repented their attacks and abuse we freely extended forgiveness, as we ourselves might hope for mercy and forgiveness from a higher source,” he said.<sup>65</sup> As his private life and philanthropy attest, he was not a cruel man and did not have sadistic impulses. Yet he countered critics with ad hominem attacks and frequently referred to their actions as schemes, implying something devious and illegitimate. Whenever he was about to commit some particularly heinous act, he first found a character flaw in the victim then proceeded with a serene conscience.

Proof against criticism, Rockefeller nonetheless provoked a small army of gadflies. Perhaps the most picturesque was Lewis Emery, Jr., the rich

Bradford producer and pipeline owner and a Pennsylvania legislator, who served as a major source for Ida Tarbell. If only Rockefeller had played fair, Emery insisted, *he* would have ended up the more powerful oilman. “I had and have as much brains as John D. Rockefeller, but I have never had his cunning nor his ability to use unscrupulous means or unscrupulous men to carry out a programme,” he maintained.<sup>66</sup> Though he spent much of his life stalking the titan, he never actually met Rockefeller, who was, he explained, “too much in the background, too cunning.”<sup>67</sup>

Standard Oil applied merciless measures to stop Emery’s pipelines from linking up with railroads, as shown with his Equitable pipeline to Buffalo. In 1892, Emery was about to complete a major pipeline to Hancock, New York, where he expected the Ontario and Western Railroad to pick up his oil and transport it to New York City. When Archbold got wind of this, he demanded a showdown with the railroad. His report to Rockefeller shows the lengths that Standard Oil would go to cripple a competitor:

*We have had further interviews with the Ontario & Western people, and feel that we have made some progress toward a possible understanding with them. It is now entirely sure that there has been no definite engagement entered into by them with the Emery party, and we think they are now convinced that the rates they had been talking about with the Emery party are absurdly low, and that business on any such basis would be undesirable and unprofitable. We have made them a proposition of business covering a period of five years, and expect an answer from them this week. Our proposition is that we put over their lines 400,000 barrels of oil yearly, or, in default of any part of the amount, pay a penalty of 10 per cent of the existing rates. We think it a very liberal proposition to them.*<sup>68</sup>

Standard Oil was not content to advance its own interest; it worked actively to damage the business interests of its adversaries. Rockefeller’s papers also reveal that Emery was prepared, at one point, to sell his oil properties to Standard Oil, asking for \$750,000 in shares of the trust—hypocrisy that only validated Rockefeller’s dim opinion of his critics.

Another embittered foe was George Rice, a Vermont native and independent refiner from Marietta, Ohio. A vigorous man with a bulldog face, Rice thrived on crossing swords with the oil trust. More than anyone else, Rice was driven mad by Standard Oil’s unjust methods and became a professional Rockefeller hater. He instigated many legislative probes of Standard Oil and in 1881 published a pamphlet entitled *Black Death*, an anthology of scathing newspaper exposés. For Rockefeller, Rice was nothing but a blackmailer. “He liked to harass, embarrass, annoy the Standard Oil interests with a view of enabling him to sell his quite unimportant refinery interest. . . . This is the whole story of George Rice.”<sup>69</sup> In fairness to Rockefeller, Rice tried repeatedly to extort money from him, asking an outrageous \$250,000 for a refinery Rockefeller valued at only \$25,000. To banish this pest, Rockefeller and his colleagues alternated between trying to buy him out and trying to bludgeon him to death. As Colonel Thompson reported to Rockefeller, “[Rice] admitted that it could be better to occupy friendly relations with us and assumed to be willing to make some arrangement, but extortion was written in every lineament of his countenance and burdened every syllable that fell from his lips.”<sup>70</sup> At the time, Rice was lobbying for a federal investigation of Standard Oil’s railroad rebates.

Though Rice insisted that Standard Oil laid deep plots against him, Rockefeller mocked his criticism as the ravings of an overactive mind. “We might as well assume that the Standard Oil Company would get a 21-inch cannon to shoot mosquitoes.”<sup>71</sup> Yet his files show that such a cannonade was fired at Rice. In 1885, Daniel O’Day struck a deal with the Cleveland and Marietta Railroad, which was the lifeline of Rice’s refinery. The railroad agreed to charge Standard Oil 10 cents a barrel versus 35 cents for Rice and his fellow independents. Resurrecting the infamous drawback, Standard would also be paid 25 cents for every barrel that Rice shipped. In dictating this deal, O’Day bluntly warned the railroad that if it didn’t comply, he would build a competing pipeline and drive them out of business. In a rare successful suit against the trust, Rice forced Standard Oil to repudiate the nefarious contract and refund him \$250.

With his own brand of courage, Rice tried to market oil against the two roughest Standard Oil subsidiaries, Chess, Carley and Waters-Pierce. As soon as Rockefeller got reports of even minuscule shipments made by Rice, Standard Oil agents in the affected states were told to thwart him by any means necessary. In 1885, W. H. Tilford told Rockefeller, “As far as Chess, Carley Co.’s territory is concerned, every effort is being made to dislodge Rice. Travelling men are being put upon the road, who go from station to station selling oil in competition with any oil which Rice may have in the various towns.”<sup>72</sup> Every time Rice was ejected from another hamlet, Rockefeller was informed. “We have recently driven Rice entirely out of Anniston, Alabama, and feel that we shall soon have him also out of Birmingham,” the Chess, Carley treasurer reported to Tilford. “Wherever this result is accomplished, however, it has only been by our making very low prices, frequently at a loss to this company, and such loss continued through a long period.”<sup>73</sup> No threat to his empire was too small for Rockefeller to overlook.

If Emery, Rice, and other anti-Rockefeller mavericks made little headway in the oil industry itself, they were destined to have a powerful impact in the court of public opinion as they coalesced into an influential lobbying group. They formed a ready source of information for journalists, of whom their first polemical champion was a rich, elegant newspaperman named Henry Demarest Lloyd. The son of a Dutch Reformed minister, Lloyd attended Columbia College, passed the New York bar, then married into the wealthy Bross family, co-owners of the *Chicago Tribune*. Starting in 1878, Lloyd wrote withering editorials about Standard Oil in a florid style that captured the public’s imagination. He profited from the flood of revelations produced by the Hepburn hearings in New York and the Pennsylvania lawsuits against Rockefeller. In the March 1881 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, editor William Dean Howells published Lloyd’s mordant account of Standard Oil entitled “Story of a Great Monopoly.” The first serious exposé of the trust in a prestigious, mass-circulation magazine, Lloyd’s seminal article was a sensation, and the issue went through six printings.

For Lloyd, the essence of Standard Oil power resided in its secret alliances with the railroads, which had fostered the growth of many trusts. While conceding the “legitimate greatness” of Standard Oil, he said that it only made its ethical shortcuts the more reprehensible. “Their great business capacity would have insured the managers of the Standard success, but the means by which they achieved monopoly were by conspiracy with the railroads.”<sup>74</sup> A vociferous critic of William H. Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Tom Scott, and Collis Huntington, Lloyd incorporated his critique of Standard Oil into a comprehensive crusade for railroad reform. He also fastened public attention on John D. Rockefeller as the trust’s embodiment, speculating that only William H. Vanderbilt had earned more money the previous year.

Lloyd was a slipshod reporter, and his account is marred by many inaccuracies. At one point, he says that Rockefeller had owned a Cleveland flour

store. Yet he wrote lapidary prose and showed a keen political and cultural understanding. In a cunning stroke, he converted the piece into a consumer story, stating at the outset, “Very few of the forty millions of people who burn kerosene know that its production, manufacture, and export, its price at home and abroad, have been controlled for years by a single corporation—the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>75</sup> For Lloyd, the octopus—he helped to popularize the nickname—did more than threaten free competition and fair play; it jeopardized American democracy itself. He charged that Standard Oil controlled two U.S. senators and had engaged in so much corruption in Harrisburg that it had “done everything with the Pennsylvania legislature except to refine it.”<sup>76</sup> A superb phrasemaker, Lloyd declared in a rousing finale that “America has the proud satisfaction of having furnished the world with the greatest, wisest, and meanest monopoly known to history.”<sup>77</sup>

The article introduced Rockefeller to a national audience and fixed antitrust legislation high on the reform agenda. In proposing a federal agency to ensure uniform railroad rates, Lloyd anticipated the Interstate Commerce Act by six years. If his attack was a harbinger of things to come, so was Rockefeller’s total silence. Confident that posterity would vindicate him, the latter would later explain, “I was concentrated upon extending and developing and perfecting our business, rather than on stopping by the wayside to squabble with slanderers.”<sup>78</sup>

In common with many contemporary moguls—including J. P. Morgan, Andrew Mellon, James Stillman, Henry Clay Frick, and George F. Baker—Rockefeller resented the press, and his ferocious allegiance to his concern transcended other claims on his conscience. One of his favorite refrains was “The Standard Oil Company’s business was that of saying nothing and sawing wood.”<sup>79</sup> During the antitrust furor of 1888, he told one minister, “We have gone upon the principle it were better to attend to our business and pay no attention to the newspapers, with the idea that if we were right they could not permanently injure us, and if we were wrong all their comments, though favorable, would not make it right.”<sup>80</sup> Rockefeller asserted that he was less afraid of exposing misbehavior by talking to the press than of inadvertently spilling trade secrets. “What could we say,” he asked rhetorically, “without telling the world just how we were making our success?”<sup>81</sup>

Those few intrepid reporters who tried to penetrate Standard Oil often gave up in despair. When the *New York Sun* dispatched a reporter to Cleveland in 1882 to investigate Rockefeller, he could not get near the mogul and was stunned by the layers of secrecy that surrounded him. He was further impressed by the silence of hundreds of Standard Oil employees he buttonholed, all schooled in Rockefeller’s philosophy. Even with friendly journalists, Rockefeller would not supply a photo of himself in an oil field or refinery and banned photographers from his home for even the most innocuous magazine spreads. Of course, this invisibility only piqued the public’s interest. That silence came so easily to Rockefeller should not surprise us. As an inner-directed man, he required no approbation from others and was much too circumspect to toss out opinions in a newspaper interview.

By the mid-1880s, facing severe political assaults, Standard Oil could no longer decline all press contact. In 1885, the *Oil City Derrick*—long a heated critic of the trust—was bought by an intimate of Captain Vandergrift, who installed Patrick Boyle, a Standard Oil adherent, as its editor. Around 1887, Standard Oil hired a press bureau called the Jennings Publishing Company to place favorable ads, disguised as independent articles, in Ohio newspapers. Soon the Standard cooperated selectively with other periodicals. When *Harper’s Weekly* profiled Rockefeller in 1889, the article was first thoroughly vetted by Archbold. On those odd occasions where Rockefeller sat for interviews, he came across as unfailingly dignified and courteous. In 1890, a reporter for the *World* described him as a man “with an intelligent and pleasant countenance, fair complexion, sandy hair and mustache intermixed with gray, a somewhat prominent nose, mild gray eyes, and an agreeably expressive mouth.”<sup>82</sup> The next year, another reporter, braced for a bloody ogre, said of Rockefeller, “He is modest, retiring, gentle-mannered, and without the human vanities which we associate with great millionaires.”<sup>83</sup> This favorable coverage should have alerted Rockefeller to two critical facts: that even hostile reporters could be swayed and that he had a flair for public relations no less pronounced than his gift for making money.

Some of the most pungent criticism came from within Standard Oil’s own ranks, from isolated subordinates who thought that the trust’s muscular tactics offended Christian principle. In the 1870s, Rockefeller recruited a stout, bewhiskered young man, William Jay Cooke, a grandnephew of Jay Cooke, whom he had befriended at the Cleveland YMCA. A former wholesale milliner, Cooke prospered at Standard and was soon elevated to a manager’s post in Toledo. After three years, he suddenly quit, unable to reconcile the trust’s sales tactics with his Christian faith. As a history of Standard of Ohio notes tactfully, “He didn’t see eye to eye with Mr. Rockefeller in the manner of eliminating competitors.”<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, we don’t know how Rockefeller reacted to this defection by a devout protégé.

Perhaps the most extraordinary act of contrition in Standard history came in an eloquent appeal to Rockefeller written by William G. Warden on May 24, 1887. One of the trust’s most senior figures, Warden sent Rockefeller a haunting letter regretting the revulsion that the firm inspired in the popular imagination:

*We have met with a success unparalleled in commercial history, our name is known all over the world, and our public character is not one to be envied. We are quoted as the representative of all that is evil, hard hearted, oppressive, cruel (we think unjustly), but men look askance at us, we are pointed at with contempt, and while some good men flatter us, it’s only for our money and we scorn them for it and it leads to a further hardness of heart. This is not pleasant to write, for I had longed for an honored position in commercial life. None of us would choose such a reputation; we all desire a place in the good will, honor & affection of honorable men.*<sup>85</sup>

After advancing a profit-sharing plan that might assuage the hostility of the oil producers, Warden urged Rockefeller to ponder his letter:

*Don’t put this down or throw it to one side, think over it, talk with Mrs. Rockefeller about it—She is the salt of the earth. How happy she would be to see a change in public opinion & see her husband honored & blessed. May he who’s [sic] wisdom alone can put it in our hearts to love our fellow men, guide and direct you at this time. . . . The whole world will rejoice to see such an effort made for the people, the working people.*<sup>86</sup>

The Warden letter is an exceptional statement, as dramatic in its way as a deathbed confession. It also confirms that Cettie Rockefeller was extremely upset by the opprobrium heaped upon her husband. And how did Rockefeller respond to this brave, thoughtful letter? About to sail to Europe with his family, he employed his departure as an excuse to send a short, platitudinous reply: “I have not been able to write you sooner,” he wrote the following

week, “nor to give a careful consideration but be assured its content will not escape me.”<sup>87</sup> To cool off a tense situation with a bland note was vintage Rockefeller, and there is no evidence that he ever again communicated with Warden on the subject.



*A dignified but slightly careworn John D. Rockefeller, probably then in his fifties. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Widow's Funeral

As John D. Rockefeller was busy consolidating America's largest industrial empire, his father, William Avery Rockefeller—a.k.a Dr. William Levingston—was showing his old wanderlust, peddling panaceas under his assumed name. A frontiersman in a nation where the frontier was vanishing, he gravitated to wilderness areas that provided asylum from the modern, industrial world epitomized by his son.

Huge patches of Bill's life remained a mystery to earlier Rockefeller biographers, but a rough portrait of his later years can now be sketched from Rockefeller's papers and some previously overlooked newspaper and magazine accounts. Bill had relatively little contact with his rich sons, John and William, but was extremely close to the envious Frank, who shared his love of fishing and hunting. (Perhaps associating these sports with his prodigal father, John never hunted or fished in later years.) After Frank bought an immense ranch in Kansas in the 1880s, his father was a frequent guest, and they hunted quail and prairie chickens together.

Much of what we know about Bill's later years derives from his remarkable friendship with a surrogate son, Dr. Charles H. Johnston. When Charles was a baby in 1853, Dr. Levingston visited his Ontario home and cured his mother of an illness. In 1874, Charles, now a young man, encountered Bill in Wisconsin, where Bill cured him of a fever and promised to tutor him in the "art of healing." In Freeport, Illinois, Johnston met Mrs. Margaret Allen Levingston and later called her "one of the sweetest women I ever knew."<sup>1</sup>

It might have been Charles Johnston's appearance that suggested to Bill a scam tailor-made for the Indian reservations. Before meeting Johnston, Bill had fallen back on his old deaf-and-dumb peddler routine. Native Americans believed that when the gods deprived people of one sense, they granted them supernatural healing powers in return, and this made them easy targets for Bill's act. Now he spotted a new opportunity. Charles Johnston had high cheekbones, nut-brown skin, and flowing black hair and could easily be mistaken for a Native American. Bill hired him as his assistant, decked him out in splendid feathers and war paint, and featured him as his adopted Indian son. From the back of his wagon, Bill told his spellbound audience that Johnston, an Indian prince, had learned secret medicinal formulas from his father, a great chieftain. It was testimony to Bill's gall that Johnston had to pay him for this apprenticeship in fraud. "In spite of his friendship and liking for me," Johnston said, "he made me pay him \$1,000 for my tuition, which illustrates his shrewdness as a bargain driver and his love of money."<sup>2</sup> As he had once done with John, Big Bill toughened Johnston by goading and cheating him at every turn. One is left to wonder whether Bill saw in Johnston a substitute son who might fill the large emotional void left by his formerly adoring eldest son.

As he traveled with Johnston across Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and the Dakotas, Bill's business methods deviated little from the methods he had honed in upstate New York. As Johnston recounted after Bill's death: "He would drive into a town, scatter handbills in which the great Dr. Levingston asserted that he could cure all diseases and we would have a suite of rooms at the best hotel and to the doctor there would come the sick and the halt and the lame. In all cases of common ailments he could detect the cause almost at a glance."<sup>3</sup> To impress yokels, Bill wore a glittering diamond in his shirtfront, although when negotiating hotel rates he covered it up to get the cheapest deal. According to Johnston, he pulled in hefty profits, sometimes \$200 a day, and gave the false impression that he was worth several hundred thousand dollars. As in earlier years, Bill dabbled in commodity speculations. At one point, he bought fifty thousand bushels of corn and stored them in bins, selling the lot for a steep markup when grasshoppers devoured crops the following summer. Johnston always admired this colorful, rough-hewn character with his bottomless bag of tricks. "He was all business and his mind was centered on the almighty dollar."<sup>4</sup>

At first, Johnston did not know that Dr. Levingston was related to the Rockefellers, though he noticed a recurring obsession with John D. Rockefeller, whom Levingston claimed to visit in Cleveland once or twice a year. "He told me he went there to look after his money invested with John D. Rockefeller, and he would tell me wonderful stories of John, his shrewdness and great wealth." One time, a skeptical Johnston asked Bill how he knew this famous personage. "I started John D. Rockefeller in the oil business," Bill said flatly. "I loaned him the first money he invested in it and I helped him all along." Bill boasted that his Standard Oil investment was now worth \$375,000. "He used to say that he made John D. rich and he told me if I would stay with him and do as he said he would make me rich, too."<sup>5</sup> At first, it never dawned on Johnston that Bill was Rockefeller's father, for the braggadocio seemed part of his carnival-barker blarney, but when Bill began to chatter about old man Davison, Johnston recognized the name of Rockefeller's maternal grandfather and began to wonder. He remained suspicious for several years, while Bill resolutely denied the truth, scattering hints all the while.

In 1881, John D. agreed to buy his father a 160-acre ranch in Park River, North Dakota, on a simple condition: that he never take Margaret Allen there. (Bill spent winters with her in Freeport.) Never resigned to his father's desertion and always fearing press exposure of his bigamy, John was still trying to lure his seventy-one-year-old father back to Eliza and away from the sinful second marriage. Johnston later explained how Dr. Levingston had told him "that John D. Rockefeller early had learned that his father was a bigamist, and that the ranch in North Dakota had been taken by [him] upon the advice of John D., who, in the later years of his father's life, wished to wean him away from his second wife and have him live alone in a secluded place. Thus, if the old man should be discovered on his ranch, there would be no second wife with him."<sup>6</sup>

When Bill bought his first parcel of land in Park River, John allowed him to hold it under the name of Levingston. But when he purchased additional acreage in 1884, the deed was conveyed to Pierson Briggs, John's brother-in-law and a Standard Oil purchasing agent. In all likelihood, John paid for the property, using Briggs as a blind. When the land was conveyed back to Bill in 1886, he had to sign the transfer document "William Avery Rockefeller," though he was known locally as Levingston, and one suspects that John insisted upon this step to strip Margaret Allen of any legal claim to the property. It was this legal maneuver that later established incontrovertibly that William Levingston and William Rockefeller were the same person.

For a long time, Bill and Charles Johnston occupied adjoining properties in Park River and spent lazy summers hunting and fishing. Their secluded town, thirty miles from the nearest railroad, gave Bill exactly the protective distance from sheriffs and medical societies that he required. During the

sixteen summers he spent there, Bill shunned the main roads of town and carved out paths through the wheat fields. The townsfolk found him a queer, solitary old buzzard. Now and then, unaccountably, he cashed a Standard Oil check at the local bank. If the check was for \$3,000, he might throw up his hands in mock surprise and pretend he had thought it was for only \$300, as if someone of his wealth could afford to be negligent with money.

Later on, when he became a physician of distinction and president of the College of Medicine and Surgery in Chicago, Charles Johnston feared legal repercussions for his earlier gypsy wanderings with Bill and sought to portray him as a genuine folk healer instead of as a bald-faced quack. But neighbors had little doubt that Doc Levingston and Johnston were first-class bunco artists. “They had a big jug full of medicine and they treated all diseases from the same jug,” one acquaintance recalled. “I have often heard them joking together about the cure-all properties of the mixture in that jug. Dr. Levingston would say, ‘Yes, sir, that medicine will cure anything, providing the patient has got \$5 to pay for a bottle of it.’”<sup>7</sup> In this distant hamlet, Bill functioned as a medical factotum, rigging up a funny gadget that pulled an aching tooth for a buck, and he even did some horse doctoring.

Johnston might never have unearthed the startling truth about Doc Levingston had it not been for a freak accident soon after they moved to Park River. They were constructing a cattle shed together when Bill injured himself lifting a heavy bar. Gasping in agony, he feared that he had a ruptured intestine and that death might be imminent. When Johnston asked if he should notify Margaret, Bill snapped, “I don’t want the Allens to get any more of my money than I can help.”<sup>8</sup> (Relations with the Allens were apparently no more cordial than with John Davison.) Instead, Bill blurted out a shocking confession: He was the father of John D. Rockefeller, who should be informed in case he died. “No, you notify John D. Rockefeller, but be very careful and let no one else know it.”<sup>9</sup>

When the injury wasn’t fatal and Bill recovered, he tried to resume the tired old charade that he was unrelated to Rockefeller, but Johnston’s hunch had now ripened into certainty, and Bill eventually gave up the game. Bill began to speak freely and often quite emotionally about his estranged son. When Johnston asked why he had concealed this relationship for so long, “he told me that the reason he kept it secret was that he found it necessary in his younger days to assume a name because he was practicing medicine without a license, he might be arrested any time, and he did not wish to disgrace the name of Rockefeller because of his children. He stuck to the name later, he said, because it was then too late to honorably take the right name.”<sup>10</sup> This overlooks the awkward truth that he also assumed a new name to enter into a bigamous marriage with Margaret Allen and conceal the truth from Eliza.

The stories about John D. suddenly came tumbling forth. Bill bragged about his career, always reserving a good deal of credit for himself. “He never tired of boasting to me of John D.’s cleverness and how he was too smart for any of his competitors in the business. . . . He seemed to just dote on John D. Rockefeller. He told me hundreds of anecdotes of John D.’s boyhood, of fishing and hunting with him and of his cleverness and shrewdness as a boy.”<sup>11</sup> For all of Bill’s glaring faults, there is something touching about a father admiring his extraordinary son from afar and taking vicarious pleasure in his achievements while being pointedly excluded from his affections. John’s success provided its own tacit commentary on Bill’s employment. Where Bill had squandered his considerable talents, John had succeeded on a scale that made Bill look cheap and tawdry. Like many pathological liars, Bill’s achievements were too meager to satisfy his exaggerated need to feel important. He had never arrived at a larger vision of his own potentiality, remaining mired in the petty arts of a small-time con man.

Charles Johnston finally wearied of his escapades with Bill and opted for a legitimate career. Like any Pied Piper, Bill was upset when one of his followers no longer hearkened to his beguiling tune. As Johnston remembered: “We parted when I decided to go to college and get a medical education and a diploma. He was very indignant at that. He declared that a college education would spoil me and that his was the only method of curing diseases.”<sup>12</sup> Bill later recanted and helped to put his young protégé through medical school. When Johnston began practicing medicine in Chicago, Bill visited and showered him with gifts, including his gold-headed cane and his violin. In the interest of protecting his newfound respectability, Johnston kept his frontier liaison with Bill a deeply buried secret until the press forced him to come clean in 1908. By this point, the search for Doc Rockefeller had developed into a national obsession.

In March 1889, the ailing Eliza was at William’s mansion at 689 Fifth Avenue when she suffered a stroke that paralyzed her right side. As she hung on for another ten days, both John and William skipped work to maintain a bedside vigil. “She knew us all,” John D. wrote of the deathbed scene to a cousin, “and did all her strength would permit to show her affection, appreciation, and Christian resignation.”<sup>13</sup> She died quietly on March 28, age seventy-six, never having known that her husband had taken a second wife, twenty years his junior, and adopted a brand-new identity. John, William, and Frank buried their differences long enough to accompany the casket by train to Cleveland.

Whatever solace John derived from Eliza’s peaceful death was soon shattered by the events surrounding her funeral. Never accepting Bill’s double life, John had sold his father’s lot in Woodland Cemetery in 1882 so that he could be buried in “the portion for him and Mother” in the Rockefeller family plot at Lake View Cemetery. This transaction required Bill’s signature, but John’s relations with his father were so uneasy that he had to ask brother Frank and Pierson Briggs to act as intermediaries. When Doc Rockefeller predictably bridled at this slap at his second marriage, John threw up his hands in frustration. “Guess you will have to manage this matter with him,” he told Frank.<sup>14</sup> John succeeded in making the transfer, for, as Eliza’s condition deteriorated in February 1889, he wrote to Frank and referred to “the arrangement for father and mother to be buried in that portion which we have designated as theirs.”<sup>15</sup> Perhaps Bill pretended to submit to this arrangement only to placate John, for he had no real intention of being buried beside Eliza or abandoning Margaret.

When Eliza’s death seemed imminent, Frank alerted John that their father was suffering from asthma and would not attend the funeral service, to be held at John’s old Euclid Avenue house. Something snapped in John when his father thus offended his mother’s memory, and he decided to kill him off, at least symbolically. The day before the funeral, he paid a visit to the Reverend George T. Dowling of the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, who would officiate at Eliza’s burial and deliver the oration. As someone who later discussed this meeting with Dowling recalled, “The most interesting fact I got from him was the pains John D. Rockefeller took to have it announced that his mother died a widow. Among other things he told of the years of widowhood and her faithfulness to the memory of her departed husband.”<sup>16</sup> That this story was gathered by Rockefeller’s official biographer, William O. Inglis, only adds to its credibility.

Eliza's sons and grandsons served as pallbearers at the funeral, and John read the final chapter of Proverbs, while Bill was conspicuously absent among the mourners. Eliza's death certificate kept up the fiction that she was a widow. After the funeral, John was still fuming over his father's absence and for weeks insisted that Bill should come to Cleveland to pay his last respects at the gravesite. On April 18, 1889, he told Bill's brother Egbert, in an unaccustomed show of open wrath, that "if he does not soon come, we shall go for him."<sup>17</sup> Eliza's death, far from putting the whole situation to rest, only inflamed John's feelings anew, complicating his stormy relationship with his father.

That October, in apparent reprisal for his father's failure to attend, John made him sell his Park River ranch, which had now outlived its usefulness as a possible path to rehabilitation. On these transfer documents, John again forced his father to write his real name, "William Avery Rockefeller, widower of Cleveland," so as to keep the money from Margaret.<sup>18</sup> Determined to mete out further punishment, John pushed his father to sell all his western property, move back east, and abandon Margaret Allen altogether, but Bill would not leave Park River. He bought new property nearby and until 1897 continued to spend summers there and winters with Margaret in Freeport.

Six months after Eliza's funeral, Bill had the cheek to arrive in Cleveland, unannounced, his health suddenly and miraculously restored. It was probably this visit that sealed John's decision to sell the ranch in North Dakota. Apparently bent upon patching up relations with John and William, Bill prevailed upon Egbert, an upstate New York farmer, to accompany him on a trip to Manhattan in October 1890. The image of these two hillbillies in the big city measures the extraordinary distance that John and William had traveled from their small-town origins. Maintaining his civility, John gave them a tour of 26 Broadway and took them to Saint Patrick's Cathedral. The sixteen-year-old Junior whimsically narrated these events to a girlfriend in a letter; emerging from the cavernous church, Egbert turned to his hosts and said, "Well, that do beat all I ever see."<sup>19</sup> Even though Egbert was extremely close to Bill, John's children had never met this folksy old character before and were entranced by him. As Junior wrote,

*Uncle is a farmer from Oswego, New York, and has only been to the city once, and then on business, so that he knew nothing about the life that is led here and he has been most interested to ride in the park and see all the fine carriages and horses besides the many other sights of interest to one only accustomed to country life. He is such a dear, simple minded old man and is so appreciative of anything done for him that it is a great pleasure to make his visit as enjoyable as possible. Grandfather said to me the other day when we were driving together, "Uncle Bert is so happily disappointed in your family and Uncle Will's." I said why how do you mean. "Well," said he, "he told me that he supposed you would be stiff and high minded and hardly pay any attention to an old country man like him, and he is so delighted to find you all so social and entertaining." And, he said, "he does enjoy everything he sees here so much, why he talks to me until nearly eleven o'clock every night, telling me all about it."*<sup>20</sup>

John suspected that this would be his aging father's last East Coast visit, though Bill continued to show up in Cleveland, often escorted by Uncle Egbert. In the acrimonious style that marked all their business dealings, John continued to wrangle with his father about money matters. In 1881, he had advanced him money to enlarge Eliza's Cheshire Street house, the one John had built as an adolescent under Bill's intermittent supervision. Even though Bill had decamped, John had allowed him to retain a share in the house, leaving open the possibility of the penitent's eventual return. For this loan, John had charged—but never collected—6 percent interest. Around 1900, John told his ninety-year-old father that he would cancel his claim to the accumulated interest if Bill signed over his interest in the property to his granddaughters. It was yet another round in his never-ending quest to prevent Margaret Allen from inheriting a penny of Rockefeller money.

Communications between John and his father were routinely routed through Frank or William. As John wrote to Frank in a typical letter in 1898, "I enclose a letter to Father, as I have not his address."<sup>21</sup> Despite the chronic friction between them, Big Bill continued to borrow money from his son and by the end of the century still had a \$64,000 loan outstanding—more than \$1 million in today's money. This dependency grated on Bill, as was evident in September 1902, when John and Frank hosted a daylong party for their father at Forest Hill, gathering up his cronies from Strongsville days. Though he put on his finest duds—a broadcloth coat with silk lapels, a silk hat tilted at a jaunty angle, and a blazing diamond in his shirtfront—Bill was now a bloated 250 pounds. At ninety-two, he was gouty, rheumatic, asthmatic, hard of hearing, nearly blind, cantankerous, and unsteady on his feet. For all that, when they held a turkey shoot in his honor, Bill won hands down. The guests spent much time reminiscing and were doubled over with laughter as Bill told his salty tales. Later, when asked where he lived, he grew extremely coy; pressed, he raised his hand, saying, "No, no, boys; that's one thing I shall not tell."<sup>22</sup> He did drop two hints, however: that he lived somewhere out west and that he shot "shirt-tail swans" on a nearby lake—trivial details that sparked one of the great wild-goose chases in journalism history.

What makes the Forest Hill reunion so fascinating is that outsiders had an unusual chance to observe relations between John and his father. From his constant trips to Kansas, it was clear that Bill felt warmly toward Frank, but the tension between Bill and John was palpable. The old man seemed to delight in embarrassing his son before their guests. At one point, Bill was sitting on the lawn, holding court, when John approached quietly. "Here comes Johnnie," Bill taunted him. "I suppose he is a good Baptist, but look out how you trade with him."<sup>23</sup> Later, he told John that if he didn't pay him fifty cents for every squirrel on the place, he would "shoot every damn one of them."<sup>24</sup> Everybody but John seemed to enjoy the humor. To John's extreme discomfort, Bill launched into a long string of bawdy stories, narrated with all the brio he could muster. In a revealing moment, John tried to slip away so that he would not have to hear his father's remarks, but Bill grabbed his son and made him stand and listen to these ribald jokes. At the end of the day, while John tried to recover from this public humiliation, Frank and Bill took a long, sentimental drive through the Cleveland streets.

The tense relations between John and his father were paralleled by increasing rancor between John and his malcontent brother Frank, who was always maddened by his success. As a vast discrepancy in wealth arose between him and his two brothers, Frank tried to redress the imbalance by gambling, only to stumble into fresh fiascos and exacerbate his reliance on them. Whenever he attempted to emulate John's business flair, he acted in a dangerously capricious fashion, and his subsequent failures further infuriated him against his brother. As he waded into commercial blunders and rash speculations, his dark side acquired a pathological intensity, with one observer depicting Frank as "hot-tempered and vindictive. . . . Sometimes I have thought that he was insane. He was a very violent man. Perhaps brooding over some wrong, real or imaginary, had upset his mind."<sup>25</sup>

Aware of the problems his legendary stature caused Frank, John felt acutely the difference in their fortunes and wanted to find a place in business for Frank, but he couldn't countenance his methods and was offended by his public tirades against him. In the late 1870s, Frank was a partner in the rival

Cleveland refinery Pioneer Oil Works, and John classified his brother among the blackmailers who tried to unload their antiquated refineries on him at extortionate prices. “He and others were up to such schemes all the time till they got their property sold out at the price they wanted—schemes of blackmail!”<sup>26</sup> John labored tirelessly to win control of Pioneer Oil Works and, instead of snuffing it out, favored its discreet absorption by Standard Oil. Using William as an intermediary—there were times when John and Frank did not speak—he offered Frank lucrative deals in which the trust would refine Pioneer’s oil. While Frank thought he was negotiating only with William, John secretly monitored their exchanges and dictated letters sent under William’s signature. The genial William was also the front man for large loans that Frank might have spurned if offered directly by John. In the end, Frank negotiated an advantageous deal in which Standard Oil would market Pioneer’s surplus oil whenever Pioneer lacked enough customers—a one-sided deal John would have approved only out of fraternal sentiment. Instead of showing gratitude, Frank rewarded John by trying to steal away Standard Oil customers and raiding territories it controlled.

An incorrigible ingrate, Frank wanted to have it both ways: to be heavily indebted to his brothers yet operate free of their control. He asked John to become his banker then expected leniency from him. He took several gigantic loans from John and William—some as large as \$80,000—with all too predictable results. When Frank piled up staggering losses in private oil speculations, Colonel Payne reported to John in 1882: “*Confidentially*— it is reported that Frank has lost very largely in his operations at Chicago—it is put as high as \$100,000.”<sup>27</sup> When Frank’s health broke under the strain, John tried, to no avail, to wean him away from gambling.

Trying to equalize his status with his brothers, Frank lived on a lavish scale that far outstripped his income. He later bought a beautiful country home in Wickliffe, Ohio, seven miles from Forest Hill, complete with 160 acres of barns, paddocks, and a racetrack. He trained fine racehorses, raised Shetland ponies and prize cattle, and stocked a hunting preserve with deer, bear, foxes, and squirrels. Nothing pleased Frank more than to dust off his Civil War uniform on patriotic holidays and strut around his property with fellow veterans, perhaps to remind John and William that they hadn’t flocked to the Union banner.

On his travels, Big Bill had spotted a large tract of cheap land in Belvidere, Kansas, west of Wichita, which Frank turned into an 8,000-acre ranch. When he first bought the property, it was remote from railroads, and he could graze his buffalo herd, pedigreed horses, and shorthorn cattle on vast, unfenced plains. Not surprisingly, John and William carried the ranch mortgage and financed additional land purchases. Then the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad inaugurated service to the area, fresh settlers swarmed in, and the free range shrank for cattlemen. Where Frank’s livestock had been able to forage for ten miles to the east and twenty-eight miles to the north, now they could go just two miles to the east and four miles to the north. This ruined the ranch for breeding beef, and Frank tried futilely to sell the depreciated property.

Striking a familiar whining note, Frank told John, “I can’t understand why this vein of ill luck & misfortune holds to me in every piece of property I have.”<sup>28</sup> At such moments, he dropped the bravado and showed almost abject gratitude to his brothers, now signing a written agreement to end his speculations. As he reassured John, “I take this opportunity of thanking you & Will for your great kindness to me, & agree not to enter any new business of *any kind*, without first conferring with you.”<sup>29</sup> Instead of chiding him, John steadily advanced more money in 1884, retired his debts, provided income for his family, and rallied his bruised spirits, saying, “Keep a stiff upper lip, clean up as you go, and the skies will brighten by and bye.”<sup>30</sup>

That year, Frank rewarded John’s generosity by again testifying against Standard Oil in congressional testimony, charging it with accepting huge railroad rebates. With Frank, John tried to show a preacher’s patience, yet he was caught on the horns of a dilemma: If he showed generosity toward Frank, it deepened his brother’s dependence and bred anger; if he didn’t give him money, Frank threw a tantrum. His brother’s two-faced behavior rankled, causing John to exclaim in later life: “My poor brother! He has had his day. I pulled him up four times out of bankruptcy.”<sup>31</sup>

Oppressed by debts from oil speculation and ranching, Frank could no longer contribute capital to Pioneer Oil Works, and the firm shut down. His partner, J. W. Fawcett, pleaded with John D. to buy the firm, but Standard already had excess Cleveland refining capacity. After a brief fling as a stockbroker, in 1886 Frank was appointed a second vice president of Standard Oil of Ohio, a post created for him by his brother. For all his sermonizing about John, Frank gladly took advantage of nepotism and, once on the trust’s payroll, had no scruples about enforcing policies he had recently excoriated. When competition loomed up in Michigan, he reveled in stamping it out and proudly wired John that “our idea . . . to wipe out all M[ichigan] companies completed—doing the business in the name of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio.”<sup>32</sup> He bullied Cleveland refiners who requested higher refining allotments from Standard Oil—much as he had tried to do for Pioneer Oil Works. And he wasn’t above milking his position for personal gain. After visiting the new oil boomtown of Lima in 1886, he wrote to John, “Lima, Ohio, is a very pretty town of 12,000 inhabitants and it seems very natural that the oil interest there and the building of a refinery would create quite a boom in real-estate.”<sup>33</sup> He had the effrontery to ask John for money for his real-estate speculation in the city—which would only drive up the price of land Standard Oil was trying to buy.

Frank Rockefeller never fared well in the business world and spread dissension in the Standard ranks. He was jealous of the power wielded by the office head, Colonel Thompson, the former Confederate colonel. (That Frank had been wounded on the Union side couldn’t have helped.) For one tumultuous year, Frank and Thompson waged their own civil war, Frank steaming at duties Thompson assigned to him. In confidential letters to John D., Frank tried to smear Thompson as a power-mad executive, feathering his nest at the company’s expense. As Standard Oil angled for a natural-gas charter in Cleveland, Frank wrote privately that Thompson “is intending to so pull wires and spend money . . . in such a way as if possible, to wield such an influence as would result in his own personal aggrandizement politically.”<sup>34</sup> Thompson, a tough, wily customer, could have outmaneuvered Frank, but he wisely sensed the perils of beating the president’s brother and withdrew from the field of battle. Instead, he moved to New York and chaired the domestic-trade committee at 26 Broadway, leaving Frank outwardly in charge in Cleveland.

In February 1887, the trust further downgraded Cleveland in the Standard Oil hierarchy, reducing it to a shipping and manufacturing center, with actual business decisions taken in New York. In other words, high-level orders would now emanate from Thompson’s committee. As Frank wrote John from Cleveland, “When I returned to the city Monday morning I found the people throughout the entire building in a fearfully demoralized state of mind, and was besieged more or less for several days by different ones—all anxious to know what their fate was to be—the general impression prevailing that a majority of them would lose their situations, business going to New York.”<sup>35</sup>



Irritated by Frank’s griping, John was soon coldly writing “Dear Sir” letters to him and signing them, “John D. Rockefeller, President.” Gradually, Frank was shunted aside by Feargus Squire, nominally secretary of Standard of Ohio and lower than Frank on the organization chart, but the real boss of the office. It seems that Frank alienated virtually everyone in the building and was increasingly ostracized. An official history of Standard of Ohio describes the denouement: “The vice-president’s interest in what was going on, seldom noticeable, diminished as time went by, and there were those who came to regard him as a millstone around the neck of a more talented man. Many thought he was being retained because his name was Rockefeller—an opinion which a hundred contrary pronouncements from 26 Broadway would not have altered.”<sup>36</sup>



*The four Rockefeller children strike a pose in 1885. Left to right: Alta, Bessie, Edith, and John, Jr. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## A Matter of Trust

For twenty-five years after Drake's discovery, no major oil field was discovered in America beyond the Pennsylvania borders, so that it was never clear whether Rockefeller's empire rested on terra firma or quicksand. When somebody told John D. Archbold in 1885 that traces of oil had been found in what later became Oklahoma, he reacted with incredulity. "Are you crazy, man?" he scoffed. "Why, I'll *drink* every gallon of oil produced west of the Mississippi!"<sup>1</sup> Though small amounts of crude were being pumped in California and Kentucky, one expert solemnly assured Archbold that the chances of finding another bonanza on the scale of the Bradford field were one in a hundred; in alarm, Archbold liquidated some of his Standard Oil shares. Writing to Rockefeller that September, he mused gloomily that "we have opened nothing of importance in the way of production this summer, and next winter must see a great reduction in the old Bradford and Allegheny fields, from which the bulk of the production is yet obtained."<sup>2</sup> The American oil business seemed headed toward premature extinction.

Rockefeller and his associates had long been haunted by two antithetical nightmares: Either the oil would dry up, starving their network of pipelines and refineries, or they would drown in a sea of cheap oil that would drag prices below their overhead costs. At one panicky executive-committee meeting in the early 1880s, it was even suggested that Standard Oil should exit the business and enter something more stable. After listening quietly to such defeatist talk, Rockefeller stood up, pointed skyward, and intoned, "The Lord will provide."<sup>3</sup> Rockefeller tended to see a heavenly design in all things and was convinced that the Almighty had buried the oil in the earth for a purpose.

In retrospect, it seems peculiar that Standard Oil—omnipotent in refining, transportation, and distribution—owned just four producing properties in the early 1880s. Thousands of Standard Oil employees had never seen a well. Why had Rockefeller not taken over the oil fields and completed his mastery of the industry? One must recall that in its formative years, the business suffered more gluts than shortages, giving Rockefeller the option of sitting back and watching producers slash prices in chaotic competition. He had long profited from the juxtaposition of cooperation in refining and competition in production. Political tact also dictated that he tread warily. As late as 1884, Archbold vigorously opposed any move into production as overly provocative: "I think if the name of the Standard Oil Co. were to go forth coupled with the movement, it would make new food for demagogues, politicians, papers, and howlers of all descriptions."<sup>4</sup>

Why, then, did a radical policy shift occur within a year or two? Partly, this derived from the trust's entry into natural gas, which put it, willy-nilly, in the drilling business, but the more compelling reason was that Standard Oil had built up a huge global machinery with a ravenous thirst for crude oil. As the Pennsylvania fields were depleted, Rockefeller feared that he might have to turn to Russian crude, and it seemed certain that the Russians would exploit their control of the oil fields to weaken or even eradicate Standard Oil. Already by 1884, an anxious Rockefeller was badgering associates to create a crude-oil reserve beyond their immediate needs, and he invested in some West Virginia producing properties. As he warned a skeptical colleague, "We must keep in sight always a large volume of the raw material, and better that this stock be somewhat excessive than run the risk of Russian competition shutting us out."<sup>5</sup>

Then came a turning point almost as momentous as Drake's discovery. In May 1885, a group of small operators, searching for natural gas in northwest Ohio, tapped a pocket of oil instead. This threw the industry into a wild uproar, providing incontestable proof that substantial deposits existed in the United States outside of Pennsylvania. By year's end, more than 250 derricks had sprouted around the town of Lima, spilling across the border into Indiana. Yet the cheering was restrained, for the chemical content of Lima crude had intractable quality problems that threatened to destroy its value. For one thing, it contained less kerosene than Pennsylvania petroleum and that kerosene spread a film over lamps. Even more troublesome, its high sulfur content corroded machinery and gave off a deadly smell. (Pennsylvania crude had a paraffin base.) As one newspaper put it, "The chief fault found with Ohio stuff is the fact that it smells like a stack of polecats and is only worth forty cents a barrel."<sup>6</sup> For a household item, this stench was a fatal drawback, and the standard practice of cleansing crude with sulfuric acid was not enough to disinfect it.

It was, arguably, Rockefeller's supreme inspiration that he believed in the Ohio-Indiana fields—one of those flashes of vatic power that made him a business legend. As he said, "It seemed to us impossible that this great product had come to the surface to be wasted and thrown away; so we went on experimenting with every process to utilize it."<sup>7</sup> To solve the problem, in July 1886 Rockefeller imported a distinguished, German-born chemist named Herman Frasch and gave him simple marching orders: Banish the odor from Lima crude and turn it into a marketable commodity. While Frasch burrowed away at this problem, the Standard Oil board faced an excruciating dilemma: Should they assume Frasch would succeed and buy up huge leases along the Ohio-Indiana border; or should they wait until Frasch had finished and risk losing the choicest properties?

Despite his prudent style, Rockefeller could exhibit visionary daring and undertake colossal gambles. He was now prepared to wager an enormous amount on Lima oil, a decision that tested his belief in management by consensus, for a conservative board clique headed by Charles Pratt obstinately resisted him. Rockefeller had always derided Pratt as weak-kneed and fainthearted, a "small man" who contributed little beyond the marketing area.<sup>8</sup> Yet far from imposing his will, Rockefeller tolerated prolonged debate about Lima crude, producing "a continual wrangle in the Board of the Standard Oil Company, day by day, month by month, year after year."<sup>9</sup>

A thin man with a Vandyke, active in his Baptist church, Pratt shared Rockefeller's puritanical style. "Waste neither time nor money" was his favorite motto.<sup>10</sup> A donor to many causes, Pratt was the first president and principal donor of the Adelpia Academy in Brooklyn and later bequeathed several million dollars to found the Pratt Institute, which offered classes in manual trades, the arts, and domestic economy. Despite their similarities, Pratt was a timid executive who lacked Rockefeller's audacity and often felt slighted by him. He now turned the Lima debate into a referendum on his own business acumen. At every meeting, when Rockefeller proposed purchasing Ohio leases, Pratt and his faction objected. As Rockefeller said in mockery, they "held up their hands in holy horror."<sup>11</sup> Finally, to break the deadlock, Rockefeller took an incalculable gamble. At one board meeting, after Rockefeller made his standard pitch for a Lima investment, Pratt lost his temper, threw back his head in agitation, and shouted "No!" Whereupon Rockefeller replied

coolly, “I will build this improvement out of my own funds and underwrite it for two years.” He astonished his colleagues by pledging \$3 million—about \$47 million in 1996 dollars. “At the end of that time if it is a success the company can reimburse me. If it is a failure, I will take the loss.”<sup>12</sup> Whether impressed by Rockefeller’s unflinching resolve or realizing that he had lost, Pratt capitulated. “If that’s the way you feel about it, we’ll go it together,” he replied. “I guess I can take the risk if you can.”<sup>13</sup>

Standard Oil spent millions of dollars to buy oil properties, build tank cars, and construct pipelines in Lima. Daniel O’Day had never seen an oil field that he didn’t want to crosshatch with pipes, and when the trust started the Buckeye Pipe Lines Company to gather Lima crude in March 1886, he informed producers with more force than subtlety that they had to give Buckeye all their crude. Any driller who struck oil was accosted on the spot by one of O’Day’s determined agents. As he told Rockefeller, “I believe it is for the best interest of our company that as soon as we learn of any new development either oil or gas that we have a man there at once and have him stay there ready to take hold of anything that may turn up.”<sup>14</sup> An irresistible force, O’Day soon cornered 85 percent of the Lima oil. Even though no market yet existed for the “skunk oil,” the trust bought every single barrel offered by producers and by 1888 had over forty million barrels in storage tanks. By that point, the foul-smelling fluid sold for fifteen cents per barrel.

In taking his gamble, Rockefeller hadn’t *entirely* trusted to the Lord and the Standard Oil chemists and was casting about for a new application for the malodorous oil. He found the answer in fuel oil. The trust sent out teams of salesmen and technicians to persuade railroads to burn oil instead of coal in their locomotives and to suggest to hotels, factories, and warehouses that they switch from coal furnaces to oil burners. Although this effort flourished, the resulting business still didn’t equal the scale of the kerosene industry and only marginally diminished the fierce pressure weighing on Herman Frasch in his laboratory.

Nicknamed the Wild Dutchman, the vainglorious Frasch conformed to the stereotype of the eccentric scientist. A short man of explosive temper, he had immigrated to the United States after the Civil War. In the mid-1870s, Rockefeller brought him to Cleveland, where he did splendid work with paraffin, producing a new wax for British candle makers and a new ingredient for Cleveland’s chewing-gum magnate, William J. White. Afterward, Frasch set up shop in Canada and patented a process for eliminating sulfur from sour Ontario oils. Since the Ontario fields lay across Lake Erie from northwest Ohio, Rockefeller must have assumed a high likelihood of success when he hired Frasch to work on a kindred problem. By February 1887, Frasch had achieved partial success with Lima crude, introducing copper oxides to remove the sulfur. Then came the big breakthrough of October 13, 1888, when Feargus Squire wired Rockefeller with the historic news he had eagerly awaited for two years: “We are pleased to advise you that by experimenting with the Frasch process we have succeeded in producing a merchantable oil.”<sup>15</sup>

Frasch’s feat did more than vindicate Rockefeller’s reputation as an uncanny prophet of industry trends. Had Frasch not figured out how to use Lima crude, a critical shortage of American oil would have arisen between the depletion of western Pennsylvania crude and the Texas and Kansas booms of the early 1900s. For fifteen years, Frasch’s patents furnished dazzling profits for Rockefeller and Standard Oil and boosted the status of research scientists throughout the industry. The original oilmen were self-made roughnecks, biased against science and prone to operate by intuition, whereas Rockefeller brought a rational spirit to the business, and this counted among his greatest contributions. As the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead said, “The greatest invention of the nineteenth century was the invention of the method of invention.”<sup>16</sup> When Frasch cracked the riddle of Lima crude, he was probably the only trained petroleum chemist in the United States. By the time Rockefeller retired, he had a test laboratory in every refinery and even one on the top floor of 26 Broadway. This was yet another way in which he converted Standard Oil into a prototype of the modern industrial organization, its progress assured by the steady application of science.

Once Rockefeller had an insight, it often gripped him with the irresistible force of an epiphany, and he now decided that Standard Oil must guarantee its crude-oil supply. After Frasch certified the worth of Lima crude, the trust moved into oil production with all the formidable resources within its reach. In 1889, a production committee was formed under the aegis of John D. Archbold, and it spent money at such a torrid pace that within two years it had disbursed \$22 million—a figure that strained even Standard Oil’s budget, prompting more anguished howls from Charles Pratt. Rockefeller’s faith was vindicated, however, as the Ohio-Indiana field overtook the waning Pennsylvania industry and became the country’s crude-oil leader in the 1890s.

Rejuvenated by Lima, Rockefeller embarked on a buying binge such as the industry had never seen. Swallowing up Union Oil and three other big producing firms in 1890, he took over three hundred thousand acres of Pennsylvania and West Virginia—huge chunks of acreage that encompassed whole counties. The most feared man in the Oil Regions now became their dominant landlord and producer. “Hitherto the attention of the big Octopus has been largely directed toward crushing out all opposition in the refining of oil,” noted one agitated newspaper. “This latest deal shows that it has started to crush out the producers of the crude oil and obtain control of their property.”<sup>17</sup> By 1891, Rockefeller had gained control of a majority of the Lima fields and a quarter of American oil production. (The trust’s share of American crude production peaked at 33 percent in 1898.) By narrowing the range of competition in oil production, the move hastened the day of political reckoning for Standard Oil.

In future years, the discovery of new fields both at home and abroad provided openings for upstart competitors, but the trust’s swift, complete control of the Lima field gave it unchallenged control of American oil in the 1890s. The only major competitor spawned by the new territory was the Sun Oil Company, started by J. N. Pew in 1886. In spring 1891, Archbold visited Lima, cast a proprietary eye over oil fields stretching more than one hundred miles, and gloated in a letter to Rockefeller, “We undoubtedly have, as the case stands, well in reserve the greater part of the defined territory, and we will certainly be able to produce oil in the Ohio field more cheaply than anybody else, owning, as we do, great bodies of territories which we can drill judiciously.”<sup>18</sup> Now that Rockefeller had scored such a gratifying triumph in production, he instructed Archbold to grab anything that could still turn a profit with crude at fifty cents a barrel. “If so would buy all we can get,” he wired.<sup>19</sup> In this rush into exploration and production, Rockefeller created the model for the vertically integrated oil giants that would straddle the globe in the twentieth century.

The discovery of oil in Ohio radically redrew the map of the Standard universe, for it was senseless to ship crude oil to eastern refineries only to ship kerosene back to markets in the Midwest and Far West. In 1886, even before Frasch had completed his work, O’Day scouted northwest Ohio for an appropriate refinery site and chose the charming town of Lima itself, which was served by four railroads. The emergence of the giant Lima refinery accelerated the demise of Cleveland and Pittsburgh as refining centers, and by 1896 Standard Oil phased out its largest Cleveland refinery.

The Lima refinery was a mere preamble to the main event in the Midwest. In June 1889, the trust organized Standard Oil of Indiana, which would build America's premier oil refinery at Whiting, Indiana, seventeen miles from downtown Chicago. During his 1891 tour, Archbold, trembling at the magnitude of this undertaking, told Rockefeller that the plant's ability to process 36,000 barrels of crude oil daily struck him as "almost impossible to comprehend."<sup>20</sup> The refinery remained a wonder of world oil for many years. At Whiting, Dr. William M. Burton produced his revolutionary discovery of how to "crack" petroleum, vastly increasing its yield of gasoline—an essential precondition of the auto age.

It took time for Standard Oil to wipe away the stigma of Lima crude, for just enough sulfur remained in the kerosene to clog chimneys and lamps in damp weather. In a confidential letter to Rockefeller, Archbold confessed that for the first time their competitors could justly claim a superior product. The trust was now a victim of its own dirty tricks. After the Ohio oil was discovered but before Rockefeller had won over Pratt, Standard had engineered a propaganda campaign to convince consumers that Lima oil was inferior to Pennsylvania oil. This strategy had now boomeranged on them, Archbold told Rockefeller, "so that it is necessary, until this prejudice is gotten out of the way, that the greatest possible care must be taken to have every shipment from both Lima and Whiting absolutely beyond the possibility of legitimate complaint."<sup>21</sup> The original slander was refuted with difficulty.

As Standard Oil secured complete control of the oil industry, many ordinary citizens were frightened by its gargantuan size, rapacious methods, and inexorable growth, and it came to symbolize all the disquieting forces reshaping America. It was the "parent of the great monopolies which at present masquerade under the new-found name of 'Trusts,'" said one newspaper, and it served as shorthand for the new agglomerations of economic power. A business system based on individual enterprise was creating combinations of monstrous size that seemed to threaten that individualism. And modern industry not only menaced small-scale commerce but appeared to constitute a sinister despotism that endangered democracy itself as giant corporations overshadowed government as the most dynamic force in American society.

As the leading figure in this consolidation, Rockefeller was the emblematic figure of the Gilded Age and hence a lightning rod for criticism. He closely followed political developments and was keenly alert to any potential threats to his business interests. In his personal campaign contributions, though, he won a well-earned reputation as a stingy giver, and some politicians even felt miffed at his paltry gifts. The clandestine payoffs made by Standard Oil were a different matter, and Rockefeller never stinted in making payments to get the job done.

At the turn of the century, reporters spilled a great deal of ink over charges that Standard Oil had bought Henry B. Payne's election to the U.S. Senate in 1884. This putative case of political corruption received more attention from critics than any other, although little evidence was ever adduced to substantiate it. With his white hair and wire-rimmed glasses, Henry B. Payne—father of Standard Oil's treasurer, Oliver Payne—was an affable man with a distinguished air. A Cleveland lawyer and perpetual candidate for public office, he lobbied for mandatory education in Cleveland, worked ardently for the Union cause, and helped to found the Case School of Applied Sciences, while also serving as part owner of two railroads. Unlike his wealthy Euclid Avenue neighbors, Payne was a Democrat who had campaigned for Stephen Douglas in his 1860 presidential bid against Abraham Lincoln. Ironically, in light of later allegations, when he first ran for Congress, Standard Oil supported his opponent and helped to defeat him. Ambitious for his father, the cold, haughty Oliver Payne acted as his perennial campaign manager, starting with his congressional victory in 1874. Two years later, Oliver tried unsuccessfully to capture the Democratic presidential nomination for his father—a presumptuous bid for an elderly freshman congressman. This lost cause earned Oliver a somewhat Machiavellian reputation, and one newspaper observed acidly: "He's got a purse that is inexhaustible, a silent tongue, and a capacity for the organization and manipulation of men."<sup>22</sup>

In the late 1870s, Henry Payne lost his congressional seat. Approaching seventy, he might have retired gracefully from politics, but he could not seem to shed his daydreams of higher office. When he sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1880, his opponents cruelly baited him about his age, and one stooped to calling him "an attenuated, dried-up old fossil."<sup>23</sup> To retire these charges, Payne gave a nimble spring to his step, a youthful vigor to his gestures. Possibly more harmful was Payne's association with Standard Oil, which blemished his reputation among many Democrats. Payne received only eighty-one votes on the first ballot as General Winfield Hancock walked off with the nomination.

At the time, U.S. senators were elected by state legislatures, creating an open season for graft and influence peddling by business interests. When the Ohio legislature elected Henry B. Payne to the Senate in 1884—the legislature would go down in history as the infamous "Coal-oil Legislature" for its obeisance to Standard Oil—it was widely rumored that Oliver had sat behind a desk in a Columbus hotel room and doled out bills to legislators, the final tab reaching \$100,000. These bribery allegations, though never proved, shadowed Senator Payne and provoked a firestorm of abuse against Standard Oil. Whether Oliver Payne bought the election is uncertain, but it seems far-fetched that Rockefeller or Standard Oil conspired with him. Henry Payne was a staunch Democrat, and Standard Oil was a Republican stronghold. Rockefeller likely spoke the literal truth when he said, "I was opposed to the election of Senator Payne, as a Republican and never anything else but a Republican. And not one farthing of the money of the Standard Oil Company went to his election; nor were the Standard Oil Company favorable to his election, as a company."<sup>24</sup>

Aside from his father, Oliver Payne gave Standard Oil a second important link to the Democratic Party through his brother-in-law, William C. Whitney. Even though Oliver had been two years older and infinitely richer than Whitney at the time, the two were fast friends at Yale. To an extent that some observers found unhealthy, Oliver doted on his lovely, gregarious sister Flora; when he arranged for her to meet Whitney in 1868, he already "knew that if they met, they would fall in love with each other," he later admitted.<sup>25</sup> When they married a year later, he became their self-appointed benefactor, buying them a five-story Park Avenue brownstone. This was a mere curtain-raiser to his next gift, a showy \$700,000 mansion, glistening with gorgeous paintings and Gobelin tapestries, at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street, across from Cornelius Vanderbilt's residence. One historian said that Oliver insouciantly "presented it to the Whitneys as one might present a poodle," and with his sublime self-assurance, this lifelong bachelor moved into one of its sumptuous second-floor apartments.<sup>26</sup>

William C. Whitney was a dashing man with a matchless talent for attracting monied patrons. Though he stayed only one year at Harvard Law School, he became a rich Wall Street lawyer, representing Commodore Vanderbilt and other railroad clients. Active in the Democratic Party, he won the patronage of Samuel J. Tilden, who, as governor, had him named New York City's corporation counsel. In 1884, Whitney shrewdly supported Grover Cleveland, the mayor of Buffalo, for president and brokered a truce between the reform-minded Cleveland and Tammany Hall. When Whitney emerged

as an influential insider in Cleveland’s presidential campaign, some critics thought him a Standard Oil tool. In reality, Rockefeller voted for James G. Blaine, a paladin of business interests, and predicted the election would be “a great calamity” if Cleveland won.<sup>27</sup> In an unprecedented step, Rockefeller allowed his name to be listed as vice president for a Republican fund-raising effort in the city of Cleveland.

To further Grover Cleveland’s candidacy, Whitney persuaded Henry B. Payne that the growing furor over Standard Oil made it an inauspicious time for him to vie for the Democratic nomination. Instead, Henry and Oliver Payne poured \$170,000 into Cleveland’s war chest. After Cleveland’s victory, it looked as if Whitney would be named interior secretary. Then the press tagged him with the sobriquet of “Coal Oil Billy” and raised the specter that Standard Oil would loot public lands. As a consolation prize, Whitney settled for an appointment as secretary of the navy. For all the baseless speculation about his links to Standard Oil, Whitney was seldom asked to perform favors for the trust and spent most of his time constructing a new steel navy. Around the time that William and Flora Whitney moved to Washington, Oliver Payne, citing the “need for a rest,” resigned from Standard Oil.<sup>28</sup>

Despite its many shareholders, the Standard Oil trust was always controlled by a small clique of powerful families. “I think it is true that the Pratt family, the Payne-Whitney family (which were one, as all the stock came from Colonel Payne), the Harkness-Flagler family (which came into the Company together) and the Rockefeller family controlled a majority of the stock during all the history of the Company up to the present time,” Rockefeller commented in 1910.<sup>29</sup> Because the Harkness and Payne families were sociable and intermarried with the Vanderbilts and Whitneys, they spread a great deal of Standard Oil bounty through America’s social aristocracy.

While Standard Oil gadflies pounced on the political bonds between the Paynes and William Whitney, they missed a more flagrant case of political corruption: that of Johnson Newlon Camden, who served as a West Virginia senator from 1881 to 1887 but never severed his ties to Standard Oil. Approaching his 1881 election to the U.S. Senate as a straight business proposition, he favored a liberal distribution of cash to the West Virginia legislature to secure results. As he plaintively told Flagler that year, “Politics is dearer than it used to be—and my understood connection with the Standard Oil Co. don’t *tend to cheapen it*—as we are all supposed to have bushels.” This was prelude to an urgent request for “\$10,000 in some turn—stocks or oil—Please keep an eye out and let me know.”<sup>30</sup> Apparently, Standard Oil obliged, for in the next letter, Camden reported victory to Flagler. “I also appreciate sincerely the substantial kindness of the Ex[ecutive] Com[mittee]—and used it without hesitation as I needed it temporarily.”<sup>31</sup>

Even after entering the Senate, Camden continued to correspond with Rockefeller and Flagler as if he was still an active Standard Oil executive, and he discussed the trust’s negotiations with the B&O Railroad on U.S. Senate stationery. He organized a railroad with Oliver Payne and urged Rockefeller, Flagler, and Harkness to join them. Throughout his term, Camden stood sentinel over Standard Oil interests, and when two pipeline bills inimical to the trust appeared in the Maryland legislature in 1882, he acted promptly, informing Flagler with satisfaction, “My dear Mr. Flagler, I have arranged to kill the two bills in Md. legislature at comparatively small expense.”<sup>32</sup>

With Grover Cleveland’s election in 1884, many businessmen braced for reform in Washington, but he turned out to be quite moderate. Nonetheless, the public revulsion against monopolies steadily gathered force, producing an Anti-Monopoly Party that condemned railroad pools and rate discrimination. Although grain elevators, meatpackers, and harvesting-machine companies were all feeding off railroad rebates, Standard Oil was thrust into the foreground of antimonopoly indictments. As the *World* wrote in a scorching attack against the trust in 1887, “When the 19th century shall have passed into history, the impartial eyes of the reviewers will be amazed to find that the U.S., supposed to be conservative of human liberty and human right, tolerated the presence of the most gigantic, the most cruel, impudent, pitiless and grasping monopoly that ever fastened itself upon a country.”<sup>33</sup>

Nonetheless, it took time to establish the legal rationale for government regulation of private business. In 1876, in *Munn v. Illinois*, the Supreme Court had famously declared, “Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large.”<sup>34</sup> By this point, Standard Oil wasn’t overly worried about an interstate-commerce bill against railroad discrimination. The trust ran its own pipeline system to the seaboard and was confident that if railroad regulation came it could still be bypassed. When Congress finally passed the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, outlawing railroad pools and rebates and setting up the first regulatory commission, Senators Payne and Camden dutifully voted against the bill, but its defeat had not been assigned a high priority by the trust.

In public, Standard Oil pretended to welcome the equal treatment mandated by the new act and vowed to accept no more rebates. As Rockefeller and Archbold later claimed in 1907 when their subsequent behavior was questioned, “Since the enactment of the interstate commerce law in 1887, the Standard Oil Co. has most carefully observed its provisions and in no case has wilfully violated the law.”<sup>35</sup> Rockefeller tended to portray himself as a hard-driving executive who went as far as the law allowed but not an inch further. Allan Nevins concurred in this view, noting that “following the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Standard, as careful observers generally agree, came close to a general obedience of the new law, and asked no outright rebates.”<sup>36</sup>

But there is reason to question this assertion. Right before the act’s passage, Standard had to grapple with state challenges to railroad rebates, and the ubiquitous Colonel Thompson, closeted with railway officials, found ways to skirt the new regulations. In the spring of 1886, Thompson conferred with officials of the Lake Shore Railroad after the Ohio Supreme Court had outlawed freight discriminations. They came up with a way to create the illusion that all shippers paid the identical posted rates while Standard Oil was compensated secretly through an accounting gimmick. As Thompson explained this subterfuge to Rockefeller:

*Our arrangement is a very simple one: We are paying the open tariff rates to Michigan and all other points and this same is required of all other shippers. I have a distinct understanding with the proper persons that we are not required or expected to pay more than formerly and in order that we may not be out any money . . . we deduct from Chicago payments an equivalent amounting to what would have been a proper payment on all the other points, each month. You will readily see the object of this and you will observe in the situation we are in that no better or fairer arrangement could possibly have been made or one more satisfactory to us.*<sup>37</sup>

When the Missouri railroad commissioner ordered uniform freight rates in 1888, Thompson advised Rockefeller, “We have reason to think that this

order will be withdrawn. At any rate, the roads will pay no attention to it.”<sup>38</sup>

Such oral arrangements may have helped to pacify Standard Oil in the wake of the Interstate Commerce Act. Also, no governmental body could strip it of its giant tank-car fleet and the lucrative royalties they brought in; Standard Oil wasn’t compelled to supply tank cars to competitors. There were even unexpected dividends from the equality prescribed by the act. The new Interstate Commerce Commission said the railroads had to charge the same rate for oil in barrels (used by independents) and in tank cars (used by Standard Oil); as a result, the roads, for the first time, could charge for the weight of the barrels, penalizing independent shippers. For a brief period, the Interstate Commerce Act might have chilled collaboration between trusts and railroads, but they gradually figured out ways to evade the law and slip back into well-worn arrangements. The fight against the railroad rebate remained a hardy perennial of reform politics for a generation. In 1907, Standard Oil was briefly slapped with the largest fine in corporate history for a practice it had supposedly given up long before.

By the 1888 election, protests against the trusts—oil, whiskey, sugar, and a score of others—had broken out in so many places that the national platforms of both parties harshly condemned economic concentration. Agrarian reformers in the South and West agitated against the railroads as the midwives of monopoly. Protestant evangelicals deplored the moral crisis that accompanied industrialization and the lopsided distribution of wealth. There was a great upsurge of activity among organized labor as membership in the Knights of Labor soared to 700,000 in 1886. That year, policemen fired on picketers at the McCormick reaper plant in Chicago, provoking the protest at the Haymarket in which a bomb exploded, killing seven people. In 1888, Edward Bellamy published his best-selling utopian novel, *Looking Backward*, with its socialist version of the technocratic society overtaking America. The general public was of two minds and viewed the new entrepreneurs as alternately sinister and heroic. By 1888, Rockefeller began to pop up in fawning magazine features about rich Americans, but he was also singled out as a notorious trust king in Joseph Pulitzer’s *World* and other papers. The press kept up an editorial drumbeat against Standard Oil, demanding vigorous state and federal antitrust action.

Amid this crescendo of criticism, Rockefeller again came under the scrutiny of government investigators. When a New York senate committee investigated Standard Oil in 1888, it learned just how elusive he could be. When a process server came to 26 Broadway, he was told that Mr. Rockefeller was out of town. When he went to 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, he was told that Mr. Rockefeller was at home but could not be seen. At this point, the process server spent the night dozing on Rockefeller’s stoop, lest the mogul attempt an early-morning departure. Ringing the doorbell shortly after daybreak, he was told Mr. Rockefeller had left. Blandly denying that he had fled the process server, Rockefeller later explained that he had been in Ohio and hastened back when notified of the investigation. In fact, Rockefeller had also kept his visit to Cleveland a secret because he feared being served there with a subpoena in a suit by local refiners.

To coach Rockefeller for the New York senate hearings, Standard Oil hired an eminent lawyer, Joseph H. Choate. Choate was slow to appreciate his unusual client, who greeted him cordially then stretched out on a couch with a languid air. When Choate tried to sound him out on several company matters, his tight-lipped client revealed nothing. Choate was frustrated by this seemingly indolent man who kept quizzing *him*. “I wonder how we shall make out with Mr. Rockefeller,” Choate asked Flagler in concern. “He seems so helpless. He is asking questions all the time.” Flagler was amused. “Oh, you will find that he can take care of himself,” he replied. “You needn’t worry about him.”<sup>39</sup>

Several years earlier, during testimony in Albany, Rockefeller had given identical replies to thirty consecutive questions, declining each time to answer on advice of counsel. This time, he knew he had to be, or at least seem, more forthcoming. On a frosty morning in February 1888, clad impeccably in frock coat and top hat, Rockefeller entered a packed hearing room of the superior court in New York City, flanked by Joseph Choate. Since he was fast becoming a mythical figure, his testimony drew extensive press coverage. Still handsome at forty-eight, with a full head of close-cropped hair and a neat reddish brown mustache, he strode in with a purposeful air. On closer inspection, however, one could detect lines around his eyes, and he seemed older and more tired than a few years earlier. He was now carrying a more onerous burden than he knew.

Choate soon discovered that he didn’t need to worry about his client. Like many businessmen of his era, Rockefeller prided himself on his obfuscatory powers and excelled at fuzzy answers. Under oath, he turned into a vague and forgetful fellow, pleasant but slightly muddled, who wandered lost in the stupendous maze of Standard Oil. He was also a terrific showman, a trait he inherited from his father. When sworn in on the stand, he “kissed the Bible vehemently,” according to one reporter, underscoring which party had God on its side.<sup>40</sup>

Rockefeller was interrogated by the committee counsel, Roger A. Pryor, a histrionic lawyer who paced back and forth, his lank black hair flying about his shoulders. He fixed Rockefeller with a penetrating eye and shook an accusatory finger at him. Rockefeller remained placid, accentuating the contrast between them in his favor. As one thunderstruck newspaper wrote of Rockefeller, “He seems the embodiment of sweetness and light. His serenity could not be disturbed. . . . In tones melodious, clear, and deliberate he gave his testimony. . . . At times his manner was mildly reproachful, at others tenderly persuasive, but never did he betray an ill temper or vexation.”<sup>41</sup> As Choate watched in amazement, Rockefeller maintained an unruffled exterior: His client was not exactly the absent-minded rube he had pictured.

Standard Oil’s strategy was to furnish as little information as possible. As Rockefeller’s associate Paul Babcock advised him in emphatic language, “I think this anti-Trust fever is a craze, which we should meet in a very dignified way and *parry every question* with answers which while perfectly truthful are evasive of bottom facts! I would avoid the preparation of any statistics.”<sup>42</sup> True to this advice, Rockefeller economized with the truth, yet so little was known about Standard Oil that the most meager information produced sensational headlines. In his testimony, Rockefeller supplied for the first time the Standard Oil trust agreement that had been drawn up in 1882; named the eight current trustees; revealed that the trust now had seven hundred shareholders; and, most startling of all, listed forty-one companies that belonged to the trust—many of which had never publicly disclosed this association before. To refute the notion that Standard Oil was a monopoly, Rockefeller submitted a list of 111 competing refineries and gave his own stirring account of spirited competition from Russian oil.

The most controversial exchange came when Pryor turned to the darkest episode of Rockefeller’s past: the South Improvement Company. Pryor misspoke and asked if he had ever belonged to the *Southern* Improvement Company; Rockefeller, quick to spot a slip, denied being a member of such a company. With his superb memory, he remembered that an unused charter had been granted for a Southern Improvement Company. Pryor reacted with

disbelief:

“There was such a company?”

“I have heard of such a company,” Rockefeller conceded.

“Were you not in it?”

“I was not.”<sup>43</sup>

Rockefeller’s later gloss on this testimony reveals his craftiness:

*I never undertake to instruct the man who asks me questions. I remember that incident as if it were this morning. . . . I did not stop to correct my questioner. There is the record to stand on. Of course, I knew what I was answering. . . . I did not testify like Mr. Brewster and Mr. Flagler, so hot-tempered that they would fly right into an argument with counsel. I was quiet and self-controlled. It was no part of my duty as a witness to volunteer testimony. While they thought they were leading me into a trap, I let them go into the trap themselves.*<sup>44</sup>

The bane of interrogators, Rockefeller had an eerie gift for catching the subtle drift of a prosecutor’s questions. A distinguished twentieth-century lawyer, Samuel Untermyer, called Rockefeller the ablest mind he had ever encountered on the witness stand, a man with a sixth sense for a legal trap. “He could always read my mind and guess what the next six or seven questions were going to be,” said Untermyer, who cross-examined Rockefeller during litigation in the early 1900s. “I would start with questions intended to lay the foundation for questions far in the future. But I would always see a peculiar light in his eyes which showed that he divined my intention. I have never known a witness who equalled him in this clairvoyant power.”<sup>45</sup> At the February 1888 hearing, Roger Pryor was so impressed by Rockefeller that at the close of questioning, he came to the railing, pumped his hand heartily, and asked if he could visit Standard Oil plants with Rockefeller. As for Joseph Choate, Rockefeller asked casually during the lunch break how he was doing. The chastened lawyer replied, “I could not ask for a better witness.”<sup>46</sup> Choate said later that Rockefeller’s partners “seldom knew what he was thinking but he always knew what we were thinking.”<sup>47</sup>

However well Rockefeller handled his testimony, the committee report threw a lurid light on the workings of Standard Oil, calling it “the most active and possibly the most formidable moneyed power on the continent.”<sup>48</sup> “This is the original trust,” the report stated. “Its success has been the incentive to the formation of all other trusts and combinations. It is the type of a system which has spread like a disease through the commercial system of this country.”<sup>49</sup> The trust floated free of legal restraints, the forty-one constituent companies having “turned their affairs over to an organization having no legal existence, independent of all authority, able to do anything it wanted anywhere, and to this point working in absolute darkness.”<sup>50</sup> While absolving the trust of charges of rapacity, it also dissented from Rockefeller’s portrait of lively competition, calling Standard Oil “almost the sole occupant of the field of oil operations, from which it had driven nearly every competitor.”<sup>51</sup> Standard Oil stood out as the great test case in the growing national debate on antitrust legislation. When the House Committee on Manufactures issued its report on trusts that spring, it dedicated 1,000 of 1,500 pages to the oil trust, five times the space given to the sugar trust and ten times that given to the whiskey trust.

In a sense, John D. Rockefeller simplified life for the authors of antitrust legislation. His career began in the infancy of the industrial boom, when the economy was still raw and unregulated. Since the rules of the game had not yet been encoded into law, Rockefeller and his fellow industrialists had forged them in the heat of combat. With his customary thoroughness, Rockefeller had devised an encyclopedic stock of anticompetitive weapons. Since he had figured out every conceivable way to restrain trade, rig markets, and suppress competition, all reform-minded legislators had to do was study his career to draw up a comprehensive antitrust agenda.

Standard Oil had taught the American public an important but paradoxical lesson: Free markets, if left completely to their own devices, can wind up terribly *unfree*. Competitive capitalism did not exist in a state of nature but had to be defined or restrained by law. Unfettered markets tended frequently toward monopoly or, at least, toward unhealthy levels of concentration, and government sometimes needed to intervene to ensure the full benefits of competition. This was particularly true in the early stages of industrial development. This notion is now so deeply embedded in our laws that it has become all but invisible to us, replaced by secondary debates over the precise nature or extent of antitrust enforcement.

During the antitrust agitation of the late 1880s, Standard Oil consistently underestimated the ability of critics to marshal public support. Small businessmen, alleging that the great corporations thwarted individual opportunity, formed a particularly potent lobby for reform. When both Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison inveighed against the trusts in the 1888 presidential campaign, Archbold wrote dismissively to Rockefeller that these strident speeches were just for show. “We do not think that much will come of the talk at Washington regarding Trusts,” he reported that summer. “The demagogues are simply trying to outtalk each other for political effect.”<sup>52</sup>

Archbold proved a poor prognosticator. In a legislative flurry, many states enacted antitrust laws in the late 1880s, while fifteen or sixteen bills circulated in Congress. From Standard Oil’s viewpoint, the most threatening bill was introduced in December 1889 by Ohio senator John Sherman, brother of General William Tecumseh Sherman. A few years earlier, Rockefeller tried to buy his way into the senator’s good graces. In August 1885, soliciting a campaign contribution for Sherman, Mark Hanna had told Rockefeller that “John Sherman is today our main dependence in the Senate for the protection of our business interests.”<sup>53</sup> Dubious at first, Rockefeller finally sent a check for six hundred dollars. Before long, the protector of business interests proved a turn-coat, flailing Standard Oil as a corporation so rich that it bought entire railroads. In debates over the senator’s antitrust bill, Standard Oil was constantly held up as a prime example of the problem to be remedied. Flushed into the open, Rockefeller took the unusual step of publicly rebuking Sherman’s legislation. “Senator Sherman’s bill is of a very radical and destructive character, proposing to fine and imprison all who directly or indirectly participate in organizations over which it is even doubtful whether Congress holds any jurisdiction.”<sup>54</sup>

The opposition of the trusts only hastened passage of the law. On July 2, 1890, President Harrison signed the Sherman Antitrust Act, which outlawed

trusts and combinations in restraint of trade and subjected violators to fines of up to \$5,000 or a year's imprisonment or both. President William Howard Taft later identified Standard Oil as the chief reason for the law's passage. To its proponents, the law proved a severe disappointment, a stillborn piece of legislation. It was vague in meaning and poorly enforced and so riddled with loopholes that it was popularly derided as the Swiss Cheese Act. By outlawing cooperative efforts through trade associations, it forced many companies into mergers to curb excess capacity in their industries, spurring further concentration and subverting the act's intention. As for the main target of the law, the Standard Oil juggernaut was not deflected by this nuisance. For many years, the Sherman Act was a dead letter, and big business happily went on as usual.

Rockefeller was never tempted to reconsider the issues raised by the Sherman Act. As far as he was concerned, practical, hardheaded businessmen had long ago resolved these issues to their satisfaction, and only fanciful scribblers and tendentious rabble-rousers saw the need to tamper with current practice, which had served the country well. He remained an unreconstructed believer in trusts. Never one to hold grudges in business, unfazed by the new law, Rockefeller supported the reelection of Senator Sherman in 1891.



*Captains of Erudition*

By the late 1880s, it seemed as if half the country wanted to lynch John D. Rockefeller, while the other half only wanted to cadge a loan from him. He was assailed by journalists, reform politicians, and embittered rivals but also besieged by a growing legion of flatterers and schemers with designs on his fortune. This national ambivalence must have confirmed Rockefeller's view that his critics were just envious hypocrites. The press fed this fascination with him. One 1889 newspaper article showcased Rockefeller as America's richest man, with a net worth of \$150 million—an estimate he regarded as much too high, pegging forty to sixty million as the correct range. (That would translate into between \$635 and \$950 million in contemporary money.) Another article clocked his income pouring in at \$750 an hour. Whenever such articles appeared, hordes of supplicants emerged, making bad publicity in many ways less troublesome than favorable coverage. "I have been run down by adventurers during the last few days, owing to some foolish newspaper article," Rockefeller complained after one flattering piece.<sup>1</sup> He mused, "Great wealth is a great burden, a great responsibility. It invariably proves to be one of two things—either a great blessing or a great curse."<sup>2</sup>

Wherever he went, he was now trailed by a small army of petitioners. For someone of Rockefeller's private nature, it was disconcerting to be approached in the street by strangers seeking money. "Mr. Rockefeller was constantly hunted, stalked and hounded almost like a wild animal," said Frederick T. Gates, the Baptist minister who would soon help to alleviate the problem. "Neither in the privacy of his home nor at his table, nor in the aisles of his church, nor during his business hours, nor anywhere else, was Mr. Rockefeller secure from insistent appeal."<sup>3</sup> Supplicants breakfasted with him, rode to and from work with him, dined with him in the evening, then retired with him to the privacy of his study. "The good people who wanted me to help them with their good work seemed to come in crowds," Rockefeller moaned. "They brought their trunks and lived with me."<sup>4</sup>

Rockefeller had always required rest and solitude, but by the late 1880s these petitioners had stolen from his daily schedule those all-important intervals of relaxation:

*At dinner they talked to me and, after dinner, when a little nap and a comfortable lounge, or a restful chair and a quiet family chat seemed about the most desirable occupations until bedtime, these good people would pull up their chairs and begin, "Now, Mr. Rockefeller—" Then they would tell their story. . . . There was only one of me and they were a crowd—a crowd increasing in numbers every day. I wanted to retain personal supervision of what little I did in the way of giving, but I also wanted to avoid a breakdown.<sup>5</sup>*

Mountains of mail tumbled in from around the globe, and by 1887 Rockefeller was so oppressed by appeals that he grumbled to brother Frank, "I have been overwhelmed with this sort of thing of late and want to shut down brakes a little until I can catch breath."<sup>6</sup> The begging letters—many scarcely literate, often scrawled in pencil in foreign tongues—typically pleaded for money to relieve some personal misfortune. People wrote to Rockefeller the way small children pray to God for presents. In 1887, a distraught lady told him, "I wish I could see you and talk with you as I can with God but it seems harder," while another woman confessed, "Last night as I lay thinking (for I could not sleep for the anxiety) asking the Lord for deliverance you came to me in a way that I could not banish it."<sup>7</sup>

The volume of mail defied the imagination. One steamer alone brought five thousand begging letters from Europe. After the announcement of one large educational gift, Rockefeller received fifteen thousand letters during the first week and fifty thousand by the end of the month. He needed a staff just to sift through these appeals. His overtaxed subordinates opened each envelope and tried to identify genuine cases of need, but they could gratify only a tiny fraction of such hopefuls. Many requests were frankly selfish, as Rockefeller tartly noted. "Four-fifths of these letters are, however, requests of money for personal use, with no other title to consideration than that the writer would be gratified to have it."<sup>8</sup>

Although Rockefeller didn't recognize it at first, brewing here was a personal crisis more debilitating than anything he had encountered in business. As early as 1882, he lamented to the Reverend Edward Judson that he was swamped by charitable appeals, many from Baptist causes. "I am about leaving Cleveland and have a regular deluge of calls from every hand. . . . I was up until eleven o'clock last night and the night before on this general character of work trying to help to devise ways and means."<sup>9</sup> Personal charity had long been his pleasure, his pride, his recreation, not something delegated to underlings, and he found it hard to break these honorable habits, especially in the midst of so much controversy about his business methods. As Gates noted of his early years, "He used to meet people, read letters, weigh appeals, send checks and receive grateful replies, all in his own person."<sup>10</sup> For such a perfectionist, giving money away was fraught with far more nervous tension than making it. He valued money too highly to dispense it lightly and wanted to investigate all requests before acting upon them. As the Lord's fiduciary, he was responsible for seeing the money well invested. As he said in 1886, "I haven't a farthing to give to this or any other interest unless I am perfectly satisfied it is the very best I can do with the money."<sup>11</sup>



***John D. Rockefeller striding briskly across the University of Chicago campus with William Rainey Harper. (Courtesy of the University of Chicago Library)***

Now, as the sheer magnitude of his wealth rendered his accustomed approach obsolete, he was frustrated that he couldn't give money away quickly enough to keep pace with his mounting income. It took several years before he learned to donate money in the systematic, scientific fashion that befitted the scale of his fortune. He needed to forge a new set of working principles for his charity, and it was in his creation of the University of Chicago that he came to define his future style as a philanthropist.

Rockefeller's involvement in the university started in a roundabout fashion through his friendship with the Reverend Augustus H. Strong, an eminent Baptist theologian and exponent of the social gospel. For seven years after the Civil War, Dr. Strong had served as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Cleveland, where he officiated at the funeral of Rockefeller's second child, Alice, who died in infancy. In 1872, he headed east to assume the presidency of Rochester Theological Seminary, the citadel of Baptist orthodoxy. Awed by the erudite piety of this Yale graduate, Rockefeller supplemented his income, paid his vacation expenses, and, heeding his entreaties, gave \$500,000 to his seminary over the years. A fine-looking man with a bushy mustache, Strong was grave, witty, and charming but tightly buttoned up and incapable of levity. An autocrat by nature, he didn't become convinced by an idea so much as possessed by it to an extent that other people could find insufferable.

Starting in the early 1880s, Dr. Strong began to pitch to Rockefeller a grandiose scheme for an elite Baptist university in New York City over which he would himself preside. Convinced that the Baptists were lagging in the denominational race, he feared that many young Baptists were going by default to Harvard, Yale, or Princeton. His "university of the future," as he dubbed it, would sit on Morningside Heights and cost Rockefeller a breathtaking \$20 million. Since New York was becoming America's foremost metropolis, Dr. Strong thought it a fitting home for this institution. Modeled after Johns Hopkins, it would accept only graduate students and research fellows, attracting the cream of Baptist undergraduates from around the country. Above all, the university would defend the faith against the encroaching forces of modernism, banning "infidel" teachers from the campus. This educational vision was Dr. Strong's monomania throughout the 1880s—he contended that he had a "divine mission" to promote it—and he badgered Rockefeller about it at every turn.<sup>12</sup> Strong knew how to couch his appeals in religious terminology and dress up self-interest as heaven-sent duty.

Hypersensitive to pressure, Rockefeller tended to stiffen up whenever he felt pushed. He feared the elaborate nature of Strong's project and grew deaf to his entreaties. Several times, he asked Strong to table the subject and finally imposed a moratorium on all further discussion of it. Rockefeller was always quick to spy the worldly ambition when men of the cloth falsely claimed to pursue godly objectives. Ordinarily, he would have made quick work of such a pushy supplicant, but he tolerated Strong out of respect for his scholarship as well as because of growing ties between their two families.

Whenever Dr. Strong returned to Cleveland, his children were among the very few who frequented Forest Hill, and the Rockefeller children were especially fond of his brilliant eldest son, Charles. Tall and handsome, with curly black hair, Charles would sit in their favorite beech tree, reading ballads to them while perched on a bough. At first, Charles was attracted to Alta, then moved on to her older sister, Bessie. The striking compatibility of the Strong and Rockefeller children must have comforted John and Cettie, who worried that less-religious children might spoil their wholesome environment. For years, John Strong corresponded with Edith and might even have proposed to her, while Junior had a schoolboy crush on Mary Strong, ten years his senior. Later, he wrote affectionate, flirtatious letters to Kate Strong—addressing her as "My dear sister Kate"—even though she, too, was many years older.

Bessie and Charles became so wildly smitten with each other that friends said they were almost foolishly in love. They might have been secretly engaged as early as 1885, when Bessie was nineteen and Charles twenty-three. Charles was a prodigious young philosopher, a perfect reasoning machine, who inhabited a cold world of abstractions. He graduated summa cum laude from Harvard in 1885, where he was both a pupil and a friend of William James. As the two star philosophers among the Harvard undergraduates, Charles and George Santayana cofounded a philosophy club and were natural rivals for the Walker Travelling Fellowship, which paid for two years of study in Germany. Santayana was so daunted by Strong's intellect that before the winner was announced, he prevailed upon Strong to split the prize. It was awarded to these two remarkable students with the understanding that they would divide the money.

In 1886, John and Cettie were searching for a suitable college for Bessie after she graduated from the Rye Female Seminary, and Dr. Strong accompanied them on a tour of Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley. That the Rockefellers finally opted for Vassar owed much to the fact that the strong-willed

Dr. Strong chaired its board of trustees. Since Bessie had eye trouble and found it difficult to read, Dr. Strong made special arrangements that allowed her to skip the entrance exams and room with a friend who read aloud to her. When Kate Strong decided to share a suite of rooms with Bessie, it seemed to seal a sacred bond between the two families—surely what the Reverend Strong coveted. He accomplished another strategic objective when Rockefeller became a trustee of Vassar and erected buildings bearing the names Strong, Davison, and Rockefeller.

The only Rockefeller daughter to attend college, Bessie must have been smart and tenacious to overcome her eye troubles. Her few surviving letters evoke a lively, appealing young woman. She was perhaps the most eloquent Rockefeller child, very fond of music and charitable to the poor. As one friend said, “Bessie was a slender rosy-cheeked girl, vivacious, pretty and charming.”<sup>13</sup> George Santayana, who met Bessie fresh from Vassar, fondly recalled her as “the image of vigorous health and good sense, nice-looking, frank, and with manlike college airs.”<sup>14</sup> Santayana always suspected that Reverend Strong conspired to marry off his eldest son to Bessie to snare the Rockefeller millions for his beloved university project. He also believed that Rockefeller had welcomed this match of his favorite daughter to a “good-looking, high-principled young man” who would “never separate her from her father, either in place or residence or in sound Christian sentiments.”<sup>15</sup> If those were the hidden hopes superimposed upon this youthful romance, both fathers were cruelly disappointed.

During the interval between his graduation from Harvard and his two-year German sojourn with Santayana, Charles underwent a spiritual crisis that had profound repercussions for the Rockefeller family. For two months, he preached in Salem, Ohio, then entered the Rochester Theological Seminary, where he was to study for the Baptist ministry under his father’s vigilant supervision. For the first year, he faithfully attended prayer meetings and taught Sunday school, but his rational Harvard education now corroded the spiritual verities of his youth. Later on, Charles made the terrible confession that he had lost his faith while correcting proofs of one of his father’s theology books. A wholly cerebral man, fearless in exploring forbidden thoughts, Charles realized that he could no longer accept supernatural revelation. He went to his father and announced that he couldn’t stay at the seminary and would openly declare himself an agnostic.

For Reverend Strong, it was a shattering moment—one that he later characterized as his life’s most agonizing ordeal. As a distinguished Baptist theologian, he had groomed Charles as his successor and boasted of his intellectual prowess, confident it would be put to the service of the faith. “He depreciates insight,” he said of Charles, struggling to comprehend his apostasy. “He is critical rather than constructive.”<sup>16</sup> Once his son decided to leave the seminary, the unforgiving Dr. Strong even had him excommunicated, bidding the First Baptist Church of Rochester to withdraw the “hand of fellowship” from his son because he had “ceased to believe in the fundamentals of doctrine.”<sup>17</sup> Only later did Dr. Strong realize that his own rigidly doctrinaire attitudes about religion had helped to drive Charles from the church.

Charles’s confidential admission must have stunned his father on several levels. If this loss of faith upset his marriage to Bessie, it might also derail Dr. Strong’s scheme to have Rockefeller finance a Baptist superuniversity in New York; it might even jeopardize Rockefeller’s future gifts to the Rochester seminary. It is not clear when Charles confided his spiritual turmoil to Bessie, or when Rockefeller became aware that his daughter’s suitor was a radical freethinker. Santayana’s comment clearly suggests that during Bessie’s courtship with Charles, Rockefeller was ignorant of Charles’s heretical tendencies and derived comfort from his sound views. This leads one to wonder whether Augustus and Charles—the one for money and the other love—tacitly decided to draw a discreet veil across Charles’s loss of faith.

The family association emboldened Dr. Strong to renew his pleas for a university in New York. While Bessie was still a freshman at Vassar, Dr. Strong dared to reopen the taboo subject. In a January 1887 letter, he began by telling Rockefeller that he had abided by his promise not to broach the forbidden subject, but time constraints now forced him to break long silence. “It has haunted me day and night for years,” Strong said of his proposal, “but I have had to keep my mouth shut. Meantime, years are passing and we are hurrying on to meet God.”<sup>18</sup> Competing plans were now afoot for a Baptist university in Chicago, and Dr. Strong panicked at the thought of others gaining ground on him.

Rockefeller rebuffed this overture, then sweetened the pill by giving another \$50,000 to the seminary. Since he admired Dr. Strong and didn’t wish to alienate him, he proposed that they travel through Europe that summer with Charles and Bessie. For Strong, this presented a miraculous chance to push his scheme in an intimate setting. “He accepted an invitation to tour Europe with Mr. Rockefeller for the reason chiefly, as he once told me, of using the opportunities daily association at leisure would give him of expounding his great theme and winning Mr. Rockefeller’s adherence,” said one theologian friendly with Strong.<sup>19</sup> In their travels, Dr. Strong planned to acquaint Rockefeller with the great European universities to whet his interest in founding an American school.

On the other side of the Atlantic, George Santayana was sharing the Walker Travelling Fellowship with Charles Strong in Germany and noted his friend’s moody behavior. In January 1887, Santayana wrote to William James that Charles was “very reticent about all personal matters, so that I know less about what has been troubling him than you probably do.”<sup>20</sup> A month later, Santayana told James that he had “no idea what has been the matter with [Charles] this winter except that evidently he has not been at ease.”<sup>21</sup> Charles kept his engagement to Bessie so secret that when he went to Paris that spring he didn’t tell Santayana that he was meeting the Rockefellers. Santayana caught up with the party in London, where they were enjoying the festivities of Queen Victoria’s jubilee. Though Santayana met and liked Bessie, he was repelled by Rockefeller, who seemed devious and avaricious as he meditated ways to expand Standard Oil sales to Spain.

Encouraged by their travels together that summer, Dr. Strong increased the pressure on Rockefeller in the autumn. He completely misread Rockefeller’s psychology. Where Rockefeller preferred a modest approach, Dr. Strong was often overbearing, as if trying to bully him into endorsing the project. He committed an unforgivable sin by suggesting that Rockefeller could sanitize his reputation by funding the university. “You have the opportunity of turning the unfavorable judgments of the world at large into favorable judgments—and not only that—of going down to history as one of the world’s greatest benefactors.”<sup>22</sup> This argument miscarried on several counts: Rockefeller resented any references to his infamy, felt no need to cleanse his reputation, and rebelled against any insinuation that his charity was selfishly motivated. Four days later, he decided to postpone consideration of Dr. Strong’s project.

Meanwhile, Charles Strong's suit to win Bessie's hand prospered, and sixteen months later, on March 22, 1889, Bessie Rockefeller, twenty-three, adorned with \$8,000 in pearls, married Charles, twenty-seven, in the front drawing room of 4 West Fifty-fourth Street in a marriage performed by Reverend Augustus H. Strong. With 125 guests, it was as opulent an occasion as the Rockefellers had ever staged, and Bessie's favorite teachers and classmates were brought down from Vassar in a private railroad car. The morning after the wedding, Charles and Bessie sailed for Germany so he could resume his philosophical studies, which explains why Bessie didn't finish her final year at Vassar. She was also suffering from psychological problems, the first sign of nervous symptoms that made her adult life a huge mystery to posterity. In his letters, Rockefeller urged her to avoid all unnecessary excitement and strain, old-fashioned advice that would prove increasingly inadequate in coping with her deep-rooted troubles.

Having piqued Rockefeller's interest in endowing a major Baptist university, the Reverend Augustus H. Strong had to ward off competing plans backed by no less spirited advocates. The most promising alternative, for a university in Chicago, had the advantage of building on preexisting foundations. In 1856, Stephen A. Douglas had contributed ten acres of land to start a small University of Chicago under Baptist auspices. It expired exactly thirty years later, the victim of debt and mismanagement. Many of its alumni considered this a disgrace to the Baptists and tried, at the last minute, to salvage the institution. Quite naturally, they turned to Rockefeller, who had aided the Baptist Union Theological Seminary in suburban Morgan Park, a sister institution. The seminary's secretary, Thomas W. Goodspeed, unfortunately broached his rescue plan to Rockefeller at an inopportune moment, when the latter was being hounded mercilessly by Dr. Strong; the proposal was consequently rejected. In spring 1887, on the eve of Rockefeller's European trip, Goodspeed again sounded out Rockefeller, but the titan cordially sent back fruit and flowers, not cash. Nevertheless, Goodspeed had drawn Rockefeller's attention to Chicago's merits as a home to a great Baptist university.

Goodspeed was a much better lobbyist than Dr. Strong, with a finer instinct for Rockefeller's sensibility. With snow-white beard and blue eyes, he was a dignified man who knew how to lobby a rich donor with exquisite tact as opposed to Dr. Strong's blunderbuss approach. He saw that Rockefeller flinched at anything that smacked of coercion and that patience was better than highpressure salesmanship. From the outset, Goodspeed made practical arguments, pointing out that construction costs were cheap in Chicago and that the Baptists lacked a first-rate midwestern college, forcing their children to study at eastern schools. Goodspeed was heartened by Rockefeller's response when the most gifted member of the Morgan Park faculty, the thirty-year-old biblical scholar William Rainey Harper, was being wooed by Yale. Rockefeller knew Harper's reputation as one of the foremost Baptist scholars of the Old Testament and urged Goodspeed to retain him at all costs. Though Harper was eventually spirited off to Yale, he stayed in close touch with Goodspeed and consistently supported a Chicago university project, though without committing himself to any role beyond a consulting one. As early as January 1887, he wrote to Rockefeller, "There is no greater work to be done on this continent than the work of establishing a University in or near Chicago."<sup>23</sup>

Rockefeller felt comfortable with worldly theologians, people determined to find an honored place in both this life and the next, and he was absolutely enthralled by Harper, the student of sacred literature who yearned to build an academic kingdom. Born in New Concord, Ohio, in 1856, Harper gave new meaning to the term wunderkind. He had entered college at ten, took a B.A. at fourteen, and completed his Ph.D. at eighteen. When this prodigy joined the Morgan Park faculty at twenty-two, he was younger than many of his seminary students. Many Baptist leaders recognized him as a man with a special future in the denomination, a dynamo bursting with energy and ideas. While still in his thirties, he opened Bible schools in five cities, founded a correspondence school, and coaxed seventy professors to join an American Institute of Hebrew that was assisted financially by Rockefeller.

While teaching at Yale, Harper often traveled to Vassar on Sundays to teach a Bible class and stayed with the college president, Dr. James M. Taylor. Since Rockefeller often visited Bessie for the weekend, Taylor brought the two together for breakfast, and the mutual attraction was instantaneous. Rockefeller later paid tribute to Harper as "a man of exquisite personal charm" and admitted that he had "caught in some degree the contagion of his enthusiasm. . . . As a friend and companion, in daily intercourse, no one could be more delightful than he."<sup>24</sup> Rockefeller didn't issue such glowing testimonials lightly.

Harper was a pudgy man with a soft, jowly face behind round, thick spectacles. He exuded optimism and captivated people with his visionary ardor. As one newspaper noted, "Dr. Harper is a marvel of energy. His face shows as much eagerness and aggressiveness as that of Luther."<sup>25</sup> Yet he had enough tact to steer clear of the pitfalls that tripped up the more egotistical Dr. Strong. In October 1887, fresh from his transatlantic voyage with Strong, Rockefeller invited Harper to lunch at 26 Broadway. The meeting went swimmingly, and a week later the impossibly busy and resolutely private Rockefeller cleared his schedule and spent an entire day with Harper—lunching with him at noon, then driving for a few hours in Central Park, then chatting again in the evening. For Rockefeller, this was an eternity of conversation. Equally unprecedented, he gave Harper a standing invitation to speak with him at any time. As he plumbed the plans for Baptist universities in different cities, Rockefeller always regarded Harper as an emissary for the Chicago group. After his heady day in Manhattan, Harper wrote excitedly to Goodspeed, "Again and again [Rockefeller] referred to you and to his thorough appreciation of your excellence and worth."<sup>26</sup> On future visits to Vassar, Rockefeller and Harper were often seen cycling around the campus together.

With all the hostile publicity directed against Standard Oil during the debate over the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, it was certainly an auspicious time for Rockefeller to consider a major philanthropic bequest. The newspapers were now puffing him as one of America's richest men, possibly *the* richest man, so he was under a certain pressure to show that he could discharge this large responsibility. Education was a safe, neutral area in which he had twenty years of experience, having contributed generously to Denison University in Granville, Ohio; Indian University in Muskogee, Oklahoma; Barnard College in New York, which appointed Cettie to its first board of trustees; and Cornell University, whose president, Andrew D. White, he had met on a European trip. Most notably, he was the godfather of Spelman Seminary in Atlanta. Yet Rockefeller was, in many ways, an improbable university founder, for he was not bookish, never attended college, and operated more in a world of facts than theories. Having skipped college, he never automatically recommended it to young people, telling one minister, "I should say in general the advantage of education is to better fit a man for life's work. I would advise young men to take a college course, as a rule, but think some are just as well off with a thorough business training."<sup>27</sup>

Yet precisely because Rockefeller had missed college, no school could stake a claim on him. While he had the option of distributing his educational largesse widely, such dispersed giving didn't jibe with his philosophy. In religion and education no less than in business, Rockefeller thought it a

mistake to prop up weak entities that might otherwise perish in the evolutionary race. “I think mistakes are made by organizing too many feeble institutions—rather consolidate and have good, strong working church organizations,” he wrote in 1886—a remark that could have applied to his educational views.<sup>28</sup> In the long run, Rockefeller transposed to philanthropy the same principle of consolidation that had worked so well for him in business. Worn down by masses of people clamoring for his money, Rockefeller knew that he now needed a larger and more efficient method for disposing of his fortune. Without it, he would lapse into the slipshod amateurism that he detested. Dr. Strong and Dr. Harper had planted a vision of a large project in his mind, but it would require the careful tending of a lapsed Baptist minister named Frederick T. Gates to bring this seed to glorious life.

While Rockefeller was casting about for some means to spend money more liberally without compromising his scrupulous standards, a group of Baptist leaders met in Washington in May 1888 to form the American Baptist Education Society (ABES). The driving force behind this new association was Dr. Henry Morehouse, the executive officer of the American Baptist Home Mission Society who had advised Rockefeller on Spelman Seminary. Morehouse thought Baptist education was in a woeful state and urgently in need of reform. For Rockefeller, the new group was providential, promising to serve as a handy conduit for channeling large amounts of money to worthy, well-researched Baptist schools.

To serve as executive secretary of the new group, Morehouse drafted a fiery, articulate young Baptist minister, the thirty-five-year-old Frederick T. Gates, who had recently resigned a pastorate in Minnesota and now gravitated toward more worldly affairs. Soon after he assumed the post, Gates championed a Baptist university in Chicago to fill a glaring void. The eastern churches held more money, but the fastest-growing part of the membership resided in the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes region. Before writing his report, he conducted an intensive study of Baptist education with prosecutorial zeal and ministerial fervor and he confirmed many of the arguments that Thomas W. Goodspeed had adduced. Because many Baptists schools were located in rural backwaters, midwestern congregants often attended schools of other denominations. Having tripled in size in two decades and ranking as America’s second largest metropolis with 1.7 million residents, Chicago seemed the optimal site for a major college.

Gates presented his findings in a richly detailed report that exhibited the exhaustive research that would endear him to Rockefeller. At the beginning, Gates, still unfamiliar with his patron, believed that Rockefeller would respond better to a bold plan than something tentative or equivocal. Hence, he portrayed this new Baptist university as the nucleus of a national educational network, confiding to Morehouse, “A scheme so vast, so continental, so orderly, so comprehensive, so detailed, will in my view capture a mind so constituted as Mr. Rockefeller’s is.”<sup>29</sup> On October 15, 1888, he electrified a Baptist convention in Chicago with an impassioned paper entitled “The Need for a Baptist University in Chicago, as Illustrated by a Study of Baptist College Education in the West.”

The Gates report has often been credited with convincing Rockefeller to opt for Chicago, yet William Rainey Harper provided timely assistance. Two weeks after Gates made his sensational address, Dr. Harper spent ten hours at Vassar with Rockefeller and then joined him on the train to New York. During this momentous day, Rockefeller first declared his intention to found a Baptist university in Chicago. As Harper informed Goodspeed, “[Rockefeller] himself made out a list of reasons why it would be better to go to Chicago than to remain in New York.”<sup>30</sup> Rockefeller leaned toward the Midwest for several reasons. He feared the complications that might result from the bullheaded Dr. Strong’s leadership of any New York school. He also worried that an eastern school might be encrusted with tradition, whereas a Chicago school could “strike out upon lines in full sympathy with the spirit of the age.”<sup>31</sup> Then there was a political dimension that Rockefeller never dared to articulate openly. He had to convince the public that he would not meddle or convert the school into a mouthpiece for his corporate interests. As he put it three decades later, Chicago “was sufficiently removed from Wall Street to encourage the hope that it would escape suspicion of being dominated by the so-called interests.”<sup>32</sup>

Twice during the next month, Rockefeller spent a day with Harper, first in Poughkeepsie, then in New Haven, for nonstop talks about the proposed university. Harper was astonished by his patron’s unreserved passion. “I have never known him to be so interested in anything,” Harper told Goodspeed, “and this promises much.”<sup>33</sup> Growing more enthusiastic by the hour, Rockefeller advanced a three-pronged plan for a college and university in Chicago, a theological seminary in New York (doubtless to placate Dr. Strong), and an educational trust of western colleges. This last step, a brainchild of Harper, envisioned a string of colleges throughout the West sharing common management with the Chicago university. Warming to the project, Rockefeller planned to visit Cornell on an inspection tour and court three Baptist professors for Chicago. In eloquent testimony to his commitment, Rockefeller told Harper of his readiness to give three million of the first four million dollars needed by the Chicago school. On December 3, 1888, the ABES formally endorsed the plan to found a new school in Chicago; ABES would be the official channel for Rockefeller’s contributions.

Then suddenly, in early 1889, Rockefeller grew aloof toward William Rainey Harper, who had committed the classic error of promoting his cause too assertively. What especially distressed Rockefeller was that Harper wanted to start with a full-blown university, whereas he preferred to begin with a college and expand incrementally. To break this impasse, Harper tactfully bowed out and allowed Gates to take charge of the lobbying campaign. A master at reading the minds of potential donors, Gates intuited that Rockefeller felt put upon by Harper’s quixotic plans and, to lessen his anxieties, he sent Rockefeller a scaled-down plan for a plain Chicago college. Much relieved, Rockefeller invited Gates and Morehouse for lunch on January 21, 1889. When Gates first set eyes on the great sphinx, he found him polite and decorous, if cryptic. “In parting with me,” Gates reported to Harper, “he said that his mind worked slowly in these matters, but he was glad to have had this opportunity for extended conversation, and closed by saying, ‘I think we are in the way of progress.’”<sup>34</sup>

An important upshot of the lunch was that Rockefeller invited Gates to accompany him on a train trip to Cleveland. Gates saw that a low-key approach was the perfect antidote to Harper’s rousing oratory, and he decided to let Rockefeller initiate discussion about the Chicago school aboard the train. “I think this was soon perceived by Mr. Rockefeller,” Gates said in his memoirs, “that it surprised and pleased him, and that he amused himself by putting my sense of propriety to the test.” Though the train left New York at 6 P.M., the two men never referred to what was uppermost in their minds. When they were joined by a phalanx of Standard Oil men, Gates noted the magnetic power Rockefeller had over them. “I observed that he spoke very little indeed, and always in a low and quiet voice.”<sup>35</sup> At one point, when the porter making up Rockefeller’s berth accidentally smacked him over the head, Rockefeller “uttered no word, made no exclamation, gave not one word of reproof to the careless porter, and reassured him when he offered profuse apologies,” recalled Gates.<sup>36</sup>

Having failed to broach the Chicago question with Rockefeller, Gates crept into his sleeping berth that night “a miserable, disappointed man.”<sup>37</sup> As it turned out, Rockefeller was coyly enjoying a cat-and-mouse game, and as they neared Cleveland the next morning, he began to pummel Gates with questions about the ABES. Rockefeller wanted reassurance that the ABES board was truly disinterested and devoid of unstated agendas. He also wanted Gates to make on-site inspections of schools and not rely on secondhand reports. On the strength of these assurances, Rockefeller decided to make the Baptist society his preferred vehicle for denominational gifts, an important first step on the road to wholesale philanthropy. Clearly, Rockefeller was contemplating new ways of distributing money through central agencies that could offer expert advice and buffer him from applicants.

Gates often marveled at the inexplicable ways of his new patron, who enjoyed keeping everyone in suspense. As the ABES board meeting approached on February 20, 1889, Gates awaited word of a large contribution from Rockefeller. Only as the meeting was called to order did a messenger arrive with a \$100,000 pledge to the organization. Later on, when Rockefeller asked him what the society did with the money, Gates said it went into a bank account that paid no interest. This so mortified Rockefeller’s sense of thrift that he borrowed back the \$100,000 and paid the society 6 percent. “I can’t endure to see that money idle,” Rockefeller told Gates. “I feel about it as one does to come into a room, ill swept, with the corners full of cobwebs and dust. I want to clean up that room.”<sup>38</sup>

In the spring of 1889, Gates went through another baffling period of silence. He was hoping to announce Rockefeller’s decision to bankroll a Chicago university when the ABES held its general meeting in Boston on May 18. At the last minute, Rockefeller advised Gates to stop by his home en route to Boston and listened silently to the latter’s appeal for a large commitment to the Chicago project. Sticking with his habitual policy of creative procrastination, Rockefeller promised nothing and invited Gates for breakfast the next morning.

After all these excruciating dilatory tactics, the campaign for a Chicago college or university reached a surprisingly swift climax on a clear spring morning in May 1889. After breakfast, the two men strolled to and fro before the Rockefeller house on Fifty-fourth Street. After months of stalling, Rockefeller said he was ready to provide \$400,000—considerably short of the figure he had quoted to Harper six months before. When Gates rejected this as insufficient, Rockefeller raised the ante to \$500,000. Once again, Gates spurned the offer, citing the advantages of Rockefeller contributing the majority of the money. Gates held out for a stunning \$600,000 contribution—equal to \$9.5 million today—which was predicated upon another \$400,000 being raised from other sources. Eager to commit this historic pledge to paper, they went down to Rockefeller’s office where he put his promise in writing.

The next day, clutching this paper, Gates rose before the Baptists in the Tremont Temple in Boston. Rumors had circulated about the gift, creating a tingling mood of expectation. “I hold in my hand,” Gates thundered, “a letter from our great patron of education, Mr. John D. Rockefeller.” A groundswell of cheers surged from the floor. “A letter in which, on the basis of the resolutions adopted by our board, he promises that he will give six hundred thousand dollars—” At this point, pandemonium erupted, with clergymen waving their handkerchiefs, whistling, and applauding. Driven to ecstasy by this earthly bounty, one minister on the podium flung his hat heavenward, while another theologian sprang to his feet and praised “the coming to the front of such a princely giver. . . . It is the Lord’s day. . . . As an American, a Baptist, and a Christian I rejoice in this consummation. God has kept Chicago for us; I wonder at his patience.”<sup>39</sup> On this note, the ecstatic holy men rose up to offer a lusty rendition of “Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow.”<sup>40</sup> Overnight, for all his infamy in business, Rockefeller wore a golden nimbus in the eyes of many Baptists.

This was a bruising repudiation of Dr. Augustus H. Strong, who had ridden his hobbyhorse too hard and given the victory to his enemies. At first, it was exceedingly difficult for him to renounce his dream and concede defeat. Falling into deep dejection, he went on plying Gates with letters for Rockefeller until Gates had to inform him point-blank, “There is no hope. Mr. Rockefeller returned your letter to me with the request that the subject be dropped, and that I so write you as would leave no hope of any interest on his part.”<sup>41</sup> After a time, when Strong’s name surfaced in conversation, Rockefeller would drawl sarcastically, “Well, I hope Dr. Strong finds his man!”<sup>42</sup> It took Strong years to recuperate.

In June 1889, a few weeks after Rockefeller’s gift, Andrew Carnegie began to publish in the *North American Review* an influential essay entitled “Wealth.” Carnegie saw capitalism as threatened by the widening gulf between the swelling fortunes of the great industrialists and the meager wages of downtrodden workers. To defuse tensions and spread economic benefits more widely, he argued that the rich should donate large sums to worthy causes during their lifetimes, lest their money be frittered away by idle heirs. “The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced,” Carnegie declared bluntly.<sup>43</sup> Rockefeller was greatly influenced by Carnegie and when the Carnegie Library opened in Pittsburgh in 1896 dashed off a congratulatory note. “I would that more men of wealth were doing as you are doing with your money; but, be assured, your example will bear fruits, and the time will come when men of wealth will more generally be willing to use it for the good of others.”<sup>44</sup> Rockefeller was especially struck by the broadly systematic nature of Carnegie’s library program, which would bring some twenty-eight hundred public libraries into existence worldwide. When Rockefeller later addressed Marshall Field, Philip D. Armour, and other Chicago moguls about philanthropy, he echoed Carnegie’s plea to make bequests before they died.

In private, Rockefeller and Gates sometimes faulted Carnegie for letting his vanity peep out behind his benevolence. As Gates griped to Rockefeller, “Mr. Carnegie’s intimate friends tell me that it is no secret between them and him that he does these things for the sake of having his name written in stone all over the country. Have you observed that he always gives buildings while somebody else furnishes the money to keep them in repair?”<sup>45</sup> Rockefeller’s philanthropy was relatively discreet. Another tycoon might have been tempted to plaster his name on the Chicago college, especially during a contentious period that saw the passage of both antitrust and railroad-reform legislation. Yet this only hardened Rockefeller’s resolve to prove that he was not currying public favor. With the University of Chicago, his sole concession to vanity was to allow the trustees to affix his name to the school seal, official documents, and letter-heads. A proposal to place a lamp on the university seal was rejected, lest anyone mistake it for a vulgar allusion to oil. Even though Rockefeller was the Prospero who single-handedly conjured the University of Chicago into being, he didn’t allow any campus building to bear his name, and the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel was christened only after his death.

It was an auspicious time for such a venture. While enjoying the wealth of a nascent world power, America was still saddled with cultural institutions that seemed provincial beside their European counterparts, and many businessmen were eager to endow schools and museums. Rockefeller was not the only magnate to create a major university in the late nineteenth century: The railroad fortunes of both Johns Hopkins and Leland Stanford were similarly

applied, while closer to home Rockefeller had the example of the Pratt Institute, set up by Charles Pratt in 1887. Instead of making isolated gifts, Rockefeller wanted to finance institutions whose research would have a pervasive influence. Of the University of Chicago, he later said, “Following the principle of trying to abolish evils by destroying them at the source, we felt that to aid colleges and universities, whose graduates would spread their culture far and wide, was the surest way to fight ignorance and promote the growth of useful knowledge.”<sup>46</sup> To Rockefeller, the least imaginative use of money was to give it to people outright instead of delving into the causes of human misery. “That has been our guiding principle, to benefit as many people as possible,” he affirmed. “Instead of giving alms to beggars, if anything can be done to remove the causes which lead to the existence of beggars, then something deeper and broader and more worthwhile will have been accomplished.”<sup>47</sup>

Businessmen such as Rockefeller and Carnegie saw themselves as applying their managerial wisdom to the charity world. As at Standard Oil, Rockefeller wanted to reduce waste and duplication in the charitable sphere and deplored the lack of study behind much giving. “Today the whole machinery of benevolence is conducted upon more or less haphazard principles,” he stated in his memoirs.<sup>48</sup> The University of Chicago was Rockefeller’s signature project in which he clarified his approach and schooled Frederick T. Gates, his son, and other advisers as his future surrogates.

From the outset, Rockefeller swore that he would avoid the rich man’s trap of endowing institutions that would become dependent wards. His ideal was to create organizations that would take on independent lives and outgrow him. Having pledged \$600,000 for the Chicago college, he gave the ABES one year from June 1, 1890, to drum up the other \$400,000 from outside sources. To accomplish this, Gates moved temporarily to Chicago and joined forces with Goodspeed in a grueling fund-raising drive that nearly drove them to distraction. They were stymied by restrictions written into the school’s articles of incorporation, which stipulated that two-thirds of the trustees and the president be members of Baptist churches. If the enterprise’s spirit was ecumenical (several prominent Jews contributed), the institution’s charter was explicitly denominational. This confusion emanated from Rockefeller, who insisted that the new institution remain under Baptist auspices yet be “conducted in a spirit of the widest liberality,” with students drawn from every class of society.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, Chicago numbered few Baptists among its high-spending citizens. Instead of being stimulated by Rockefeller’s involvement, many potential donors smugly assumed that the fledgling school would never want for money. Of their excruciating year of pleading, Gates later said it “cost more brain work, anxiety, anguish, tears, prayers and shoe leather than all the millions that have since gone into the university.”<sup>50</sup> A promising contribution came in January 1890 when Marshall Field donated a ten-acre parcel for the new school on the south side of Chicago, just north of the site of an upcoming fair that would attract worldwide attention: the World’s Columbian Exposition. Delighted by this act of faith, Rockefeller agreed that he and Field would jointly review the names of proposed trustees.

Having devoted his career to eliminating risk from the petroleum business, Rockefeller was unsettled by the uncertainties that dogged the Chicago project. For a long time, the question of who would lead the college was every bit as vexing as who—besides Rockefeller—would support it. William Rainey Harper seemed the natural candidate. As the star salesman who had converted Rockefeller to the cause, he enjoyed his special trust. Whatever his occasional qualms about Harper’s flamboyant rhetoric, Rockefeller was sure the young biblical scholar had unique credentials to run the school. Although Harper might not have known it, Rockefeller revealed his thoughts to him in an unprecedented fashion. Right after Christmas 1888, Harper had dropped by 26 Broadway. Since Rockefeller had been ailing, he asked after his health and Rockefeller replied:

*I have made little progress, Doctor Harper. My wife has been sick and I have been anxious about her. My time has been taken up with the consideration of petitions from many sources—I have never known them so numerous. Montreal has come down upon me. Richmond, with a great reinforcement, has come down upon me. From every quarter the demands are growing more numerous, and more insistent. . . . I did not ask you to come and see me Sunday because I spent the day in bed; Christmas, too, I spent in bed—I was so tired. I have had some unusually worrying business matters in the last three weeks; still, the thing [the University of Chicago] is on my mind and I want to hear more about it.*<sup>51</sup>

For a man who lived behind the heavy draperies of Victorian reticence, this was a remarkably candid response.

The intuitive Harper sensed that something else was preying on his mind, and Rockefeller confided that he had received a jarring letter from Dr. Strong. While masquerading as a family Christmas greeting—Charles’s marriage to Bessie lay just ahead—it was a transparent attempt to sabotage Harper and the Chicago project. A self-styled inquisitor, Dr. Strong had examined the class notes of his daughter Kate, who was taking a Bible course at Vassar with Harper, and written to Rockefeller that he had unearthed heretical tendencies in Harper’s teachings. Rockefeller was far more disturbed by Strong’s defamatory tactics than the specific charges leveled against Harper. When Harper was next in Poughkeepsie, he was greeted by a letter from Dr. Strong, who threatened, as a Vassar trustee, to lodge an official complaint if Harper continued to teach the Sunday Bible class there. When Goodspeed found out about this mean-spirited attack, he said to Harper, “The man seems mad, daft.”<sup>52</sup>

Harper was always Rockefeller’s choice for president, and at times the venture seemed to hinge upon his acceptance. In his grandiloquent visions of this new institution, Harper was not above gently flattering Rockefeller, making the new institution sound like the collegiate equivalent of Standard Oil. “And let it be a university made up of a score of colleges with a large degree of uniformity in their management; in other words, an educational trust,” Harper advised him.<sup>53</sup> These sublime words both inspired and petrified Rockefeller. Hounded by requests for money, he didn’t know if he had the income to juggle so many commitments. In January 1889, he told Harper that they should start modestly with a college and defer the university till a later day. “So many claims have pressed upon me,” he explained, “I have not really needed a University to absorb my surplus.”<sup>54</sup>

Harper agonized over whether to take the presidential post at Chicago or stick with the biblical scholarship he loved. The question was a proxy for the larger issue of whether he sought power and status in life or the quieter rewards of scholarship. Harper was an original theorist and a charismatic teacher who hated to lose contact with his students, but he was also intensely ambitious. To pin him down, Yale offered him a generous, six-year compensation package that would allow him to hold two prestigious chairs at once. Learning of this, Rockefeller wrote Harper, “It would break my heart if I did not believe you would stay in the fold all right. For all the reasons I believe you will. Be sure you do.”<sup>55</sup> When Harper conferred with him two weeks later, Rockefeller pleaded with him to avoid any permanent commitment to Yale.

When the University of Chicago charter was adopted in May 1890, the school still lacked a president. To force the issue, Rockefeller dispatched

Gates to New Haven that July to notify Harper that he was the board's unanimous choice to head the school. Far from settling things, this only sent Harper into fresh paroxysms of indecision. In spite of Rockefeller's reiterated preference for a small college, Harper wanted nothing less than a full-fledged university and believed the one million dollars raised so far a mere pittance that fell short of his visions. As Harper wrestled with the dilemma, Rockefeller wrote to him in August, promising to add a premium to his salary. "I do not forget that the effort to establish the University grew out of your suggestion to me at Vassar and I regard you as the father of the institution, starting out under God with such great promise of future usefulness." <sup>56</sup> Harper must have noted Rockefeller's use of the hitherto taboo word *university*.

This letter alerted Harper to the fact that he now enjoyed considerable bargaining power in shaping the new institution, and his rhetoric only grew more sonorous. "The denomination and indeed the whole country are expecting the University of Chicago to be from the very beginning an institution of the highest rank and character," he replied to Rockefeller. "Already it is talked of in connection with Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan, and Cornell."<sup>57</sup> Harper characterized the money raised so far as insufficient to realize such lofty aims. Among other things, he envisaged a university where he could perpetuate his own scholarly interests and act as president and professor. When Rockefeller consented to his demand for an extra million dollars to transfer the Morgan Park Theological Seminary to the new Chicago campus, the thirty-four-year-old Harper capitulated and formally accepted the presidency in February 1891. It now seemed clear that his spacious dreams would carry him beyond the small, cloistered world of a biblical scholar.

Over time, the immoderate Harper gave liberal interpretations to Rockefeller's vague promises of money, but he never misrepresented the scope of his plans. Even before accepting the presidency, he boasted to Rockefeller, "I believe that ten years will show an institution at Chicago which will amaze the multitudes."<sup>58</sup> Working sixteen-hour days, Harper now negotiated more than 120 faculty appointments in little more than a year. Rockefeller might think the university a plant of slow growth, but Harper wanted it to bloom overnight. The new president raided so many Ivy League faculties—the ranks of Yale and Cornell were especially depleted—that his ransacked rivals complained of foul play. Harper dangled sizable sums before reluctant prospects, enlarging the school's future financial requirements. This nationwide talent search netted nine college presidents for the first faculty. Harper signed up John Dewey and George Herbert Mead for the philosophy department and enticed novelist Robert Herrick to join the English department, while Albion Small initiated America's first graduate department in sociology. Another eminent recruit, economist Thorstein Veblen, came to regard Harper as the educational counterpart of capitalists such as Rockefeller and satirized him as a captain of erudition, one of a new species of empire builders in higher education.

However inspired he was by Harper, Rockefeller felt sorely beset by his extravagant spending, and their relations began to fray. With outside fund-raising stalled, it seemed that Rockefeller's worst nightmare was coming true: He would end up sole benefactor of an institution that would bleed him dry for years. Whenever they met, they stayed away from money talk and spoke of educational policy. Financial matters were shunted off into increasingly testy private exchanges between Gates and Harper—exchanges that Rockefeller reviewed privately. By the spring of 1891, Rockefeller began to develop the queasy sense that Harper regarded his money as a blank check to cover annual deficits. To their surprise and disbelief, Rockefeller and Gates saw that the new president would not drop his busy lecture schedule (which netted him \$4,000 a year) and contemplated a \$3,000 offer to head the Chautauqua School of the English Bible, while also planning a fancy European trip—all the while banking a handsome \$10,000 salary at the University of Chicago. As Rockefeller fumed in the summer of 1891, Gates met with Harper and urged him to shed his outside activities. "Of course he rejected these proposals," Gates informed Rockefeller, "as well as the intimation contained in it that his motives are not without their mercenary side."<sup>59</sup> It was an odd situation: the world's richest man chastising a biblical scholar for unseemly materialism.

To some extent, Rockefeller sent out conflicting messages and was partly to blame for Harper's profligacy. It was Rockefeller, after all, who urged Harper to pay top dollar for America's best academic minds. As Gates told Harper after one meeting with Rockefeller, "We talked *at great length* about salaries of head professors pro and con and as a result *he wished me to say to you positively that* the best men must be had."<sup>60</sup> Such talk could easily inspire a cavalier attitude toward money. Gates also had an ulterior motive for wishing Harper away from the lecture circuit. Though he was not the freethinker darkly portrayed by Dr. Strong, Harper did have heterodox religious views and brooded morbidly on his own heresy. Practicing the higher criticism, he had moved away from a stress on biblical inerrancy to a scholarly search for the authorship of sacred texts. Though becoming a modernist in his own right, Gates wanted Harper to muzzle his unorthodox views in public. Potential donors were already worried about the new university's diluted Baptism and questioned Harper's doctrinal purity. To one such critic, Gates insisted, "Dr. Harper is a man of evangelistic spirit and *annually secures scores of conversions at Yale*," implying that he would continue this practice at Chicago. <sup>61</sup> When Gates expressed concern to Harper about his views, the latter made a clean breast of his liberal religious views to Rockefeller so that he would never be shocked by his unorthodoxy.

The newspapers were not privy to these internal tensions and lampooned the implausible pairing of the trust king and the biblical scholar. Harper was irritated by cartoons that showed him sprinting after Rockefeller and his money bags. In one cartoon strip, Harper desperately pursued Rockefeller across a frozen Hudson River, hopping from one ice floe to the next until a weary Rockefeller dropped a thick wad of bills behind him to sate the university president. When Rockefeller later gave one million dollars to Yale, another cartoonist drew Harper astride a college building marked "University of Chicago," glaring enviously at another college building marked "Yale." Harper was often portrayed as a sycophant of the rich. In one cartoon, he was seen greeting fashionable ladies at the train station and carrying their luggage, which was marked "Proper Function of College Presidents."

There must have been moments in 1891 when John D. Rockefeller wondered how he had gotten entangled in a project so vast and headed by such a brilliantly erratic man. Had he known what lay ahead, it seems doubtful that he would have persevered. But he had now publicly staked his reputation on this hugely expensive endeavor and, in the last analysis, wherever William Rainey Harper led, John D. Rockefeller would grudgingly follow. He was not a man to abandon a project that had received his blessing.

However mingled with joy, Rockefeller's anguish over the University of Chicago came at a moment of physical vulnerability and tipped him over the edge toward a breakdown. Gates's letters to Harper are laced with references to their patron's sharply deteriorating health. In April 1891, Gates said after a tête-à-tête with Rockefeller: "He was kindness itself, but appeared very sad and depressed. . . . He even told me that anxiety and worry about the



matter [i.e., university finances] had made him sick and it was this that took him from his business and drove him to Cleveland. We *must* not press him for money. Let us see to it and see if we can not cut down expenses and get through the first year with the smallest possible deficit.”<sup>62</sup>

This was more than mere bluff or tactical posturing on Gates’s part, though there was doubtless some of that. Starting in early 1889, Rockefeller had complained continually of fatigue and depression. For several decades, he had expended superhuman energy in the creation of Standard Oil, mastering myriad details; all the while, pressure had built steadily beneath the surface repose. One could now see in his face the subdued melancholy of a man who had sacrificed too much for work. In early 1890, Rockefeller stayed away from the office for several months due to an unspecified illness. Later in the year, he promised to stop working on Saturdays and take more vacations, but the symptoms harried him into the following spring.

By 1891, the top executive ranks were beginning to thin at Standard Oil. Charles Pratt died suddenly that year, and Henry Flagler was increasingly distracted by his Florida hotel and railway ventures. Having groomed John D. Archbold as his successor, Rockefeller began to shift day-to-day power to his feisty, bantam protégé. More reviled than honored for his triumphs, Rockefeller, fifty-two, felt embattled by endless subpoenas from court cases and congressional hearings. Though he brushed off his critics as minor irritants and professed faith in his own integrity, it could not have been easy to face such universal opprobrium. Keeping up the pose of indifference must have taken its own toll.

Nevertheless, Rockefeller had come through earlier assaults unscathed. What really disturbed him was not so much making money but spending it. One Cleveland society woman, a friend, told a story of sitting beside him on a streetcar when the conductor came to collect fares. When Rockefeller handed him a quarter, the conductor deducted two nickel fares, assuming he would pay for the lady, and gave him fifteen cents change. “My change is five cents short,” Rockefeller declared. “Why, no. I took out two fares and gave you back fifteen cents,” explained the conductor. “But I did not tell you to take out two fares,” Rockefeller retorted. “Let this be a lesson to you, and never assume that a passenger is paying for two people unless he says so.”<sup>63</sup> Rockefeller reviewed every bill that arrived at home and often patrolled the hallways, turning off gaslights. Such habits were not simply reflexive stinginess but were rooted in bedrock beliefs about the value of money. When he discovered that one railroad overcharged him \$117 for carrying his family and horses, he had the Standard Oil treasurer immediately retrieve the money. “I need the \$117 to build mission churches in the West,” he explained, showing the association in his own mind between savings and charity.<sup>64</sup>

With such uncommon respect for the dollar, he couldn’t cope with the psychological demands of the University of Chicago and other philanthropic commitments. As Rockefeller said, “I investigated and worked myself almost to a nervous breakdown in groping my way, without sufficient guide or chart, through the ever-widening field of philanthropic endeavor. It was forced upon me to organize and plan this department upon as distinct lines of progress as our other business affairs.”<sup>65</sup> The figures of Rockefeller’s contributions between 1889 and 1892 reflect the expanding nature of his giving. From \$124,000 in 1889 (right before his big pledge to Gates), his donations soared to \$304,000 in 1890, \$510,000 in 1891, and then a spectacular \$1.35 million in 1892 (\$22 million today) as he opened the spigot for the University of Chicago. Clearly, he needed someone to help with the avalanche of appeals overwhelming him, and by late 1889 he began to forward begging letters to Frederick T. Gates. “I am disposed more and more to give only through organized agencies,” he told Gates.<sup>66</sup> Finally, in March 1891, suffering from broken health and all too aware of his mortal limitations, Rockefeller summoned Gates for a confidential parley:

*“I am in trouble, Mr. Gates. The pressure of these appeals for gifts has become too great for endurance. I haven’t the time or strength, with all my heavy business responsibilities, to deal with these demands properly. I am so constituted as to be unable to give away money with any satisfaction until I have made the most careful inquiry as to the worthiness of the cause. These investigations are now taking more of my time and energy than the Standard Oil itself. Either I must shift part of the burden, or stop giving entirely. And I cannot do the latter.”*

*“Indeed you cannot, Mr. Rockefeller,” Gates replied.*

*“Well, I must have a helper. I have been watching you. I think you are the man. I want you to come to New York and open an office here. You can aid me in my benefactions by taking interviews and inquiries, and reporting the results for action. What do you say?”*<sup>67</sup>

Gates accepted and in March 1891 transplanted his family to Montclair, New Jersey, and took up offices in the Temple Court, near 26 Broadway. This action, which ended his ministerial career, made him an earthly potentate instead. At first, Gates retained his position as secretary of the ABES and funneled Rockefeller money around the country. By 1892, Gates joyously proclaimed to Rockefeller, “Our denomination has a larger, better distributed, better organized, and more efficient educational property than any other denomination in America.”<sup>68</sup> Only after 1900 did the two men begin to branch out into the revolutionary schemes that transformed old-fashioned denominational charity into modern philanthropy. By that point, Gates had assembled a team of advisers tutored in Rockefeller’s principles, trained in his methods, and fired with his evangelical zeal.

For the remainder of his life, Rockefeller’s medical status provoked so much fantasy, gossip, and speculation that we should try to define it here with some precision. Rockefeller had been fit and youthful well into his fifties. He never adopted the sleek, portly look of his fellow plutocrats and seemed ten years younger than his age. What, then, ailed him in the early 1890s? Broadly speaking, the answer was overwork, brought on by the combined stress of work and charity. As his inseparable companion and homeopathic physician, Dr. Hamilton Biggar, said, “A little more of that would have killed him. Mr. Rockefeller was close to the edge of a breakdown . . . when he finally let himself be persuaded that he could no longer do the work of several men with the strength of one.”<sup>69</sup> But if overwork weakened his immune system, he also succumbed to opportunistic diseases. In 1891, a national gripe swept the nation, and Rockefeller was laid low. Dr. Biggar also diagnosed him as having a catarrh of the upper part of the bronchial tubes. For years, Rockefeller suffered from liver trouble—at one point he bought a “liver pad” from a local drugstore, wearing it with beneficial results—and in the early 1890s, Dr. Biggar plugged him full of an unnamed brew he had concocted for this trouble.

It was Rockefeller’s prolonged digestive troubles that most titillated the public, providing enduring satisfaction to moralists who believed that if Rockefeller could not be brought to justice, he could at least be tormented through his bodily afflictions. He had serious digestive problems in the early 1890s, perhaps even stress-related ulcers, and looked pale and haggard. For a time, to soothe his stomach, he lunched on milk and crackers at 26 Broadway, spartan fare that he enjoyed and sometimes even ordered by choice. He recovered from his digestive troubles, however, and they never

recurred in any really threatening way. Yet he remained extremely fussy about his food, taking small, sparing bites in a manner that spawned a thousand myths about his ruined system. For years it was bruited that he had a standing million-dollar offer for any doctor who could repair his stomach.

Those who believed that Rockefeller was suffering divine retribution would have been interested to learn that in November 1888 Cettie was seriously injured in an alcohol-lamp explosion that badly burned both her hands and face. She had to be bedridden for several weeks. Only a few mystifying references to this ghastly accident appear in Rockefeller's letters. One can't help but wonder whether the lamp was actually burning Standard Oil kerosene and whether Rockefeller turned it into an alcohol lamp in his correspondence. Would the wife of John D. Rockefeller have used alcohol lamps? If Cettie was the casualty of impure Standard Oil kerosene, her husband might well have viewed her accident as celestial judgment upon him.

During 1891, under doctor's orders, Rockefeller took time off from work and spent eight months at Forest Hill, the family's sovereign cure for illness. His private secretary, George D. Rogers, was placed under strict instructions to spare him all but urgent business matters. For the first time in twenty-one years, his mind was cleansed of Standard Oil. To restore his health, he worked with his farm laborers in the field, rode his bike, ate simply, and jokingly claimed he was becoming a "great concert singer."<sup>70</sup> These traditional remedies worked like a charm, for by June 1891 he wrote Archbold, "I am happy to state that my health is steadily improving. I can hardly tell you how different the world begins to look to me. Yesterday was the best day I have seen for three months."<sup>71</sup> By the end of the summer, he had gained fifteen pounds, fresh color was restored to his face, and he resumed a more normal schedule. On February 23, 1892, he had Gates post a letter to the University of Chicago trustees, pledging another million dollars with these words: "I make this gift as a thank offering to Almighty God for returning health."<sup>72</sup> In fact, the offering was as much a grudging response to Harper's improvident spending as a token of Rockefeller's gratitude to the Lord.

Having always enjoyed ruddy health, Rockefeller was evidently shaken by his lengthy illness, for he dreaded rushing back to work and precipitating a relapse. He now contemplated something inconceivable for most other restless tycoons of the period: retirement. He had no psychological need to spend his life amassing money and told Gates that he had all he wanted. As he later explained, "I felt that at fifty it was due me to have freedom from absorption in active business affairs and to devote myself to a variety of interests other than money making, which had claimed a portion of my time since the beginning of my business career."<sup>73</sup> Though he craved retirement, several crises tethered him to business for another three or four years until he stopped going to 26 Broadway altogether in 1897. In the meantime, he reported to the office less and less, as the focus of his life shifted slowly from earning money to dispensing it as intelligently as possible.

Although Harper had the founder's promise that he would attend opening ceremonies, Rockefeller, eager to prove that he would not meddle with the school, later rejected the idea. One also suspects that he subtly wished to telegraph his displeasure to Harper over the handling of university finances. In early 1892, Gates visited Chicago and was "utterly appalled" at the yawning chasm between Harper's extravagant schemes and the available money. Yet with all his openhanded spending, Harper had accomplished one of the great feats in education history. True to his wishes, he opened the school on October 1, 1892, without ceremony "as if it were the continuation of a work which has been conducted for a thousand years."<sup>74</sup> His hastily gathered faculty was so studded with renowned scholars that the university was catapulted instantly into the front ranks of higher education. On the first day of classes, the new school boasted 750 students, one-fourth of them women, with ten Jewish students, eight Catholics, and a handful of blacks.

Architect Henry Ives Cobb had little more than a year to summon a campus into being, and five major buildings were completed in 1892, another five in 1893. Built at a moment of civic pride, the new university sprang up beside the fabled White City of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. The fairgrounds featured a spectacular Standard Oil exhibit of a miniature refinery surrounded by a strange colonnade of Ionic columns with alternating oil-filled lamps and vases. From a Ferris wheel on the midway, visitors received a superb aerial view of the new school that Standard Oil profits had produced. Since Henry Ives Cobb also helped to plan the fairgrounds, the two projects appeared to blend into a seamless whole.

Once the university was inaugurated, President Harper did not stand still. Impulsive, never satisfied, he began to advance on a hundred fronts. Heedless of costs, he broached new initiatives to create a junior college, a night school, a correspondence school, extension courses for adults, a university press, a special division for laboratories, and museums. As leader of this educational trust, he wanted to dispatch scholars to teach at affiliated colleges in other states—an expensive initiative vetoed by Rockefeller. Harper also believed a university should benefit the surrounding city, and sociologists fanned out from the campus to undertake studies at Hull House and other settlement houses.

For all his pride in the university, Rockefeller dreaded this unbridled growth, which postponed the day when the new university might survive without him. Often, when Harper bagged another famous scholar, the university had to buy equipment for the newcomer—money Harper neglected to figure into his calculations. For all their mutual attraction, Rockefeller and Harper were destined to clash. As Gates framed the contrast:

*Mr. Rockefeller, with a breadth of vision as great as Dr. Harper's, was temperamentally cool, reserved, cautious, circumspect, deliberate, amazingly patient, but in the end, inflexible, adapting means to ends with long and accurate prevision. Dr. Harper was ardent, highly imaginative, with limitless capacity and insatiable eagerness for work, an undaunted optimist, minimizing difficulties, magnifying opportunities, rapid in conception, confiding, unsuspecting, bent on immediate results, willful, and impatient of opposition or delay.*<sup>75</sup>

As a businessman, Rockefeller believed in praying for good times while bracing for bad, and his recurring pleas for caution were vindicated in 1893 when panic seized the American economy and the university had to stall on paying salaries. To surmount the crisis, Rockefeller transferred another \$500,000 to the university that October. He was now drawn in so deep that he couldn't withdraw—and Harper knew it. Having sworn he would never cover operating deficits, Rockefeller had to renounce that policy and cover the budget shortfall for the next two years.

What made it so hard to enforce discipline in Chicago was that, after the obligatory protest, Rockefeller always came through with the money. In October 1895, Gates went to Chicago armed with a letter from Rockefeller pledging another three million dollars for the school's endowment—possibly the largest such sum ever given at one time by one man for educational purposes and worth about \$50 million today. Soon after, Harper and the university secretary, Thomas W. Goodspeed, attended a football game between Chicago and Wisconsin. During the first half, they told coach Amos Alonzo Stagg—who set up the first department of physical culture at an American university—about the gift. With Chicago trailing twelve to ten at

halftime, Stagg suggested that the team be informed “because I felt that it would be a strong piece of psychology to do so,” as he said.<sup>76</sup> When told by Harper of the gift in the locker room, the team’s captain roared, “Three million dollars!” and gave another player a gleeful slap on the back. “Just watch us play football.”<sup>77</sup> With that, the born-again squad streamed back onto the field and beat Wisconsin twenty-two to twelve. Later on, students lit a huge celebratory bonfire on campus and sang hymns to Rockefeller, including one that began, “There was a man sent from God whose name was John.”<sup>78</sup>

Despite a standing offer to tour his creation, Rockefeller declined to visit Chicago for several years, reluctant to have the university overly identified with his name. As Gates told Harper, “There are as you know advantages to the University (advantages in your canvass for funds) in the disinterested way in which Mr. Rockefeller has given his money.”<sup>79</sup> Beyond that, Rockefeller cherished his privacy and hated public occasions. When Harper finally persuaded John and Cettie to attend the first class quinquennial celebration in July 1897, he promised that Rockefeller would not need to speak. The patron’s ideal was to amble unseen through the campus for a couple of hours, an anonymous voyeur, relishing his creation.

As hundreds of students and professors, clad in caps and gowns, trooped into a huge tent in the central quadrangle on a sweltering July day, only one figure wore a plain frock coat and silk hat: the university founder, who marched, as he had since boyhood, with his eyes fixed on the ground. Far from being a fire-breathing mogul, he seemed quiet and faintly embarrassed by the fuss being made over him. When he got up on stage, three thousand people gazed in fascination at this reclusive American legend who had mesmerized the public as both a sinner and saint. It was so stifling inside the tent that hundreds of palm-leaf fans undulated in the audience. When Harper rose and reviewed the future needs of the university, he turned expectantly toward Rockefeller and referred to the pressing need for a hall to replace this temporary tent, eliciting an ambiguous smile from Rockefeller, who must have squirmed in his seat. Then the titan rose to address the crowd:

*“I want to thank your Board of Trustees, your President and all who have shared in this most wonderful beginning. It is but a beginning”—he was interrupted by frenzied applause—“and you will do the rest.” The audience quieted down. “You have the privilege to complete it, you and your sons and your daughters. I believe in the work. It is the best investment I ever made in my life. Why shouldn’t people give to the University of Chicago money, time, their best efforts? Why not? It is the grandest opportunity ever presented. Where were gathered ever a better Board of Trustees, a better Faculty? I am profoundly, profoundly thankful that I had anything to do with this affair.” A roar of appreciative laughter. “The good Lord gave me the money, and how could I withhold it from Chicago?”<sup>80</sup>*

Whatever his own discomfort, Rockefeller made an excellent impression. Before the day was out, he had laid cornerstones, listened to sermons, and given two more short talks. He spent the night at Harper’s house and was so unnerved by the absence of clocks—the visit made him deviate from his usual daily schedule—that he gave Mrs. Harper a thousand-dollar check as a gift and suggested she buy clocks. The next morning, Rockefeller mounted a bike and set off on a campus tour with university administrators in tow. Attired in a bicycle suit, he set off at a brisk pace, waving at cheering students along the route. The entourage flew down the midway to Jackson Park, circled the ghostly remains of the Columbian Exposition, stopped for refreshments, then whirled back down the midway. Rockefeller was enormously gratified and touched by the warm, spontaneous enthusiasm of the students. Everywhere he went they chanted, “John D. Rockefeller, wonderful man is he / Gives all his spare change to the U. of C.” Another knot of students burst into a fight song: “Who’s the feller? Who’s the feller? Rah, Rah, Rah / Rockefeller, he’s the feller, Sis, Boom Bah!”<sup>81</sup>

As a philanthropist, Rockefeller chose to cultivate a wise detachment from his creations and told Harper that he saw himself as a silent partner in the operation. Despite intermittent accusations to the contrary, he did not interfere with academic appointments or free expression, though sometimes tempted to do so. When several Chicago students denounced his monopolistic practices, an enraged Rockefeller complained to Gates of “statements from the students, derogatory to the founder, careless and inexcusable; but whether the report is correct, I do not know. . . . It seemed to me if . . . [it was] correct the men should be expelled from the Chicago University.”<sup>82</sup> In this and other cases, as best as one can tell, Rockefeller then countermanded the order, fearing the threat to academic freedom or at least to his own reputation.

It took courage to start a university in the 1890s, when academe swarmed with vocal critics of big business, and many of Rockefeller’s industrialist friends saw universities as so many breeding grounds for subversion. William chided his brother for sponsoring the school: “You are getting together a lot of scribblers, a crowd of Socialists who won’t do any good.”<sup>83</sup> Rockefeller wrestled with the issue but believed, on balance, that “while scribblers of the worthless kind brought poison with their ink to the minds of the people, yet multitudes of others come out of these institutions of learning to strengthen the good among us. Let us so hope.”<sup>84</sup> The University of Chicago was scarcely immune to the radical currents on campus. In 1899, while at Chicago, Thorstein Veblen published *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, which portrayed the new captains of industry as brutal troglodytes and exposed the primitive impulses lurking behind their gaudy consumption habits.

The best-publicized controversy about Rockefeller’s role at Chicago involved the dismissal in 1895 of a young political economist, Edward Bemis, who advocated municipal gas ownership and attacked the Standard Oil–controlled United Gas Improvement Company. The official explanation for the firing was that Bemis was more an activist than a scholar and did not measure up to the university’s high standards. Since Bemis had been hired by Harper himself and went on to a career of some distinction in utility regulation, one suspects a political motive behind his dismissal, yet there is no evidence that Rockefeller was the culprit. It seems more likely that Harper sacked him in anticipation of Rockefeller’s wrath. A year earlier, Harper had warned Bemis about his political activities after he made an inflammatory speech criticizing the railroads’ behavior during the Pullman strike. Such visible activism handicapped Harper in courting local business, as he made clear in a letter to Bemis in July 1894:

*Your speech at the First Presbyterian Church has caused me a great deal of annoyance. It is hardly safe for me to venture into any of the Chicago clubs. I am pounced upon from all sides. I propose that during the remainder of your connection with the university you exercise great care in public utterances about questions that are agitating the minds of the people.*<sup>85</sup>

Rockefeller refrained from such pressure because he knew the political value of his nonpartisan patronage of a university at a time when he was being accused of subverting other institutions to advance his own interests.

Rockefeller did, however, request a voice in fiscal matters—the one thing that Harper denied him. Like many donors, Rockefeller wished to give

freely, but Harper was constantly trying to speed up the process. In appointing Gates as his buffer with Harper, Rockefeller hoped to keep the university guessing about future gifts, but the tactic did not work. “Harper was insatiable in his appetite for money,” said one Standard Oil counsel. “Gates was the guardian of the treasurer.”<sup>86</sup> As time passed, the strains between Gates and Harper grew intolerable. Both men were idealists steeped in religion, marred by a streak of worldly ambition, and each accused the other of hypocritically exploiting Rockefeller for personal gain.

At first, Gates admired Harper as an inspirational figure who overspent out of naive enthusiasm. He later modified this sanguine view when Harper stoutly denied that a first-rate university could be run as an efficient business and declared, “A university that is properly operated always has a deficit.” When this remark appeared in the press, it grated on Rockefeller and Gates as rank betrayal.

According to Gates, Harper flouted several clear understandings with Rockefeller: that the university would never be indebted; would never use endowment funds for university buildings; and would never form an alliance with any medical college in Chicago. When Gates put these points in writing and asked Harper to circulate them to board members, they mysteriously disappeared. When he remonstrated with Harper for hiring more expensive professors and launching new journals, the university president simply ignored him. Soon after Gates insisted that he forgo new buildings, Harper appealed to Chicago’s citizens to support a new building campaign. Just as Rockefeller feared, Harper had rashly leaped straight from a small college to a big university.

As Harper rolled up deficits, his patron kept adding millions to the endowment, but he could only be pushed so far. As legions of business rivals had learned, he sometimes groped toward a solution then acted in a swift, decisive manner. “I warned Dr. Harper,” Gates said. “I warned him many times. I warned him in words, in deed and in every possible way.”<sup>87</sup> Sometimes, when Harper journeyed to New York, Gates thought the president had learned the error of his ways. Then Harper returned to Chicago and relapsed into free-spending habits.

After years of fruitless wrangling, the university was still struggling with a deficit of \$200,000 in early 1897 when Rockefeller decided he had had enough. Bypassing Harper, he summoned two representatives from Chicago, Goodspeed and Henry Rust, to meet with Gates and Junior. Rockefeller himself did not attend these meetings, leaving these negotiations to his proxies. On this historic occasion, Gates expressed Rockefeller’s disappointment at Harper’s failure to raise money from outside sources to reduce the deficit. As Gates pointed out, Rockefeller believed that nonprofit institutions should be even *more* circumspect with money than business organizations:

*[Rockefeller] feels that an institution of learning should be far more conservatively managed than, for instance, a bank, or even a savings bank or a trust company. These companies need only assure the depositor or investor that his funds will be duly cared for during the limited time in which they may be deposited. But a university invests the funds of those who are seeking to make an investment of money for the good of humanity, which shall last, if possible, as long as the world stands.*<sup>88</sup>

Like Dr. Augustus H. Strong before him, Harper had fundamentally miscalculated in approaching Rockefeller for money. Gates noted that Rockefeller had long ago planned to found a great university and had ample resources to do so. It was the cavalier, high-handed way that Harper dunned him for money that rankled. “Mr. Rockefeller comes instinctively to feel that the methods of securing his assistance are too often methods of compulsion,” said Gates. “The appeals come to him in the shape almost of forced contributions.”<sup>89</sup>

Though the meeting ended with Gates acknowledging Harper’s accomplishments, he had delivered a humiliating rebuke to his leadership. After reading a stenographic transcript of the meeting, Rockefeller asked that every university board member read it and took the unusual step of having it deposited in his safe as a personal testament of his future wishes for the school. Two months later, the University of Chicago trustees instituted drastic changes. Henceforth, Rockefeller would be notified of new expenditures and given a chance to protest. Gates had joined the board the year before, and Junior followed a year later, giving John D. direct representation in the university’s management.

The breach that had opened up between the university’s patron saint and its charismatic president was distressing to both men, who had enjoyed an intimate, father-son relationship. Now proscribed from asking Rockefeller for more money, Harper forfeited the easy access he had long cherished. For the emotional Harper, prone to both wild elation and inconsolable gloom, it was hard to be muzzled in his patron’s presence. According to legend, when prohibited from talking about money directly to Rockefeller, Harper circumvented the ban by praying aloud for money in his presence. The story, if true, suggests that he still had not absorbed the lesson that Rockefeller had reluctantly and repeatedly tried to teach him.



*The powerful Eastman Johnson portrait of John D. Rockefeller, painted in 1895. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Nemesis

Even as Rockefeller tried to shift his attention away from business in the 1890s, the political backlash against him gained fresh momentum, making it impossible for him to sever himself from his brilliant but tarnished record. As he tried to move ahead, his past loomed ever larger in the public imagination. During the next twenty years, it kept returning to haunt him, like an inescapable shadow.

The Sherman Antitrust Act had proved an ineffectual piece of legislation. The real threat to Standard Oil arose in an improbable spot: a small bookstore in Columbus, Ohio. In 1889, the state's young Republican attorney general, David K. Watson, wandered into the shop one evening and happened upon a slim volume by William W. Cook, cheaply bound in imitation leather and bearing the title *Trusts: The Recent Combinations in Trade*. He took the book home and perused it late into the night. In the appendix, Watson was fascinated to discover Standard Oil's trust deed, which he had never seen before. He was aghast to learn that for the past seven years Standard Oil of Ohio had violated its state charter by transferring control of the organization to mostly out-of-state trustees in New York. Capitalizing on this discovery, Watson filed a quo warranto petition against Ohio Standard in the state supreme court in May 1890, seeking nothing less than the dissolution of Standard Oil.

Standard Oil executives reacted, as always, by denigrating such measures as transparent harassment by their business enemies. Frank sent a letter to John saying that he was "not sure as to who the instigators are but believe Cleveland refiners have a hand in it" and conjectured that Watson was feeding off information from John Sherman.<sup>1</sup> In rebutting the charges, Standard's attorney, Samuel C. T. Dodd, offered the same legal fig leaf that the combine had exploited for years: that Ohio Standard shares had been transferred by individual stockholders, not the company itself, to its New York trustees. By now, the ruse was wearing thin.

Ironically, this sortie against Standard Oil came in a conservative, industrial state where its influence was pervasive. As a rock-ribbed Republican contributor, Rockefeller felt betrayed by such ingratitude and protested to a Cleveland friend that "we have not received fair treatment from the Republican party."<sup>2</sup> Never one to mince words, Mark Hanna, the party kingpin, sent a strongly worded message to Watson, telling him that "the Standard Oil Company is officered and managed by some of the best and strongest men in the country. They are pretty much all Republicans and have been most liberal in their contributions to the party, as I personally know, Mr. Rockefeller always quietly doing his share."<sup>3</sup> Although Hanna urged him to drop the suit, Watson would not relent. While Rockefeller blandly denied knowledge of Hanna's action, his memory was conveniently faulty, for on April 7, 1891, Hanna had written to him, "I caught our distinguished Attorney General Watson here the other day and gave him a piece of my mind."<sup>4</sup> Watson's successor, Frank Monnett, alleged that on six occasions Watson was offered bribes to terminate the case—in one instance as much as \$100,000 in cash—but Monnett never provided corroborating evidence, perhaps fearing Standard Oil reprisals against his sources.

Such intimidation, if it did occur, only stiffened Watson's resistance to pressure. On March 2, 1892, he won a famous victory when the Ohio Supreme Court ruled that Standard Oil of Ohio was indeed controlled by trustees at 26 Broadway and had to renounce the trust agreement. The trust was also accused of trying to monopolize every phase of the petroleum business. One enterprising reporter who rushed to 26 Broadway was assured that the decision would in no way affect the trust. When a reporter showed up on Samuel Dodd's doorstep, the Standard counsel was a model of urbanity: "The [trust] agreements were not really necessary," he said. "They were simply made as a matter of conscience. The only effect of the decision will be to inconvenience us a little."<sup>5</sup>

This insouciance was only partly studied. In responding to legal challenges, the combine had reconstituted itself many times, like some mythical, protean creature that could metamorphose into infinite shapes to elude lawmakers. For several years, Dodd and Rockefeller had studied possible responses in case the trust had to be dissolved in an antitrust suit. They had taken note of an 1889 New Jersey law that permitted corporations resident in the state to hold stock in other corporations. This revolutionary development opened the possibility of forming holding companies that could operate nationwide and provided a critical escape hatch for embattled trusts. As a result, Standard Oil calmly greeted the 1892 Ohio decision less as a mortal threat than an opportunity for a long-overdue reorganization.

For several days, Standard executives tried to figure out how best to comply with the ruling. Their minds were focused by the knowledge that if they didn't act, the New York attorney general was poised to file antitrust papers. On March 10, 1892, one week after the Ohio decision, Samuel Dodd announced that the trust would be dissolved. The next day, a mailing went out to all holders of Standard Oil trust certificates, summoning them to a March 21 meeting and inviting them to exchange their certificates for proportionate shares of twenty constituent companies. The distribution of power, money, and dividends within the Standard Oil empire would remain exactly the same, a deft maneuver that would be copied by other corporations harried by antitrust laws.

As the holder of 256,854 of 972,500 outstanding shares of the Standard Oil trust, John D. Rockefeller chaired the March 21 meeting. Even though 300 people were jammed into a room designed to hold only 200, the stage-managed event was brief and businesslike; the unanimous vote to dissolve the trust was a foregone conclusion. Though designated one of eight liquidating trustees, Rockefeller had just recuperated from the breakdown in his health and wanted to transfer the burden of reorganization to his colleagues. He was spared a terrible ordeal, since the liquidation proved highly contentious. Small shareholders balked at trading in trust certificates for fractional shares that paid no dividends and could not be redeemed in any secondary market. In the eyes of Standard's detractors, the exchange dragged on for a suspiciously long time.

Aided by changes in New Jersey's incorporation law, Standard Oil of New Jersey took on a unique status in the transformed company. Renamed Standard Oil (New Jersey), it bought in whole or in part huge blocks of stock in the other Standard companies and thus legally held stock in properties from coast to coast, functioning as both an operating and holding company. Standard of New York also attained new status in a reorganization that initiated the seven-year period of the so-called Standard Oil Interests.

The 1892 overhaul was mostly shadow play, a charade to appease the courts. The executive committee at 26 Broadway was formally dissolved, but the members lost only their titles and were soon converted, by the nicest legal cunning, into the presidents of twenty affiliated companies. In Standard parlance, these men were now the “gentlemen upstairs” or the “gentlemen in Room 1400.” Nobody had to switch seats at the lunch table, and Rockefeller and his coterie ruled as absolutely as before. Seventeen individual stockholders—almost all Standard Oil executives or family members—controlled a majority of stock in the twenty companies and elected their directors. This legal legerdemain again frustrated lawmakers who felt that the combine was so vast, slippery, and elusive that it could never be tamed or held accountable.

Standard Oil executives saw the major threat to the company in 1892 as the aging of their leadership. The organization was still piloted by the same sturdy souls who had steered it since the 1870s and were now beginning to die off or retire. The alarm bells must have sounded when Rockefeller sought retirement, a decision postponed temporarily by the economic crisis of 1893. The panic showed him functioning less as a Standard Oil executive than as a sovereign power, endowed with resources rivaling those of government. He continued, however, to operate in the shadows, a spectral figure whose presence was mostly felt, not seen.

The depression heralded by the June 1893 stock-market crash was one of such excruciating length, such grinding and unrelieved misery, that economic historians labeled it the Great Depression until that title was usurped in the 1930s. During the troubled summer of 1893, the Erie and Northern Pacific railroads failed, followed by many others bloated with debt and riddled with fraud. Mass unemployment across the nation sharpened class tensions. During the sanguinary clash a year earlier at the Homestead, Pennsylvania, steel mill, Henry Clay Frick had ordered Pinkerton detectives to fire at workers—a step that drew a rousing congratulatory telegram from John D. Such corporate truculence provoked calls by the new Populist Party for a graduated income tax, government ownership of railroad and telegraph companies, and tougher safeguards for trade unions. Rockefeller stood high on the list of bogeymen regularly berated by Populists, and legend has it that he began to sleep with a revolver by his bed. As the country grew more polarized, many people wondered whether America had paid too dear a price for the industrialization that had so quickly propelled it from an agrarian society to a world economic power.

By early 1894, the slump had toppled six hundred shaky banks, and an almost palpable threat of insurrection hovered in the air, prompting financial writer Alexander Dana Noyes to observe that “there were periods when industrial unrest seemed to assume the proportions of anarchy.”<sup>6</sup> In the spring of 1894, General Jacob Coxey of Ohio led his bedraggled Army of the Commonwealth of Christ in a doomed march on Washington to entreat Congress for legislative relief. Two months later, workers at the Pullman Palace Car Company struck to reverse massive layoffs and wage cuts, triggering a sympathy strike by the American Railway Union under Eugene V. Debs. When President Cleveland sent troops to Chicago, Debs was jailed, and seven strikers were gunned down. All the pent-up frustrations produced by the accelerated change of the late nineteenth century were vented in spontaneous, often violent dissent.

To the dismay of critics, Standard Oil and other trusts fared quite well during the prolonged downturn. Demand for illuminating oil and lubricants—now necessities of life—remained healthy, leading Standard Oil to prosper amid the general austerity. Meanwhile, a new source of future profits beckoned in the middle distance. In the early 1880s, Gottlieb Daimler strapped light gasoline engines onto bicycles, tricycles, and other vehicles, experiments that culminated in the motorcar, while another German inventor, Karl Benz, patented a three-wheeled automobile with a single-cylinder engine in 1886. In 1892, the Duryea brothers were tinkering with their first automobile. Recognizing a fantastic market in the offing, Standard Oil sent a representative to attend the test of a new gasoline engine for a streetcar motor. The next year, Henry Ford tested a two-cylinder auto that sped along at thirty miles an hour, resuscitating fears that existing oil supplies might fall short of needs—an anxiety somewhat assuaged by oil discoveries in Los Angeles and elsewhere in California in the 1890s. So remarkable was this West Coast boom that it soon furnished more oil than the old Pennsylvania and Ohio fields that had formed the basis of Rockefeller’s wealth. The advent of the automobile was a godsend for Standard Oil, for the more lightbulbs shone across America, the more kerosene was relegated to remote rural areas without access to electric power.

Standard Oil again benefited from hard times to extend its powerful reach. For several years, the trust had watched the exploits of Pittsburgh’s Mellon family with apprehension, and Archbold was under strict orders from Rockefeller to grab any of their oil properties that came on the market. As the Mellons emerged as a worrisome threat in the export market, Rockefeller feared they might strike an alliance with the French Rothschilds. In August 1895, having borrowed heavily against Pittsburgh real estate to build their budding oil empire, the Mellons were forced to sell their Crescent Pipe Line Company and other properties to Standard—a huge windfall that yielded 14,000 acres and 135 producing wells. It now seemed that Standard Oil owned the entire industry, lock, stock, and barrel. When the Geodetic Association announced plans to measure the earth, the *World* opined that the information would “enable the Standard Oil Trust and other trusts to learn the exact size of their property.”<sup>7</sup>

Soon thereafter, to everyone’s amazement, the independents, after so many hapless drubbings, rallied one last time and made a successful run at the trust. Through a new company, the Producers’ and Refiners’ Oil Company, a thousand well owners agreed to supply crude oil to fifteen independent refineries, linked by a new network of local pipelines. In the fall of 1892, that perennial Standard scourge, Lewis Emery, Jr., had organized United States Pipe Line, which now promised to give the rebels a vital pipeline to the seaboard. To lay the pipe, Emery’s men had to ward off savage harassment from the railroads; locomotives would roar by and douse them with scalding steam, boiling water, and glowing coals. Despite these obstructive tactics, independent oil began to flow in 1893. Shifting tactics, the trust then engineered a steep decline in kerosene prices—no mean trick in a period of rising crude prices. Squeezed by dwindling profit margins, three large independent refineries finally submitted to the trust’s suzerainty, but the Producers’ and Refiners’ Oil Company miraculously survived. In 1895, emboldened by a new sense of Rockefeller’s vulnerability, thirty independent refiners coalesced into the Pure Oil Company—the first enduring domestic competitor of Standard Oil. To preserve their autonomy, they sequestered half their voting stock in the hands of five men eternally sworn to keep it free of Standard influence. Thus, several years before federal trustbusters mobilized to smash the Rockefeller monopoly, serious competition had already taken root in the marketplace.

Despite this setback, Rockefeller was not hurting in the 1890s. There was now a self-perpetuating quality to his wealth. Whether he was gardening, eating, or just lying in bed, his prolific savings quietly grew around the clock. He was receiving about \$3 million yearly in Standard Oil dividends (more than \$50 million in 1996 dollars) and redirecting that into a vast portfolio of outside investments that made him a one-man holding company. With \$24 million now invested outside the oil and gas business, he held sizable stakes in 16 railroad companies, 9 real-estate firms, 6 steel companies, 6

steamship companies, 9 banks and financial houses, and even 2 orange groves.

The oil trust's resilience during the depression of the 1890s, its tested immunity from market fluctuations, cheered Rockefeller, who attributed this to Standard's large cash reserves and conservative dividend policy. The panic seemed to offer irrefutable proof to Rockefeller that cooperation was superior to the vagaries of cutthroat competition. It certainly allowed him the luxury of a benevolent paternalism at a time of labor strife in other industries. "We held things together so steady that our fortunate laboring men got their pay, though in other concerns many of them were compelled to go, and without bread," he later told William O. Inglis. "It was a matter of congratulation with us that we could look into the happy faces of our workmen in these perilous times and hand them the wages they had earned."<sup>8</sup>

Since the early 1880s, Standard Oil had been self-financing, very liquid at all times, and free from the thrall of Wall Street bankers. As a result, no other industrial corporation was so fearless or independent. It was one of Rockefeller's proudest boasts that unlike other trusts, he had not needed a J. P. Morgan to forge his combine. Standard Oil anticipated a major feature of the twentieth-century economy: the tendency of sophisticated, cash-rich corporations to outgrow their traditional bankers and become financial-service giants in their own rights. As journalist John Moody perceptively wrote, "The Standard Oil Trust was really a bank of the most gigantic character—a bank within an industry, financing this industry against all competition and continually lending vast sums of money to needy borrowers on high class collateral, just as the other great banks were doing."<sup>9</sup>

It was Standard Oil of New York that functioned as the main banker for the affiliated companies, governing what was arguably the most stupendous cash flow ever produced in American industry. To maximize its leverage over Wall Street, it scattered its gigantic balances among many banks; a single Standard Oil entity, the National Transit Company, sometimes kept as much as \$40 million on deposit. Standard Oil of New York also made large loans to banks, brokerage houses, railroads, and steel companies. So rich in cash, Standard Oil wielded a make-or-break power over Wall Street houses, which defied it at their peril. Standard directors often took out prodigious loans from the trust. On the eve of the 1893 panic, John D. had a \$1.36 million loan outstanding while brother William owed \$865,000.

As president of New York Standard, William Rockefeller parlayed his position into one of exceptional prominence on Wall Street. For John, the street might be a sinful haunt, but it had its own sulfurous charms for William. In 1884, while they both served as directors of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, William had met James Stillman, the youngest director of National City Bank. In an inspired move, Stillman recruited William as a director. By the time Stillman became the bank's president in 1891, National City had been so enriched by the Standard Oil bounty that it was nicknamed the Oil Bank.

When the 1893 panic struck, John D. was just emerging from the seclusion occasioned by his medical problems. He raced back to New York from Cleveland to orchestrate a massive salvage operation. In the course of the panic, he provided almost \$6 million to fifty-eight individuals and firms who were turned down by banks and desperately needed his intervention. To bail out these borrowers, Rockefeller had to borrow almost \$4 million, and nearly \$3 million of that came from Standard of New York. This was a tricky balancing act, since he was borrowing on the collateral of securities then collapsing in value. In October 1893, the Standard Oil treasurer, William T. Wardwell, having decided that Rockefeller had reached the permissible limit, did the unthinkable: He shut down the lending window on the company founder. A stupefied George Rogers relayed this verdict to his boss: "He has refused to give me any more money, because he had no assurance of getting it back when he wanted."<sup>10</sup> After frantic negotiations, Wardwell boosted Rockefeller's credit line to \$2.8 million in exchange for a lien on his quarterly dividend of \$775,000 from Standard Oil stock. Some of Rockefeller's letters reflect tragicomic confusion as he struggled to collect loans from debtors in order to pay off his own debt to Standard Oil. In early September, he wrote to Cettie from New York that he had settled his debts, with \$550,000 to spare. "We are steadily emerging from the panic, but I hope never to go through with another such experience."<sup>11</sup>

When it came to old friends, his generosity could be dazzling. When Captain Vandergrift telegraphed from Pittsburgh that a trust company he directed stood in mortal peril, Rockefeller telegraphed promptly, "How much do you want?" "One million dollars," came the response to which Rockefeller replied, "Check for one million is on the way."<sup>12</sup> But he was so inundated with pleas that many more people were spurned than saved, generating unavoidable bitterness. Frederick T. Gates referred to these painful quandaries in an October 1893 letter: "I have today on my desk urgent imperative appeals to save old friends [of Mr. Rockefeller's] amounting to many hundreds of thousands of dollars. I have incurred the enmity of many important business enterprises because I have had to decline to assist them in the last few days."<sup>13</sup> More than one person who was refused later accused Rockefeller of having ruined him.

During the panic, Rockefeller awakened to the public responsibilities attending great wealth. Having long been reflexively hostile to government, he now found himself cooperating with Washington to calm the jitters in financial markets. In 1894, the U.S. Treasury, alarmed by the outflow of gold that legally backed the gold standard, turned to J. P. Morgan for a rescue operation. After telling John G. Carlisle, the Treasury secretary, that this was impossible, Morgan conferred hastily with Stillman—a measure of Stillman's new stature on Wall Street. "He was greatly upset and overcharged," recalled Stillman, "nearly wept, put his head in his hands and cried: 'They expect the impossible!' So I calmed him down and told him to give me an hour and by that time I cabled for ten millions from Europe for the Standard Oil and ten more from other resources." When Stillman walked into Morgan's office to report the \$20 million, Morgan grew giddy and triumphant. "He took the pose of savior of his country and assumed all the credit," Stillman observed archly, crediting the real success to himself and Standard Oil. "But then you see, he is a poet; Morgan is a poet."<sup>14</sup> Rockefeller never claimed credit for his action and preferred no publicity.

Stillman's behavior during the panic had a deleterious effect on his relationship with Rockefeller, who had given him \$5 million amid multiple demands. Rockefeller believed that the crafty Stillman had not only held his money longer than necessary but employed it to buy stocks at bargain prices instead of using it to shore up his bank. Under any circumstance, Rockefeller would have been critical of an alliance between Standard Oil and a Wall Street bank, but after the 1893 panic his disenchantment with Stillman gave him extra misgivings about William's policy of placing large balances in his bank. One of Rockefeller's financial advisers, Henry E. Cooper, indignantly told him, "You ought to get after him hard!" "No, Mr. Cooper, we will do nothing," said Rockefeller evenly. "But we shall not forget it!"<sup>15</sup>



In November 1887, as he listened to Rockefeller testify before the new Interstate Commerce Commission, Henry Demarest Lloyd saw the witness as the prince of darkness, evil incarnate. Afterward, he furiously scribbled notes that he headed “Fanatic Standard Oil,” and had this to say about Rockefeller:

*He is . . . a depredator . . . not a worshipper of liberty . . . a Czar of plutocracy, a worshipper of his own Money Power over mankind. He will never sacrifice any of his plans for the restraints of law or patriotism or philanthropy. . . . His greed, rapacity, flow as a Universal solvent wherever they can, melting down into gold for him, private enterprise, public morals, judicial honor, legislative faith, gifts of nature. He will stop when he is stopped—not before. Not a tiger but a lynx . . . a make-up like that of the “gentleman pirate” of romance, think cold ruthless.*<sup>16</sup>

Convinced that Standard Oil was the archetypal trust, Lloyd embarked on a book-length study two years later, and by the time *Wealth Against Commonwealth* appeared in 1894, he was sure that the public was ripe for his revelations. As he wrote on the eve of publication, “the sky seems full of signs that the time for the appearance of such information has come.”<sup>17</sup>

Known as “the Millionaire Socialist,” the natty Lloyd had longish hair, wire-rimmed spectacles, and a flowing mustache, which gave him a vaguely artistic air. Among his friends he included Clarence Darrow, Jane Addams, Eugene Debs, and Booker T. Washington. He was toasted by many literary figures, and Robert Louis Stevenson called him a “very capable, clever fellow,” asserting that “he writes the most workmanlike article of any man known to me in America.”<sup>18</sup> A foppish reformer, Lloyd attended trade-union meetings wearing pince-nez on a gold chain, a gray top hat, and glossily polished boots. When he supported anarchists blamed for the Haymarket Square riot in Chicago in 1886, his outraged father-in-law, a co-owner of the *Chicago Tribune*, disinherited him and placed his estate in trust for Lloyd’s children. To maintain his existence as a dapper millionaire and literary troubadour for radical causes, Lloyd relied on his wife’s income.

Lloyd’s politics became more radical over time. With a messianic outlook, he had promiscuous sympathy for every crusade. Starting out as a free-market liberal, he then turned to socialism, trade unions, worker cooperatives, and utopian communities. He once referred to himself as “a socialist-anarchist-communist-individualist-collectivist-cooperative-aristocratic-democrat”—and that was just for starters.<sup>19</sup> Scarcely a cause in the Progressive panoply—from attacking tariffs to favoring municipal ownership of utilities to combating sweatshops—escaped his wide-ranging vision. Like Karl Marx, he believed in the inevitable collapse of capitalism, which he thought corrupt and predatory. Also like Marx, he imagined that competition led to monopoly—a welcome step since it was “a necessary and indubitable step toward national and international cooperation.”<sup>20</sup>

Lloyd returned to Standard Oil—the subject of his 1881 story in the *Atlantic Monthly*—for several reasons. Dismayed by the failure of the Sherman law to curb monopolies, he ridiculed it as “The Anti-Trades Union Law,” a mere ruse perpetrated by “a world-wide concert of action of a money power, crazy with greed, and fanatical to the hilt, to re-enslave the working people.”<sup>21</sup> He could also now draw upon a wide body of material churned up by government investigations against Standard Oil. Drawing on a small army of Rockefeller haters, including George Rice, Lewis Emery, and Roger Sherman, he gathered court records and trial transcripts, which he stuffed into pigeonholes at his home in Winnetka, outside Chicago. When one acquaintance visited him there, Lloyd told him, “I will prove that John D. Rockefeller is the most selfish usurper that ever lived.”<sup>22</sup> With Dostoyevskian passion, he filled notebooks with flaming diatribes against the American plutocracy, describing the Rockefellers and Vanderbilts as members of a “cruel, selfish, carnivorous, short-sighted herd.”<sup>23</sup> The lists of sensational titles he compiled for his Standard Oil book—including *Slime in Genesis*, *Fountains of Pitch*, and *Barbarians of Business*—said as much about his overheated imagination as they did about the trust.<sup>24</sup> In fact, Lloyd spouted so much fustian that it made it easy for businessmen to dismiss him despite his often accurate insights.

*Wealth Against Commonwealth* had no kind words to spare for Standard Oil. Lloyd marshaled every wispy allegation made against the trust and printed it as gospel truth. Where Ida Tarbell later portrayed Rockefeller and his cohorts as superb if immoral businessmen, Lloyd presented them as brazen criminals who owed everything to diabolical deeds. Later on, speaking privately of the “criminal character” of the Standard Oil executives, he insisted that they “ought to be in the penitentiary.”<sup>25</sup> Like his *Atlantic Monthly* piece, his book was chockablock with errors and egregious misrepresentations—for instance, he described the Rothschilds as Standard Oil’s agents abroad. Accusing Rockefeller of rigging artificial shortages to drive up kerosene prices, Lloyd failed to see that the trust maintained its dominance by keeping prices low and selectively engaging in predatory pricing. He ennobled any businessman, however greedy or inept, who opposed Rockefeller.

Yet for all its weaknesses, the book had a profound and lasting impact and ranks as a classic of muckraking literature. Lloyd was a superb stylist whose mellifluous prose captivated readers. Every paragraph was a call to arms.<sup>26</sup> Whatever the holes in his argument, he gave a clear, intelligent shape to a complex story, especially when it came to the importance of railroad rebates in the rise of Standard Oil. When he argued that the South Improvement Company never died but became Rockefeller’s master blueprint, he laid down a line of argument followed by Ida Tarbell. What also gave the book its force was Lloyd’s political message: “Liberty produces wealth, and wealth destroys liberty.”<sup>27</sup> As the trusts’ power rippled through society, he said, it corrupted every corner of American life. The noble experiment of American democracy was being undermined by businessmen who had grown more powerful than the state and controlled its elected representatives. “Our system, so fair in its theory and so fertile in its happiness and prosperity in its first century, is now, following the fate of systems, becoming artificial, technical, corrupt.”<sup>28</sup>

In *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, Lloyd omitted all names, even though Rockefeller, Flagler, and others were all too recognizable. Standard Oil was never mentioned and was usually referred to as the “oil combination” or some other euphemism. This technique protected Lloyd from libel prosecution, though he fell back upon a highfalutin explanation for it. “It seems of the highest importance that the book should retain its character of an *illustration* of the motives and results of our commercial civilization, not an attack on a particular corporation or body of men.”<sup>29</sup>

Lloyd’s manuscript found a publisher with difficulty. Mark Twain, who then had his own publishing venture, turned it down in deference to his close friendship with Henry H. Rogers. As Twain told his wife, “I wanted to say [to Lloyd] the only man I care for in the world; the only man I would give a *damn* for; the only man who is lavishing his sweat and blood to save me & mine from starvation and shame, is a Standard Oil fiend . . . but I didn’t say that. I said I didn’t want any book; I wanted to get out of the publishing business.”<sup>30</sup> Luckily for Lloyd, he won the passionate sponsorship of another literary luminary, his former *Atlantic Monthly* editor, William Dean Howells, who was bowled over by his indictment of Rockefeller. “I think that the

monstrous iniquity whose story you tell so powerfully, accomplished itself in our time, is so astounding, so infuriating, that I have to stop from chapter to chapter, and take breath.”<sup>31</sup> Howells steered Lloyd to Harper and Brothers, who agreed to issue the book if the author substantially condensed it, paid for publication, and guaranteed a sale of fifteen hundred copies—a deal only a rich radical could afford.

Published in 1894, the book passed through four printings within a year and sold a respectable eight thousand copies in its first decade. Some sour notes were heard amid the praise. The *Nation* began its scathing review by saying, “This book is a notable example of the rhetorical blunder of overstatement,” and it branded the book “five hundred pages of the wildest rant.”<sup>32</sup> Yet the work was praised widely by many reformers, including Louis Brandeis, and Edward Everett Hale called it the most important American book since *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Since Lloyd distributed free copies to politicians, it became the bible of Washington trustbusters.

With his penchant for melodrama, Lloyd claimed he had been tailed by Standard Oil detectives and told friends that he “expected to be *crushed* by the Standard people.” He seemed half disappointed when 26 Broadway reacted to his book with stern silence. Although colleagues informed him of the book’s accusations, Rockefeller did not read it and said Standard Oil “paid no more attention to all this nonsense than an elephant might be expected to pay to a tiny mosquito.”<sup>33</sup> Rockefeller now declined almost weekly requests to sit for magazine profiles, including one from a new magazine being launched by Samuel S. McClure, who was then in Paris trying to sign up an obscure young writer from Pennsylvania, Ida Minerva Tarbell.

Even after the publication of *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, Lloyd regaled friends with scurrilous gossip about Rockefeller, telling one correspondent, with cynical relish, that the mogul had recently gone abroad, ostensibly to recuperate from the strain of his charities. Sure that Rockefeller had left the country to divide up global oil markets with the Russians, Lloyd guffawed at reports that Rockefeller’s health had broken down under the crushing weight of his beneficence. “The wonder is that he expects people to believe that sort of thing, and that they do believe it!” Lloyd told a friend.<sup>34</sup> The irony, of course, is that Rockefeller spoke the unvarnished truth. Lloyd was always as blind to Rockefeller’s virtues as he was sensitive to his glaring vices.

By 1895, Rockefeller, age fifty-six, had begun to fade by imperceptible degrees into retirement. That year, he sat for a haunting portrait by Eastman Johnson that was commissioned by the board of the University of Chicago and that shows him toward the close of his business career. Set against a dark backdrop, the titan sits on a simple wooden chair, fixing the viewer with a fiery stare. His long, tapered fingers are delicately interlaced and his legs urbanely crossed, but there is a blazing intensity, an inextinguishable fire, in his eyes. Rockefeller still looks powerful and surprisingly youthful, but there is a sadness about him, as if he were stooped under a great weight and enveloped in unfathomable gloom.

Since he dated his retirement as early as 1894 and as late as 1897, there is some uncertainty as to when Rockefeller officially left 26 Broadway, but 1895 and 1896 are the likely watershed years. Though he was still suffering from sporadic digestive problems and nervous strain, the 1893 panic had forced him to postpone his departure several times. In explaining his retirement, the Rockefeller literature has always stressed his health and the heavy burden of his charities, though another factor contributed as well: He had perfected the gleaming machinery of Standard Oil, and, his appointed task done, he felt he should pass the reins to younger men. As Gates put it, the business “had ceased to amuse him, it lacked freshness and variety and had become merely irksome and he withdrew.”<sup>35</sup> By 1896, Rockefeller was skipping the daily lunch meetings at 26 Broadway and only occasionally exchanged memos with other executives. By June 4, 1896, he had already relinquished most of his duties, for he ended a letter to Archbold, “I shall be very pleased at any time to hear anything new that is important in the business, if it will not trouble you too much, or if you will kindly call Mr. Rogers.”<sup>36</sup>

In September 1897, Rockefeller suffered another medical setback, apparently related to circulatory problems, and his doctors insisted that he promptly transfer more day-to-day decisions to his representatives. “I do not call myself sick,” Rockefeller commented to one relative, “but this little warning I will promptly heed, as health is of the first importance.”<sup>37</sup> So in 1897—the year his son graduated from Brown—Rockefeller walked away from the empire that had consumed his energies for more than thirty years, and during the next fifteen years he scarcely appeared at 26 Broadway. He was succeeded by John D. Archbold, his jovial, pugnacious protégé, who gave a more defiant and combative tone to the trust in its duels with government investigators, committing a public-relations blunder of no small magnitude.

In a grave misstep, Rockefeller never publicly announced his retirement and retained the titular presidency of Standard Oil of New Jersey. As a result, he remained an inviting target for critics and was personally held liable for many of the questionable judgments made by Archbold, who was nominally vice president of New Jersey Standard.

In our age of an assertive business press, when corporate secrets are readily ferreted out by reporters, it is scarcely conceivable that the world’s richest man, running the world’s largest business, could have drifted away from business without public knowledge. Yet much of the press—to Rockefeller’s later chagrin—swallowed the cover story whole. While some reporters knew that he no longer reported to work, they doubted that he had really surrendered supervisory power. The misconception was understandable. He owned nearly 30 percent of Standard Oil stock—far more than anyone else—and did not hesitate to proffer advice as the urge seized him. Small groups of company lawyers and executives periodically briefed him, and Archbold made regular weekend pilgrimages to consult him at his Westchester estate. As trustbusters took dead aim at the company, Rockefeller was driven to develop a common defense with current executives, pulling him back into the past even as he tried to move on to new pursuits.

Rockefeller entered retirement just at the birth of the American automobile industry. As he noted, “When I retired from business . . . we had just begun to hope that some day [autos] would be practical.”<sup>38</sup> That year, Frank and Charles Duryea produced thirteen two-cylinder runabouts in Springfield, Massachusetts—the first time a car company had produced several cars from a standardized model—and Henry Ford put the finishing touches to the quadri-cycle, his first horseless carriage. The automobile would make John D. Rockefeller far richer in retirement than at work. When he stepped down from Standard Oil, he was probably worth about \$200 million—\$3.5 billion today—whereas, thanks to the internal-combustion engine, his fortune soared to \$1 billion by 1913—surely history’s most lucrative retirement, and one that must have softened the sting of press vituperation.

In 1897, Joseph Pulitzer’s *World* showcased John D. Rockefeller and Henry M. Flagler as two of the five chief overlords of the Standard Oil trust, yet

Flagler had now ranged even farther afield than Rockefeller. A man with many cronies but few close friends, Rockefeller reserved warm praise for Flagler. “You and I have been associated in business upwards of thirty-five years,” Rockefeller wrote to him in 1902, “and while there have been times when we have not agreed on questions of policy I do not know that one unkind word has ever passed or unkind thought existed between us. . . . I feel that my pecuniary success is due to my association with you, if I have contributed anything to yours I am thankful.”<sup>39</sup> Flagler repaid the compliment, telling one Baptist preacher that “if he would spend the remainder of his life in praising Mr. Rockefeller he could not say too much nor more than was actually deserved.”<sup>40</sup>

But these high-flown, touching tributes masked a certain *froideur* that had crept into their relationship as they neared retirement. Although Rockefeller never said so outright, one senses that he thought Flagler had become a slave to fashion and ostentation, a traitor to the austere puritanical creed that had united them. Though his hair and mustache were now dusted with gray, Flagler had a lean, handsome face and was highly susceptible to female charm. He had suffered many personal misfortunes in marriage and exercised woefully bad judgment. His consumptive first wife, Mary, had become a professional invalid. When doctors recommended an extended winter stay for her in 1878, Henry joined her in Florida, but, itching to get back to Standard Oil, he bolted for New York after a few weeks. Unwilling to stay alone, Mary followed him back instead of taking time to recuperate properly. When she died in May 1881, Henry felt profoundly guilty. At that point, he took stock of his life and decided he had sacrificed too much to business, telling one reporter, “I have been giving all my days to the Lord hitherto, and now I’m taking one for myself.”<sup>41</sup> During the winter of 1882–1883, he was hospitalized with a liver ailment and began to pore over newspaper articles about Florida land deals. In 1883, at age fifty-three, Flagler married Ida Alice Shourds, thirty-five, a former actress who had nursed Mary during her illness. A short woman with red hair, electric blue eyes, and an incendiary temper, Ida Alice seemed determined to run through Flagler’s money, gathering an expensive wardrobe and trying to buy her way into New York high society.

Whatever his reservations about the match, Rockefeller visited Henry and Ida Alice on their honeymoon in Saint Augustine, Florida, during the winter of 1883–1884. No less prophetic in his business hunches than at Standard Oil, Flagler had faith that Florida would someday be converted from a pestilential, mosquito-ridden jungle into a place of wonder, recreation, and exotic beauty. The next winter, when the Rockefellers and Flaglers again traveled to Saint Augustine, Henry bought several acres of orange grove as the site for the future Ponce de Leon Hotel. To cater to a less-affluent clientele, he added the Alcazar Hotel across the street, its façade patterned after the Alcazar Palace of Seville. As the resident railroad expert of Standard Oil, Flagler saw that Florida’s development had been retarded by inadequate transport, and in the late 1880s he bought two railroads that opened for settlement a coastal stretch around Ormond and Daytona beaches. Buying a large hotel on the Halifax River, he re-modeled it, grafted on an eighteen-hole golf course, and renamed it the Ormond Beach Hotel. Years later, John D. Rockefeller’s winter home, The Casements, stood directly across the street.

Driven by his faith in Florida’s future, Flagler merged his railroads in 1892 and conceived a master plan for a railroad that would snake down the length of Florida’s Atlantic coast to Key West, with Flagler resorts dotting the route—a vision he realized in 1912. Each time Flagler pushed the railway farther south, it opened more swamp to development, triggering another land boom.

As always when infected with development fever, Flagler ran up bills that taxed even his massive fortune. In 1890, he sold 2,500 shares of Standard Oil stock to Rockefeller for \$375,000 and made further stock sales to him for several years—right on the verge of the auto boom that would send those shares soaring. Rockefeller followed Flagler’s business adventures in Florida with sympathy but at a distance. “Henry did a great job in Florida,” he said. “Think of pouring out all that money on a whim. But then Henry was always bold.”<sup>42</sup> Yet he turned a deaf ear to his friend’s repeated entreaties to visit again. “I believe this country would be a revelation to you, if you would take a week to look into it,” Flagler pleaded with him in 1889.<sup>43</sup> Yet Rockefeller still stayed away from the state after his 1884–1885 visit. “It is marvelous what Mr. Flagler has wrought in that southern country,” Rockefeller told William Rainey Harper in 1898, “and I regret not to have paid him a visit long ago.”<sup>44</sup>

Why this sudden distance in so singular a friendship? When they did see each other, Rockefeller and Flagler were always nostalgic, yet they seldom contrived to meet. One suspects that John and Cettie were scandalized by the showy airs and sybaritic indulgence of Ida Alice Flagler. Bowing to his second wife, Henry had bought a private railroad car and a 160-foot yacht (both tellingly named the *Alicia*), and the Flaglers behaved more and more like the gaudy arrivistes the Rockefellers abhorred. Then Ida Alice began to show incipient signs of the mental illness that overtook her in later years. Out of the blue she began to chatter about her husband’s adultery—a real enough situation, but one magnified in Ida Alice’s fevered mind. In 1891, Henry became infatuated with Mary Lily Kenan, a beautiful, gifted twenty-four-year-old from a prominent North Carolina family who offered him respite from his moody, unstable wife, and Ida Alice became pathologically obsessed with this relationship.

During the summer of 1893, Ida Alice’s manic behavior worsened when she obtained a Ouija board. Closeted in her room, she spent hours communing with astral spirits, convinced the czar of Russia had fallen madly in love with her. When she threatened to kill Flagler in October 1895 and accused him of trying to poison her, she was committed to a sanatorium in Pleasantville, New York. In the spring of 1896, after the doctors declared Ida Alice cured, she returned to live with Henry at their large estate, Satan’s Toe, in Mamaroneck, New York. For a few happy weeks, they rode bikes together and read aloud to each other, suggesting a tenuous return to happier times. Then Ida Alice bribed a servant to smuggle in a Ouija board and promptly succumbed to old demons. Once back at the board, she relapsed into her paranoid dreamworld. When she flew at one doctor, wielding a pair of scissors, she was returned to the Pleasantville sanatorium in March 1897. There she renamed herself Princess Ida Alice von Schotten Tech and never saw Henry again.

After the courts ruled Ida Alice Flagler insane in 1899, Henry set up a trust fund for her, stocked with \$2 million in Standard Oil shares, which would appreciate to more than \$15 million by her death in July 1930. Henry, meanwhile, was in a bind: New York state law would not permit divorce on grounds other than adultery, and he could not prove adultery against a woman confined to an asylum. Never deterred by restrictive laws, Flagler switched his legal residence to Florida and applied his influence with state legislators. On April 9, 1901, a special law was enacted permitting divorce on grounds of incurable insanity—a law known as the Flagler divorce law. Within two weeks, Flagler married Mary Lily Kenan. The wedding was performed in high style, Flagler bringing friends down from New York in a private railroad car, but Rockefeller did not attend. He must have felt

Flagler was making a spectacle of himself, especially when he was named correspondent in a divorce suit in Syracuse, New York, one month after his marriage. That the Rockefellers had drifted away from Flagler is suggested by a note Cettie wrote her son in August 1900. “We have the announcement of Mr. Flagler’s marriage to a Miss Kenan, of N. Carolina. She is thirty-six, he, seventy-two.”<sup>45</sup> Cettie expresses no pleasure at the marriage, but only cites, with implicit disapproval, the difference in age. Mary Kenan was actually thirty-three at the time.

## The Dauphin

When he entered college in 1893, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., seemed like the prototype of the poor little rich boy, stuck with an overdeveloped conscience and the badge of being the son of one of the world's wealthiest men. Having had a rather solitary childhood in mansions and on estates, he did not have the social ease of other young men of his age and class. Desperately eager to please his parents, he had exhausted himself in trying to scrub sin from his soul.

Much like his father, Junior couldn't make decisions lightly and fretted over his choice of a college. Set to go to Yale, he passed its preliminary entrance exam and had even selected a room when reports reached him from one minister that a fast set dominated the Yale social scene. Others might have found this decidedly in Yale's favor, but Junior decided to look elsewhere and finally selected Brown because three close friends had chosen to attend it. As he told Dr. William Rainey Harper, whom he consulted, in a tone of excruciating humility, about the choice of schools, "Being naturally somewhat retiring (I beg you to pardon personal references), I do not make friends readily, and some of those interested in my welfare fear if I go to Yale in a class wholly strange to me, I will be 'lost in the crowd' so to speak and remain much by myself, instead of getting the social contact I so greatly need."<sup>1</sup> Junior tended to discuss himself clinically, as if he were a laboratory specimen wriggling under glass, his parents, especially his mother, having taught him to probe his behavior with such antiseptic detachment.

Junior entered Brown in September 1893, just as the industrial slump worsened, and his college years unfolded against a turbulent backdrop of radical rhetoric and labor unrest, much of it directed against his father. Founded in the eighteenth century, Brown was the oldest and best-endowed Baptist college, and its president, E. Benjamin Andrews, was a Baptist clergyman—cum—political economist. In those days, college presidents were often ordained ministers who had a profound impact on the student body in classroom and chapel alike. During the Civil War, Andrews had lost an eye in the Petersburg siege, and his glass eye endowed him with a visionary gaze. Junior admired his spiritual zeal and keen intelligence and was especially struck one day when Andrews told him, "Rockefeller, never be afraid to stand up for a position when you know you are right."<sup>2</sup>

Six months before Junior arrived at Brown, Andrews had composed a flattering letter to Henry Demarest Lloyd about *Wealth Against Commonwealth*. "It is decidedly in my line," he assured him, "although you are more radical than I am at some points."<sup>3</sup> Not averse to trusts, Andrews wanted to regulate them for the public good and distribute their benefits more equitably. When Junior took a course with him in practical ethics, Andrews gave him a finer appreciation for employer responsibility in big business. In one undergraduate essay, Junior already evinced the proclivity for corporate reform that would mark his adult life: "Who can look about upon the millions of laborers whose life is a treadmill, a continuous round of work to which they are driven by dire necessity . . . without being fired with a desire to revolutionize their condition by adopting the profit-sharing system?"<sup>4</sup> However idolized by students, Andrews was roundly condemned by many alumni when he supported William Jennings Bryan's presidential bid in 1896 and endorsed free coinage of silver, an episode that cost him his job. Henry Demarest Lloyd spied Rockefeller's fine hand in the ouster, telling a friend, "One of the reasons which actuated the trustees in crowding [Andrews] out was the statement that as long as he remained, Mr. Rockefeller would never give the university any money."<sup>5</sup>

The bashful young Rockefeller, quartered in Slater Hall, was much shorter than his father but broad chested and square shouldered. Both his mother and Grandma Spelman exhorted him to be vigilant against dormitory vice. In his first letter home, he reassured them by saying that he had already attended a prayer meeting, adding, "Grandmother will be interested to know that there are three colored men in the class."<sup>6</sup> He also had begun teaching a Sunday-school class at a Baptist church in Providence, and his relieved father wrote him that "the moral and religious tone seem of the best."<sup>7</sup> During his busy freshman year, Junior joined the glee club, the mandolin club, and a string quartet with some young ladies. As he ventured timidly beyond the self-contained world of his youth, he could not just enjoy spontaneous pleasure and had to justify it in terms of self-improvement. When he joined a college operetta, he wrote his mother, "Then too appearing on the platform before people as I would do and have done in the Glee Club gives me confidence in myself, and helps me to become easy in public which I always need."<sup>8</sup>



*Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., around the time they were married. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

Doggedly earnest, tenacious in his studies, Junior was a good enough student to make Phi Beta Kappa, and he especially enjoyed economics and sociology. Unlike his father, however, his self-confidence was a fragile bloom, easily crushed. “If a person scolded me,” he said, “I shut up like a clam. I wasn’t much of a scholar, but I always tried hard and I didn’t like to be reproached.”<sup>9</sup> Everybody noticed his Baptist austerity: He did not drink, smoke, play cards, go to the theater, or even read Sunday papers. True to his temperance pledge, he plied students with crackers and hot chocolate when they came to his room, but he terribly upset Grandma Spelman when he let boys smoke there.

Junior’s frugality was the stuff of campus legend, and everybody had a favorite anecdote: how he soaked apart two two-cent stamps that got stuck together or how he pressed his own trousers, sewed his own buttons, and mended his own dish towels. Following his father’s example, he recorded every expense in his little book—sometimes to snickers from classmates—and even recorded bouquets of flowers bought for dates. Whether putting money in the plate at church or buying a pencil from a beggar, he jotted down everything to the last decimal. “He told me that his father allowed him all the money he wanted,” said a friend, “but insisted on an exact account of every penny.”<sup>10</sup> Another classmate recalled, “It used to be a great joke, particularly among the girls in Providence, and they used to laugh a good deal about being treated to a soda by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and having him enter it into his book as he sat at the soda fountain.”<sup>11</sup>

Despite his shy formality, Junior was generally popular at Brown or, at least, highly respected. Some students were bound to see him as a hopeless prig, and one day as he was crossing the campus, one heckled him, “Here comes Johnny Rock, reeking with virtue and without one redeeming vice!”<sup>12</sup> For the most part, however, he became more sociable and self-assured and slowly weaned himself from the airless morality of his upbringing. He was tolerant by nature, telling Grandma Spelman in one letter, “One sees all sorts and conditions of men here viewing life, duty, pleasure and the hereafter, so differently. My ideas and opinions change I find in many ways. I would stickle less for the letter of the law, now, more for the spirit.”<sup>13</sup> Haltingly, he forged an identity separate from those of his forebears. He was more ecumenical, more open to the outside world, more considerate of alternate views. As president of his junior class, he got his classmates to desist from drinking alcohol at the class supper, which had traditionally been a drunken debauch. And when his class took its annual stag cruise to Newport, Junior agreed to keep kegs of beer on hand but tried to avert heavy indulgence. His parents were ecstatic. “Dear John,” his mother wrote, “you have been our pride and comfort from the day of your birth but at no time have we been more grateful for such a son as at the present moment—Tears of joy filled dear father’s eyes when your letter was read and he wants me to tell you how proud and happy it made him.”<sup>14</sup>

At Brown, Junior learned to savor such illicit pleasures as theater and dancing, small triumphs for a Baptist boy bred with such unrelenting morality. After his sophomore year, he took a bicycle trip through England with Everett Colby, a classmate whose father was a railroad builder. (John D. had invested in his ventures.) In London, Junior saw his first plays: *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Charley’s Aunt*, and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. As if admitting to a furtive visit to a brothel, he told his mother: “I shouldn’t have done it at home on account of the example but thought it not harmful in London, where I knew no one and had an opportunity of seeing several of Shakespeare’s plays.”<sup>15</sup> Junior made it through his freshman year without dancing, then succumbed to this vice sophomore year by dancing all evening at a party thrown at the home of a university trustee. To practice for the event, he whirled his friend Lefferts Dashiell around his dormitory room. The whole evening, as he danced with a Miss Foster, he feared that he would crash to the floor. Holding on for dear life, he had the distinct impression that Miss Foster was propping him up. That evening, he met the vivacious Abby Aldrich, daughter of Rhode Island senator Nelson Aldrich, but could not muster the courage to dance with her. The love of dancing lasted, and by the time he graduated Junior indulged this sinful passion two or three times a week.

Cettie Rockefeller never entirely relaxed her militance about this pastime. During his senior year, Junior wanted to repay his classmates for their kindness to him and asked his parents to host a dance in Providence. Striking a compromise, John and Cettie agreed to have a musical evening of Mendelssohn, Bach, Chopin, and Liszt, followed by informal dancing. When they mailed out the invitations, the infernal word *dancing* appeared in small, almost apologetic lettering in the lower left-hand corner of the card. Yet when the evening arrived, Cettie developed a headache and took refuge

in her hotel room. As a result, Senior, resplendent in tails and white gloves, stood alone on the receiving line, cordially greeting three hundred guests. Cettie's behavior on this and other occasions supports the thesis that she retreated to her bed as an escape from threatening realities.

Before Brown, Junior had known little about sports: The Rockefellers were more interested in exercise, which stressed health, than in sports, which stressed pleasure. When he became a manager of the football team his senior year, Junior endured endless ribbing when he referred to the center as "the middle." He was so much his thrifty father's son that when one husky lineman asked for new shoestrings, Junior retorted, "What did you do with the pair I gave you last week?"<sup>16</sup> Because of his son's position, Senior, who had never been to a football game, attended one in New York between Brown and the Carlisle Indians. He started out in the stands, calmly surveying the spectacle, then grew so excited that he rushed down to the field in his tall silk hat and began to race up and down the sidelines with the coaches. The captain of the team assigned a lineman to explain the fine points of the game to him, and with his exceptional mind for tactical maneuvers John D. Rockefeller gave the impression that he had mastered the game, with all its subtleties, within five minutes.

Junior needed somebody who would release him from the suffocating prudery of his upbringing, and that liberating figure was Abby Aldrich. She was a confident girl who did not need his money and was not awed by his name. Something about the socially maladroit Junior appealed to the maternal instincts of this sophisticated young lady with the gracious manners and erect carriage of a senator's daughter. One of eight children, she had often hosted her father's Washington receptions and had met everyone from General Ambrose Burnside to William McKinley to Custer's widow. Tall, voluptuous, and somewhat matronly in appearance, she was handsome rather than pretty. She liked to wear broad-brimmed, eccentric hats, a symbol of her outgoing personality. She seemed to give Junior the faith in himself that his parents couldn't foster. As he said of their meeting sophomore year, "She treated me as if I had all the savoir faire in the world and her confidence did me a lot of good."<sup>17</sup> Through Abby, Junior made a startling discovery that had been artfully concealed from him: Life could be fun.

Abby came from old New England stock on her mother's side and was descended from Elder William Brewster, a passenger on the *Mayflower*. Though the son of a mill hand, Senator Aldrich claimed Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island colony, as an ancestor. Tall and virile, with thick mustache and side-whiskers, the unflappable Senator Aldrich had escaped from poverty, but he never lost his dread of it. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1881 and held that seat for the next thirty years, winding up as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. A confirmed protectionist and devoted servant of the trusts, he used public office to feather his own nest. Bolstered by a \$5 million loan from the American Sugar Refining Company—the so-called sugar trust—he invested in four Providence street-railway companies while also representing the New Haven Railroad. Senator Aldrich turned public service into such a lucrative racket that he amassed \$16 million by his death. As if he were a mogul, not a public servant, he built a 99-room château at Warwick Neck on Narragansett Bay and sailed a 200-foot yacht, equipped with 8 staterooms and a crew of 27. He bore a host of pejoratives, most notably those conferred by Lincoln Steffens, who referred to him in *McClure's Magazine* as the "political boss of the United States, the power behind the throne, the general manager of the U.S."<sup>18</sup> Too entrenched to be ruffled by such journalistic pinpricks, Senator Aldrich stuck by his policy of "Deny nothing, explain nothing."<sup>19</sup>

Abby grew up in a lively atmosphere of balls, parties, and plays. Opposed to religious severity, Aldrich spoiled his children with presents and seldom disciplined them. At the Aldrich mansion at 110 Benevolent Street in Providence, the senator liked to play bridge or even poker with Abby. (In later years, Junior would not join the game but sat quietly with a book, unable to break that taboo.) A self-taught aesthete with a highly cultivated taste for books and art, the senator had an excellent library of antique books, frequented auctions for furniture, rugs, and art, and so thoroughly schooled Abby in European museums that she knew their paintings by heart. As a teenager, she dipped into the novels of Dickens, Trollope, Hawthorne, Jane Austen, and George Eliot.

Junior's romance with Abby played itself out amid a whirl of college dances, football games, tandem-bike rides, and canoe trips, as well as church services on Sundays. When they strolled along, Junior carried graham crackers in his pocket, and Abby freely reached in and helped herself. As Junior said, "She was so gay and young and so in love with everything."<sup>20</sup> By the spring of junior year, Junior was a regular visitor at Benevolent Street. One Sunday, he mentioned in passing to the senator his summer plans to cruise the Norwegian fjords with his sister Alta. The senator must have warmed to the idea of Abby marrying young Rockefeller, for a few weeks later he bought tickets for himself, his wife, and two daughters on the same ship, and they dined together during the cruise. Back in Providence in the fall, Junior saw Abby so frequently that people began to speculate when they would marry. But Junior approached the matter with the same soul-searching and nervous energy that he brought to every major decision, and he vacillated through four years of tortured introspection. It was perhaps apparent to everybody in Providence except him that he would someday marry Abby.

Certainly the size of his projected inheritance made the choice of wife a momentous decision. Junior idealized his father, and yet he had to deal with a mounting drumbeat of criticism against him. Abby seemed tailor-made to help him with this predicament, for they were both the children of public pariahs. Junior must have admired her ability to be the loyal daughter of a controversial senator while clinging to her own liberal beliefs. She lived in a way that betrayed neither her father nor herself and thereby pointed a path for Junior.

As he approached graduation, Junior still engaged in hero worship of Senior. His glorified image of his father was inextricably bound up with his lowly image of himself. On his son's twenty-first birthday, Senior sent him twenty-one dollars, along with a tender note. "We are grateful beyond measure for your promise and for the confidence your life inspires in us, not only, but in all your friends and acquaintances and this is of more value than all earthly possessions." To this, Junior replied, "People talk about sons being better than their fathers, but if I can be half as generous, half as unselfish, half as kindly affectionate to my fellow men as you have been, I shall not feel that my life has been in vain."<sup>21</sup> As Junior contemplated the duties that awaited him after college, the prospect only magnified his sense of inadequacy. Shortly before graduation, he was invited to join the board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. When he asked his father's advice, Junior made clear that "my first duty as well as my pleasure after this year would be to help you in whatever capacity or position you might see fit."<sup>22</sup> He never wavered in this decision to subordinate his life to his father's.

As graduation neared, Junior grew wistful about his years at Brown and the relaxed camaraderie it had allowed him. He would shortly emerge into the spotlight of public attention, which would burn brightly for the rest of his life. As he thought of following in his father's footsteps, his courage failed him, and he told his mother soon after graduation, "I feel but little confidence in my ability to fill the position which is before me, but know that I am not

afraid to work or do whatever is required of me, and with God's help I will do my best.”<sup>23</sup> “The future is glowing with possibilities of service for God and man,” Cettie wrote back. “May the Holy Spirit take possession of your entire being, and guide you into all truth.”<sup>24</sup> By making him view life so loftily, by encouraging him to see himself as a valiant Christian soldier, she might have inadvertently exacerbated his anxieties. This transcendent perspective seemed to allow little room for normal human failure. Junior's father, meanwhile, remained inscrutably silent about Junior's forthcoming role at 26 Broadway, which could only have deepened his dread of the unknown.

When John D. Rockefeller, Jr., started work on October 1, 1897, he was entering 26 Broadway not long after Senior had left it. He was installed at an oak rolltop desk on the austere and slightly shabby ninth floor, in an office suite dedicated to his father's outside investments and philanthropies. He worked cheek by jowl with Frederick T. Gates, George Rogers, and a telegrapher, Mrs. Tuttle, who had the dubious honor of opening Rockefeller's crank mail—and “there was a great deal of it,” said Junior.<sup>25</sup> Though he worked in the Standard Oil building, Junior was uninvolved in its management, and he belonged instead to the incipient Rockefeller family office. If his \$6,000 annual salary, paid by father, seemed generous, it was a disguised allowance that kept Junior in a state of childlike dependence.

Junior turned aside suggestions that he go to law school or treat himself to an around-the-world trip. “I felt that I had no time for either, that if I was going to learn to help Father in the care of his affairs, the sooner my apprenticeship under his guidance began, the better.”<sup>26</sup> Junior was again living at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street and had ample opportunity to sound him out, yet the taciturn Senior provided no clues about what he expected of his son, leaving him in limbo. “Father never said a word to me about what I was to do in the office before I began work there, nor has he ever since. Moreover, he did not say anything on the subject to anyone else in the office, so far as I have ever learned. Apparently he intended that I should make my own way.”<sup>27</sup> Junior never admitted to being bothered by this tight-lipped approach. Like God, father's ways were mysterious but, it was always assumed, benevolent in the end. As a stout believer in self-reliance, Senior probably wanted to test his son's aptitude for business and let him find his own way without coaching.

Rockefeller had numerous channels of intelligence, and Junior marveled at his knowledge of everything that went on at 26 Broadway. At a certain point during dinner, Rockefeller would apologize to guests for changing the subject and query Junior about his day's work, displaying seeming omniscience about affairs downtown. Rockefeller's gentle, probing questions were the closest Junior came to a business education from him. Father and son disagreed more than they publicly acknowledged, and Rockefeller was once heard to grumble, “You know, boys go to college and come back knowing everything about business and everything else.”<sup>28</sup>

At work, Junior had no formal place in the hierarchy and had to guess at his powers. He performed some menial tasks, such as filling inkwells. Never given his father's power of attorney, he began to sign papers for him, unsure whether father would object; when he did not, Junior took this for a sign of approval and continued the practice. The first major task that Senior assigned his son was a ghoulish one: to supervise the design and transport of a soaring granite obelisk for the family burial plot in Cleveland, a shaft so huge it took up two freight cars. The young Brown graduate also picked out wallpaper for the family houses, sold worn-out buckboards and carriages, and managed Rockefeller real estate in Cleveland. One observer called it an “anxious and troubled” time for Junior, who felt that his performance was wanting, that he was not earning his keep, and that he was unequal to his appointed destiny.<sup>29</sup>

If Junior did not feel totally adrift in these years, the credit must go to Frederick T. Gates, who gave him the guidance he sorely missed from his father. Together, they toured iron ranges in Minnesota and timberlands in the Pacific Northwest, often playing violins together in their private railroad car. Gates invited Junior to audit business meetings, and he responded with everlasting gratitude. Under Gates's tutelage, Junior began to assume his rightful place in the Rockefeller firmament and joined the University of Chicago board just three months after starting work. While still in his twenties, he became a director of U.S. Steel, National City Bank, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, and, of course, Standard Oil.

Bowed by a sense of premature failure, Junior was desperate to succeed at *something* and decided to try his hand at the stock market. Since his father had professed a puritan contempt for Wall Street, Junior was surprised to learn that he had played the market for years and traded actively. To teach them the art of investing, Rockefeller allowed Junior and his sister Alta to borrow from him at 6 percent and invest in equities. During his maiden year at 26 Broadway, Junior made several thousand dollars in the market and, like all giddy novices, began to take more risks and place ever-larger bets.

Meanwhile, a Wall Street operator named David Lamar—later styled the Wolf of Wall Street—began to cultivate George Rogers, Senior's private secretary. In the fall of 1899, Rogers served as the gullible go-between for a scam. Transmitting information from Lamar, Rogers informed Junior that James R. Keene, a celebrated stock trader, had taken a big position in U.S. Leather and suggested that Junior join the buying. Led to believe that he was acting in concert with Keene, Junior took a gigantic stake in the stock. Upon learning that George Rogers was meeting secretly with Lamar at lunchtime, he had a queasy intuition of foul play. Junior summoned Lamar to his office, and he arrived with a flushed, agitated air. As Junior recalled, “One look at him was enough. I knew I had been sold out.”<sup>30</sup> It turned out Keene knew nothing of the affair and that Lamar was liquidating leather stock as fast as Junior bid it up. The unthinkable had happened: The meek Junior had dropped nearly a million dollars—equal to more than \$17 million today—of father's money in the market. He knew the situation was unforgivable: He had never asked to meet Keene, had done no research, and had thrown away a fortune on a wild tip.

One can only guess Junior's emotional turmoil when he broke this astonishing news to father, a harrowing meeting that was forever seared into his memory. “Never shall I forget my shame and humiliation as I went up to report the affair to Father. I hadn't the money to meet the loss; there was nothing else to do.”<sup>31</sup> Senior listened quietly and conducted a calm but thorough inquiry, investigating every detail of the transaction—all without a syllable of reproach. At the end, he simply said, “All right, I'll take care of it, John.”<sup>32</sup> Junior waited for some criticism, some outburst, some paternal homily about future behavior. But nothing further was said. It was a vintage Rockefeller performance: The true lesson lay in what he did not say and what he did not do. Rockefeller sensed that his insecure son had castigated himself so unmercifully that bitter reproaches were superfluous. By showing generosity, he enlisted his son's loyalty forever. The incident must have reinforced Junior's innate conservatism, for the one time he had entered into a rash, immoderate scheme he had been severely punished.



Working for months without a break, Junior began to carry a lot of pent-up tension. To purge this nervous energy, he went after work to the West Fifty-fifth Street stable, where his father's horses exercised in bad weather, and furiously chopped firewood from twenty-foot logs. Over lunch one day with Henry E. Cooper, a former Brown classmate, Junior brooded about his own inadequacy. Startled by the personality change, Cooper followed up with a letter of friendly advice. "You are altogether too grumpy, too morose and gloomy, John. . . . I truly think it would do you good, for instance, to take up smoking an occasional cigarette, or something of that sort. I am not joking. Just try being a shade more reckless or careless as to whether or not you reach perfection within five years, and see if you don't find more happiness."<sup>33</sup> Pathetically eager to please, Junior noted in his ledger a few days later, "pack of cigarettes— 10 cents." It was the last time he ever smoked.

Trapped on a treadmill of work, duty, and prayer, Junior found it hard to squeeze in time for Abby Aldrich. Sometimes on weekends, he took the train to Providence after work, dined with her, then grabbed the midnight train back to New York. In Manhattan, Junior often attended dances and parties with Alta, who was also living at home. She developed such an excessive attachment to her brother that she treated Abby as a rival and tried to undermine her. Alta's adamant opposition could only have prolonged Junior's doubts about marrying Abby.

Senior saw that his son could not carry his load lightly and begged him to relax more. Cettie, however, insistently pushed him forward in his quest for moral perfection. Two days after he began at 26 Broadway, she prodded him to join the Bible class at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, telling him to be "mighty in the Scriptures. The most powerful Christians are Bible Christians."<sup>34</sup> Sometimes she made it seem that humanity's salvation hinged upon his personal purity. In an astonishing letter of July 23, 1899, Cettie likened her husband to God and Junior to the Christ child. "You can never forget that you are a prince, the Son of the King of kings, and so you can never do what will dishonor your Father or be disloyal to the King."<sup>35</sup> Cettie's tone is especially revealing amid the rising attacks against Standard Oil. Much like her husband, she had fashioned an alternate reality in which, instead of being a corporate villain, he was converted into an American saint. There were no shades of gray permitted in the Rockefeller household.

Exhausted by work and beset by self-doubt, Junior pondered whether to marry Abby Aldrich and prayed daily for divine guidance for four years. "I always had a dread of marrying someone and finding out later that I loved someone else more. I knew a great many girls and I had so little confidence in my own judgment."<sup>36</sup> Things looked promising in April 1900, when Junior joined Senator Aldrich and Abby on a journey to Cuba aboard President McKinley's yacht, the *Dolphin*, a senatorial trip to study conditions there following the Spanish-American War. Still, Junior hesitated, unable to suppress his doubts. In the stuffy Rockefeller household, both parents and son balked at bringing up the subject. Finally, his sister Edith, acting as intermediary, told her brother that their parents were worried about him and felt that they were being kept in the dark, at last opening the forbidden subject to discussion.

In February 1901, Junior and Abby submitted to a six-month separation as a trial of their affections. After the time had expired, Junior was strolling by the lake at Forest Hill with Cettie when he summoned up the strength to ask her opinion of Abby Aldrich. Her hearty, laughing response was categorical. "Of course you love Miss Aldrich. Why don't you go at once and tell her so?"<sup>37</sup> Junior needed that maternal validation, that direct push. Soon afterward at West Fifty-fourth Street, he heard God's voice in the wee hours, blessing his choice of Abby. "After many years of doubt and uncertainty, great longing and hope, there came a supreme peace of calm."<sup>38</sup> Before dawn, he dashed off a letter to Abby, asking if he could visit her. Stopping off to see Senator Aldrich on his yacht in Newport, he asked for his daughter's hand and began to lay out his salary and financial prospects. Doubtless with some amusement, the senator brushed aside all money concerns and delivered the predictable bromide, "I am only interested in what will make my daughter happy."<sup>39</sup> An ecstatic Junior went to the Aldrich summer estate at Narragansett Bay and proposed to Abby by moonlight. "I can't believe that it is really true that all this sacred joy . . . is mine. . . . For so long, long a time it has been the one thing in life above all others that I have yearned for," Junior wrote his mother.<sup>40</sup> Abby then had six suitors, leading Junior to observe retrospectively, "I kept wondering why she ever consented to marry a man like me."<sup>41</sup> But she never regretted her decision. As she wrote to a cousin many years later, "Don't you think him quite the dearest man that ever was?"<sup>42</sup>

When the engagement was announced in August 1901, the press had a field day. "Croesus Captured," trumpeted one paper.<sup>43</sup> Many articles commented upon the odd match of the fun-loving Aldriches and the dour Rockefellers. As one paper said, "Young Mr. Rockefeller . . . is a Sunday-school teacher, and doesn't believe in cards, dancing or décolleté gowns, and Miss Abbie [*sic*] has never been able to make up her mind that she can renounce these things."<sup>44</sup> Although Senator Aldrich and Senior came in for their usual rough treatment, Abby and Junior were applauded for their more progressive views.

The extravagant wedding at Warwick on October 9, 1901, reflected the cosmopolitan style of Senator Aldrich, who made scant concessions to his Baptist in-laws. By chartered steamer and private railway car, he transported a huge portion of the American plutocracy to the affair, which glittered with Goulds and Whitneys, McCormicks and Havemeyers. The marriage was a satirical bonanza for muckrakers. As David Graham Phillips darkly interpreted the union, "the chief exploiter of the American people is closely allied by marriage with the chief schemer in the service of their exploiters."<sup>45</sup>

The affair began with a small private wedding, limited to thirty-five guests and presided over by the Reverend J. G. Colby, who had married John and Cettie thirty-seven years before. Then a thousand people trooped gaily through a vast reception in the ballroom. Senator Aldrich refused to truckle to the temperance views of his in-laws and personally selected an array of vintage wines. This was too much for Cettie, who developed chills, asthma, and diarrhea the night before the wedding and took to her bed for spiritual safety, skipping the ceremony the next day—an exact replica of her performance at Junior's senior-year dance at Brown. Once the stylish guests had fled, Junior and Abby spent a glorious month in seclusion at the house Senior had purchased in the Pocantico Hills of Westchester.

For the first months of married life, the newlyweds lived with John and Cettie at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street then crossed the street to a rented four-story mansion at number 13. Junior tried, with some trepidation, to initiate his free-spirited wife into the cramped, clerical ways of the Rockefellers, suggesting she might like to keep a weekly expense account. "I won't," Abby said bluntly, ending the matter forever. To a family muzzled by taboos, she brought a refreshing candor. When a visitor asked her, "Whatever are you going to do with this great big empty house, Abby?" she looked at him in

astonishment. “Why, we shall fill it up with children!”<sup>46</sup>



*The young Frederick T. Gates. (Courtesy of the University of Chicago Library)*

*The Standard Oil Crowd*

Outwardly at least, Frederick T. Gates was the antithesis of his famous patron, as florid and melodramatic as Rockefeller was cool and withdrawn. With close-set eyes that looked slightly crossed, head tilted to one side with a sardonic smile, the philanthropic chief often looked as if he was skeptically sizing up the world. A tall, well-built man with a restless, energetic air, he could talk with gusto for hours at a stretch, as if delivering a fiery sermon or Shakespearean soliloquy. Capable of tremendous flashes of wrath or indignation, he was colorful in both action and speech. When he pontificated, he threw his feet up on the desk, jabbing his finger through swirling cigar smoke, or jumped up from his seat, hair tousled, tie askew, to pace the floor with lawyerly deliberation. One colleague said he had “a voice that thundered out of Sinai” and he knew no middle ground in advocating a cause.<sup>1</sup> In a prose self-portrait, Gates described himself as “eager, impetuous, insistent, and withal exacting and irritable.”<sup>2</sup>

Like Rockefeller himself, Gates yoked together two separate selves—one shrewd and worldly, the other noble and high-flown. Born in upstate New York in 1853, not far from the Susquehanna River that flowed through Rockefeller’s boyhood, Gates was the son of a high-minded, impecunious Baptist minister, who had eked out a meager existence in small, impoverished towns. As a boy, Gates rebelled against the Puritan heritage that viewed earthly life as a melancholy sojourn. In his memoirs, he recalled that the “singing was pleasing, but otherwise Sunday school was a bore, as was church. I remember well my weekly relief when it was over and we could go home for dinner.”<sup>3</sup> Of his twice-daily prayers, he said, “If it taught anything, it taught us thus early that prayer is a mere empty form of words.”<sup>4</sup> The wonder was that the boy grew up to be a preacher.

When Gates was a teenager, his father went to Kansas for the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which only aggravated the family’s financial woes. Gates had to quit school at fifteen to help pay off their debt. For several years, he taught school and clerked in a dry-goods store and a bank, storing up valuable business experience. After briefly attending Highland University in Kansas, he entered the University of Rochester in 1875, where his interest in religion was rekindled. A good Baptist, he would not dance, play cards, or frequent the theater. Two years later, he entered the Rochester Theological Seminary, then under the sway of its president, Dr. Augustus H. Strong. Gates was briefly entranced by Strong’s theological system. “His instruction formed the foundation of our seminary course, and at that time it was almost wholly imaginary” was his later mordant judgment.<sup>5</sup> Gates was drawn to the ministry, not as a retreat into an otherworldly life so much as a liberation from poverty and academic drudgery.

After graduating from the seminary in 1880, Gates was assigned his first pastorate in Minnesota. When his young bride, Lucia Fowler Perkins, dropped dead from a massive internal hemorrhage after sixteen months of marriage, the novice pastor not only suffered an erosion of faith but began to question the competence of American doctors—a skepticism that later had far-reaching ramifications for Rockefeller’s philanthropies. A period photo shows a handsome young man with a long, lean face, a handlebar mustache, and a somewhat wistful air. After launching into “a zealous campaign to convert sinners,” Gates soon lightened up, scrapping much of the scholastic baggage he had picked up in the seminary. To succeed as a pastor, he decided that he had to study the economic, intellectual, and social forces of his time. A biblical modernist, he employed science, history, and reason to explicate sacred texts. He also worked to retire the church’s debt and wrote essays for the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

After eight years in Minnesota, Gates, thin and emaciated, seemed destined for a career as threadbare as his father’s. Then one day in 1888, heaven sent relief in the shape of a rich man, George A. Pillsbury, a founder of the flour fortune, the state’s wealthiest Baptist, and then the mayor of Minneapolis. He told Gates in confidence that he suffered from an incurable disease and needed advice about making a \$200,000 bequest to a local Baptist academy. Gates advised Pillsbury to start out by giving the academy \$50,000, contingent on the Baptists raising an equal sum—what we would today call a matching grant—then leave the remaining \$150,000 in his will. Gates was subsequently drafted to drum up the \$50,000, which he did so superlatively well that he threw up the ministry for good and became executive secretary of the new American Baptist Education Society. His contact with Rockefeller and involvement in the University of Chicago followed soon thereafter.

Those Baptists who thought they had slipped an advocate into Rockefeller’s inner sanctum were grievously disappointed. At first, Rockefeller still gave disproportionately to Baptist causes, as missionaries from every continent descended upon Gates’s office in droves. But despite his fondness for Baptist clergy, Rockefeller was also exposed to many greedy, calculating pastors and began to retreat from the sectarian spirit that had guided his giving. As Gates said, “I think his greatest trouble was with ministers because he had a natural liking for them and they were always trying to get money out of him.”<sup>6</sup> By 1895, Rockefeller told Gates that he wanted to give to the five main Protestant denominations. This delighted the lapsed minister, who had grown so dismayed by the Baptist church in his town of Montclair, New Jersey, that he had switched to the local Congregational church. He was increasingly convinced “that Christ neither founded nor intended to found the Baptist Church, nor any church.”<sup>7</sup>

For someone like Gates, torn between heaven and earth, serving as Rockefeller’s chief philanthropic adviser was an ideal synthesis. When they started working together in 1891, Rockefeller was fifty-two and Gates thirty-eight. In spite of his uncommon intelligence, Gates often felt self-conscious under Rockefeller’s icy scrutiny. As he grew more comfortable in his presence, he developed a powerful loyalty to him. “I will do my best to serve in any business capacity,” Gates humbly told him early on, “but I beg you not to place any confidence in me (I have little in myself) and to begin with matters in which I could not possibly do much harm.” He ended by saying, “No one but my father has been so kind to me.”<sup>8</sup> Having long chafed at a minister’s salary, Gates could now indulge his ripest fantasies of wealth. Where his father had made less than \$400 a year, Gates started with Rockefeller at \$4,000 a year, his salary rising to \$32,000 by 1902.

What Gates gave to his boss was no less vital. Rockefeller desperately needed intelligent assistance in donating his money at a time when he could not draw on a profession of philanthropic experts. Painstakingly thorough, Gates combined moral passion with great intellect. He spent his evenings bent over tomes of medicine, economics, history, and sociology, trying to improve himself and find clues on how best to govern philanthropy. Skeptical by nature, Gates saw a world crawling with quacks and frauds, and he enjoyed grilling people with trenchant questions to test their sincerity. Outspoken, uncompromising, he never hesitated to speak his piece to Rockefeller and was a peerless troubleshooter.

Gates believed implicitly in Rockefeller's goodness and wisdom. "If he were placed in a group of say twenty of the greatest men of affairs of today," he once remarked in a speech, "before these giants had been with him for long, the most self-confident, self-assertive of them would be coming to him in private for his counsel."<sup>9</sup> Having known many rich people, Gates was impressed that Rockefeller had no private yachts or railroad cars. He was always quick to defend Rockefeller, sometimes wittily. When a man complained to him that Rockefeller in his Cleveland years cared only for money, Gates retorted, "In heaven's name, what else could he do in that city!"<sup>10</sup> In a typical utterance, Gates said, "The Rockefellers have done incomparably more to permanently enrich the commonwealth than any other family since the founding of the republic."<sup>11</sup>

Gates did not consider Rockefeller totally innocent in business, but he believed that whatever reprehensible deeds he had committed had simply reflected the business morals of his time. Yet he had no firsthand knowledge of the matter, for while he supervised Rockefeller's philanthropic and outside business investments, he was always excluded from anything pertaining to Standard Oil. As Junior said, "The oil companies didn't like him and consequently I was the person who was the liaison."<sup>12</sup> Since Gates entered the scene just as Rockefeller was retiring and was sequestered from his single largest holding, he had the luxury of believing in Rockefeller's innocence by assuming that he had behaved as well at Standard Oil as in his subsequent ventures.

Significantly, Rockefeller surrounded himself in the early 1890s with brand-new men who could defend his past with total sincerity—and total ignorance. By recruiting subordinates who had never worked at Standard Oil, he had a chance for a fresh start, where he could make his behavior, for the first time, as ethical as his rhetoric. Led by Gates, these subordinates guaranteed that the Rockefeller millions were donated or invested scrupulously. Once he had an ex-pastor on the payroll, Rockefeller was necessarily kept on his best behavior, locked into a new moral regimen. Junior's presence at 26 Broadway further ensured that father would behave more ethically than in the past.

As at Standard Oil, Rockefeller encouraged independence, and once he had carefully trained his philanthropic lieutenants, he gave them a wide berth. Gates found his boss patient, kind, and considerate, but realized that Rockefeller's genial midwestern manner and humor were something of a cover. "His usual attitude towards all men was one of deep reserve, concealed beneath commonplaces and humorous anecdotes. He had the art with friends and guests of chatting freely, of calling out others, but of revealing little or nothing of his own innermost thoughts."<sup>13</sup> When Gates went to the oracle for guidance, he sometimes left more mystified than before. As he wrote of Rockefeller, "His deliberation was sometimes extreme; his reluctance to argue and speak out his thoughts fully, his skill in not exposing the slightest surface for attack, his long silences, so that we could not locate even his objections, were sometimes baffling."<sup>14</sup> Rockefeller never offered blame or praise and revealed his opinion of employees only by adding or subtracting to their duties. His psyche was like a set of Chinese boxes: If you penetrated the outer wall, then you faced another wall, then another, ad infinitum.

As Rockefeller moved into retirement, his wealth was accumulating at an astonishing rate. During his tenure at Standard Oil, the trust had usually paid a fixed dividend of 12 percent, reflecting his prudent leadership. With Archbold at the helm, by contrast, the dividends surged, jumping to 31 percent in 1896 and 33 percent in 1897 and 1899. Buoyed by these dividends, the price of Standard Oil shares leaped from 176 in 1896 to a high of 458 three years later. However much Rockefeller deplored this extravagant dividend policy, he was its foremost beneficiary, and it heightened the pressure on him to gear up his philanthropy to handle increasing amounts of money.

With hundreds of appeals pouring in daily from around the world, Rockefeller made Gates promise that he would never forward begging letters to him or reveal his address. While Rockefeller continued to give out hundreds, if not thousands, of individual bequests to needy friends, relatives, and strangers—he sent one upstate cousin a pair of well-worn shoes, another an old suit—he increasingly followed a policy enunciated in an 1889 letter to Gates: "I am more and more disposed to give only through organized institutions."<sup>15</sup> Gates executed this policy of wholesale giving faithfully, dismissing small requests for money with the fatal remark, "This is a retail business."<sup>16</sup>

Sometimes Rockefeller gave Gates glimpses into his inner sadness. One day, Gates remarked to Rockefeller that benevolence was its own reward, that the man who looked for gratitude would die embittered. "His only reply, uttered with deliberation and unwonted emphasis, was, 'DON'T I KNOW THAT?'"<sup>17</sup> Gates saw that while he was always surrounded by people, Rockefeller had few, if any, real friends and was isolated by his wealth. Visiting Rockefeller at a southern hotel around 1910, Gates found him rather lonely and forlorn and suggested he contact some cultivated local men. "Well, Mr. Gates," said Rockefeller, "if you suppose I have not thought about the matter you are mistaken. I have made some experiments. And nearly always the result is the same—along about the ninth hole out comes some proposition, charitable or financial!"<sup>18</sup> Rockefeller experienced more disenchantment with people in charity than in commerce, once telling his son, "I have lent and given people money, and then seen them cross the street so that they would not have to speak to me."<sup>19</sup>

From the time he signed on as chief almoner, Gates knew his life had changed irrevocably. "I now saw myself largely cut off from disinterested friendships and almost of necessity a centre of intrigue and dislike," he wrote in his memoirs.<sup>20</sup> As he watched people scheme and grovel for Rockefeller's fortune, it was hard to preserve his faith in human nature. "If you could be here in this office," he once wrote William Rainey Harper, explaining his own caution, "and see the exhibition of human meanness, and even dishonor, among otherwise respectable men when they come to negotiate with Mr. Rockefeller's wealth, you would appreciate better than you can now how this perhaps unnatural caution has arisen."<sup>21</sup>

A close student of the boss's psychology, Gates was aware of Rockefeller's preferred self-image and played on it effectively. There was a manipulative side to Gates, as shown by a letter he wrote a friend in which he set forth twenty-two fund-raising tips. Tip number six read: "If you find [the prospective donor] big with gift do not rush him too eagerly to the birth. Let him take his time, with gentle management. Make him feel that *he* is *giving* it, not that it is being taken from him with violence." Number seven advised: "Appeal only to the noblest motives. His own mind will suggest to him the lower and selfish ones."<sup>22</sup> One suspects Gates applied some of these pointers to Rockefeller himself, posing all the while as the faithful servant.

Gates had a talent for dressing up proposals to Rockefeller with the right touch of historic drama. He made each gift seem a momentous advance in human civilization and often mimicked Rockefeller's own business rhetoric—talking about educational trusts, for instance—to sell him a program. Gates knew that Rockefeller viewed himself as an instrument of God in business and philanthropy. By striking this note, Gates could always capture his

mentor's attention. Many years later, Gates sent him the following New Year's greeting:

*Certainly no man can survey your marvelous career without feeling that it bears in very high and special degree the marks of a "Plan of God." I remember well how your life has been to yourself a series of great surprises, how vistas altogether unexpected have suddenly opened before your astonished gaze, and now that you have arrived at a point when you can look back over a long course, how often and how deeply must it have impressed itself on your mind that you have been simply an instrument in the hands of the Great Power that is not ourselves. How clear must it now be to you in the retrospect that this Great Unseen Power was guiding you all the time and ever to ends unseen, vaster, more varied, more far reaching than any human wisdom could compass or conceive. If now at the beginning of this new year I may venture to offer you a toast, it would be—John D. Rockefeller, His Life, A Plan of God.<sup>23</sup>*

While Gates would function as a never-ending source of ideas for the philanthropies, it is important to credit Rockefeller's own contribution. The same mind that created the Standard Oil empire was actively engaged in building up his charitable empire. As Gates noted, Rockefeller "came to have hardly less pleasure in the organization of his philanthropy than in the efficiency of his business."<sup>24</sup> In retirement, he actually gave more time to philanthropy than to investments. While Gates often generated ideas, Rockefeller never hesitated to wield his veto power or force Gates to rethink proposals. Gates had to take account of the many things that Rockefeller had ruled off-limits, such as funding social-welfare agencies. He never had infinite freedom to draw up programs and needed to conform to Rockefeller's wishes. His power, if vast, was circumscribed.

Rockefeller developed such a mystique of infallibility that people assumed his touch was no less unerring in his private investments than at Standard Oil. Whenever it was known that he had bought a stock, exultant investors rushed to join him. Sometimes, Rockefeller contributed to his own myth. "It has always been my rule in business to make everything count," he once told an old friend. "To make every cent something. I never go into an enterprise unless I feel sure it is coming out all right."<sup>25</sup>

If he ever set eyes on that windy boast, Frederick T. Gates would have grinned, for he had found Rockefeller's personal finances in a shocking state, run haphazardly without a full-time portfolio manager. The mastermind of Standard Oil had proved to be a passive and easily hoodwinked investor. By 1890, as he banked ten million dollars in annual income, Rockefeller still deferred, with surprising credulity, to advice proffered by supposed friends. He fell particularly under the sway of two fellow congregants from the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, Colgate Hoyt and Charles Colby. Hoyt often dropped by his house in the morning and accompanied him downtown, touting stocks all the while. Rockefeller reposed implicit faith in these two churchgoers, who induced him to pour millions into ruinous investments in a score of companies. Through their exertions, he acquired an investment empire that he knew solely from misleading figures on a statement. What reconciled Rockefeller to this setup was that he took minority stakes and imagined that his partners were investing equivalent amounts.

As members of the executive committee of the Northern Pacific Railroad when Rockefeller was its major stockholder, Colby and Hoyt avidly pushed investments in timber stands of the Pacific Northwest. They planned to build up the town of Everett, Washington, at the juncture where the Northern Pacific would supposedly establish its major terminus on Puget Sound. As the Great Northern Railroad also neared completion, the whole area was convulsed by a speculative mania. Colby and Hoyt erred, however, in one small but costly matter: The Northern Pacific terminal ended up in Tacoma, not Everett. Meanwhile, blindly following their counsel, Rockefeller had added mines, steel mills, paper mills, railroads, and even a nail factory to his holdings.

Rockefeller's unwonted lack of vigilance owed something to his fragile health during the early 1890s, when he was trying to clear his mind of cares. Sensing that some of his outside investments might not be as sound as advertised, he mentioned to Gates one day that if, on his philanthropic excursions, he happened to be near one of these investments, he might want to scout out the premises. While Rockefeller was already impressed by Gates's resourcefulness, he also knew that with Gates he risked less potential embarrassment than with a professional financial analyst who might broadcast his failures on Wall Street.

Soon after Gates moved to New York in 1891, he was about to embark on a tour of Baptist schools in Alabama when Rockefeller asked if he would inspect an iron furnace he had bought there on an old friend's advice; he said he was perplexed why it had fallen into a receiver's hands. When Gates filed his report, it was instantly clear that he was no courtier serving up syrupy lies to soothe his sovereign. The entire operation, Gates said bluntly, had nothing to do with iron but was a thinly veiled attempt to boom local real estate; many Baptist ministers had been tricked into buying nearby land that was supposed to appreciate because of its proximity to the iron operation. Rockefeller hid his amazement and contended breezily that he had taken this "little flyer" to help an old friend's son learn the iron business. By way of comparison, Rockefeller alluded to his lucrative iron business in Wisconsin, then allegedly yielding \$1,000 per day. A few months later, he sent the intrepid Gates to take a look.

Gates traveled to Wisconsin and with quiet tenacity began asking questions. He found exactly the same fraud as that perpetrated in Alabama: The iron-works were being used to pump up local real estate and auction off lots at inflated prices. The supposed profits were pure moonshine: Rockefeller was actually *losing* about \$1,000 per day. To anyone who knew Rockefeller, the situation seemed inconceivable: He had made large investments without independently verifying the numbers sent by his friends.

When he appeared at Forest Hill to relay the bad news, Gates knew that the boss could not dismiss \$600,000 in mortgage bonds as a "little flyer," and Rockefeller was visibly upset. As Gates recounted the meeting:

*He was deeply agitated and, had I not been able to give him the most positive assurances, would have been incredulous. He kept me with him at Forest Hill until he could get the old friend to his side from Wall Street, who had been mainly instrumental in selling him the bonds. This gentleman denied every one of my allegations, but he could only meet my proofs with protestations and tears of rage and apprehension.<sup>26</sup>*

A few days later, the contrite scoundrel—whether Colby or Hoyt is unclear— returned to Rockefeller, confirmed the truth of Gates's allegations, and agreed to have the mortgage-bond covenants rewritten.

Shaken by this duplicity, Rockefeller sent his sleuth to probe his investment in the San Miguel Consolidated Mines high in the Rocky Mountains. The scheme's promoter had entertained many previous investors who had journeyed westward to tour the site. At once, Gates scented trouble when he quizzed a mining engineer in Denver about the San Miguel properties. "What!" the man shouted. "Do you mean to tell me that John D. Rockefeller has invested money in that Damned Swindle!!"<sup>27</sup> When Gates journeyed to Telluride, he learned that the mines were phantoms and that the company had only abandoned claims.

At this point—it was now late 1892—Gates was still operating at one remove from Rockefeller in a nearby office in the Temple Court; after the San Miguel fiasco, Rockefeller moved him into his office at 26 Broadway. He saw that Gates had a flair for business that surpassed anything he had encountered at Standard Oil. In a stunning display of trust, Rockefeller gave him unrestricted access to his files for all investments outside of Standard Oil. As Gates poked around in this fetid swamp, he was appalled by what he found. "I unearthed some twenty of these sick and dying corporations," he recalled, "every one of which showed a balance sheet in red ink."<sup>28</sup>

As Gates sorted through the failed investments, George Rogers joined the chorus of those urging Rockefeller to institute new oversight procedures for his \$23 million investment portfolio, including \$14 million in railroad securities. Emboldened by Gates's findings, Rogers suggested creation of an executive committee. Gates would handle investments and benevolent matters; Gates's Montclair neighbor Starr Murphy would assume legal responsibilities; and Rogers would take care of office matters, each to be paid \$10,000 a year. As Rogers candidly told his chastened boss, "This will seem to you at first as very high but it will be considerable [*sic*] cheaper than being robbed as you have been and even now you are without exact knowledge as to many of the investments in which you have large sums involved."<sup>29</sup> Pointing out the perils of passive investment, he suggested that Rockefeller assign deputies to oversee these companies.

Beyond the shocking misrepresentation of his investments, Rockefeller had another dispiriting discovery in store: Hoyt and Colby had surreptitiously bailed out of the worthless operations and left him holding the bag, often with a majority stake. Even though he terminated relations with this pair, he could not dispose of their sour investments so easily and thought the most prudent course was to buy total control of the companies and turn them around. Holding practically all the stock of thirteen foundering companies, Rockefeller made Gates president of virtually all of them. Overnight, the young minister who had dreaded poverty was running two railroads plus a far-flung group of mines, timber, and manufacturing concerns. Most of these highly speculative investments never panned out.

As if born to rule business empires instead of saving souls, Gates operated with great swagger and panache. While he jettisoned many money-losing enterprises, he developed great affection for the Everett Timber and Investment Company. Touring this terrain each year in a luxurious private railroad car, he bought up for Rockefeller all the forests in sight, a spree that finally netted 50,000 acres in Washington State and another 40,000 on Vancouver Island. Eventually, these timber tracts fetched five or six times their purchase price, compensating Rockefeller for the losses he had sustained in the Pacific Northwest debacle. Gates himself invested in several of the companies he managed for Rockefeller, and in 1902 he cashed in a tidy \$500,000 profit.

In Gates, Rockefeller had found not merely an able investor but a prodigy. In 1917, asked by B. C. Forbes to name the greatest businessman he had ever encountered, Rockefeller startled readers by skipping Flagler and Archbold—not to mention Henry Ford and Andrew Carnegie—and naming Frederick T. Gates. "He combines business skill and philanthropic aptitude to a higher degree than any other man I have ever known," stated Rockefeller.<sup>30</sup> Enough Puritan guilt resided in Gates's soul that he always stressed his charitable work and deprecated his business exploits. When Adolph Ochs, publisher of *The New York Times*, asked for background information about him in 1912, Gates replied modestly, even evasively, "While I have had intimate relation with Mr. Rockefeller's private business, that is, his private and personal investments, my interests are and always have been rather in his benevolent work than in his business."<sup>31</sup> This would have been news to many on Wall Street who had experienced the temper of this hard-driving, cigar-smoking, flamboyant majordomo of the world's largest private fortune.

Even though he stayed in the background, the press soon detected the power held by the eccentric, shaggy-haired Gates. "In appearance Mr. Gates is not the ordinary type of financier," the *New York Daily Tribune* noted. "Everything about him, from the carelessly brushed iron gray hair and cropped moustache to his feet indicate breezy indifference to what others may think about him."<sup>32</sup> Investment houses trifled with him at their peril, for Gates oversaw a securities portfolio of unprecedented size for a private individual. At a time of thin capital markets, he needed to scrounge to find gilt-edged securities to absorb the Rockefeller millions. As if he were a one-man investment bank, Rockefeller participated, under Gates's supervision, in major stock-and-bond underwriting syndicates alongside the most august Wall Street houses. While it was not unusual in that era for rich individuals to complete syndicates, the sheer scope of Rockefeller's involvement was something novel.

Even in old age, Rockefeller received stock quotes twice daily and could rattle off the precise number of shares he owned in many stocks. He adhered to several hallowed investing rules. Perhaps the most sacred was that Gates not disturb his Standard Oil stock, the bulk of his fortune. As at Standard Oil, Rockefeller insisted upon keeping a cash balance that never dipped below \$10 million. Since he also had a sizable stake in U.S. government bonds, he felt he could play the market with impunity. A born contrarian, Rockefeller insisted upon buying in declining markets and selling in rising ones. When accumulating a position, he bought stocks each time they declined an eighth of a point; when unwinding a position, he sold each time the stock rose an eighth of a point—a technique that gave him an average over an extended period. Having twice been sued by people for offering incorrect market advice, he refrained from offering stock tips. There was also some genuine humility at work, for Rockefeller admitted that he had no "prophetic vision as would make me try to mislead anybody else . . . by one of my miserable guesses."<sup>33</sup>

Since his aides superintended a royal treasury of securities, he had to implement special security precautions. He laid down an ironclad rule that no employee could invest in stocks or bonds of any company in which he held a major stake, and a minimum of two people had to be present whenever the safe housing his securities was opened. Rockefeller's subordinates seemed more jittery than their phlegmatic boss about dealing with such stupendous sums. Starr Murphy recalled an occasion when the boss asked him and a colleague to bring \$60 million in securities to his Pocantico estate for his personal inspection. With no small dread, the two men drove up to Westchester, totally unguarded. Rockefeller did not show any anxiety about the

absence of security and only at the end alluded to the situation by remarking, with deadpan face and humorous drawl, “I suppose that you gentlemen will return to New York together.”<sup>34</sup>

Efforts to manipulate Rockefeller often backfired after the Colby and Hoyt affair. In 1910, for instance, Rockefeller was vacationing in Augusta, Georgia, when he received a visit in his hotel suite from Henry Clay Frick, who solemnly advised him to buy 50,000 shares of Reading Railroad stock. The moment Frick left, Rockefeller got on the phone and issued orders to liquidate his block of 47,500 shares; he had the satisfaction of selling the final 2,500 shares at the stock’s peak.

Rockefeller grappled with the classic dilemma faced by all large investors: how to buy stocks without pumping them up or sell without dragging them down. As his fame spread, his market moves could set off frenzied stampedes of traders. To forestall this, Rockefeller employed a double set of brokers: a primary broker parceled out orders among dozens of secondary brokers who were ignorant of his identity, thus masking his steps behind a maze of intermediaries. For a long time, he paid double commissions, before he worked out a single-commission arrangement with a broker named Paul D. Langdon. On *finde-siècle* Wall Street, stock pools were both legal and vogueish, and Rockefeller had no ethical qualms about participating in them.

Entering the autumnal phase of his life, Rockefeller preferred sure, steady gains to speculative killings. When one promoter tried to peddle some gold-mining shares, Gates cut him off short. “If you were to say that the vein was pure gold, 24 karats fine, broad, easily workable, and close to a railway, to be had for a song, I doubt if Mr. Rockefeller’s attention could be attracted. . . . He has come to a time in life and circumstances in fortune when these things no longer attract his cupidity.”<sup>35</sup> Rockefeller seldom responded to the countless inventors who trooped to his office hoping to sell patents. It was easier to lend large sums, backed by first-class securities as collateral, than to have investments dispersed among dozens of enterprises. For all his fabled rapacity, Rockefeller was a forgiving lender and, by all accounts, lenient to a fault. “Never have I known Mr. Rockefeller to call a private loan, foreclose a private mortgage, or oppress a debtor,” complained Gates.<sup>36</sup> Another investment adviser, Henry E. Cooper, concurred: “He was never too hard on people in business; he was too easy.”<sup>37</sup>

To finance sporadic stock-market forays, Rockefeller borrowed huge sums from banks, up to fifteen or twenty million at a time, pledging his government bonds as collateral. This was all a trifle confusing for Junior, who continued to take his father’s straitlaced pronouncements against speculative investing at face value. As he moved into middle age, the son even took to lecturing his wayward father, chiding him with his own rhetoric. On the eve of World War I, when Senior’s borrowings swelled to nearly \$10 million, Junior reminded him of how he had “frequently given utterance to my belief, that you should never be a borrower, but always long of cash.”<sup>38</sup>

For a long time, Rockefeller resisted efforts to professionalize his investment team, and Gates soldiered on as best he could. In 1897, Charles O. Heydt—later Rockefeller’s expert on real-estate matters—joined the staff, followed a few years later by Bertram Cutler, who helped manage the family investments for the next fifty years. Even with this team in place, the investment operation was still slipshod, and in 1907 Gates told Rockefeller, “I have long thought that it would prove helpful if you could have a man in the office who had before him at all times every day the complete list of your investments and whose business it is to familiarize himself intimately with every one of them—to have his finger, so to speak, on the pulse of every one of them all the time.”<sup>39</sup> The following year, Rockefeller finally capitulated and formed a four-member committee, including Gates and Junior, to manage his money.

As with the Rockefeller philanthropies, Gates operated tentatively at first in the wolfish world of Wall Street but was soon very much master of the situation. Before long, he confidently conveyed to Rockefeller his scathing opinions of such globe-straddling moguls as Andrew Carnegie and J. Pierpont Morgan. At the time, the world of high finance revolved around a spirited rivalry between Morgan and Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb. Convinced that Rockefeller was already controversial enough, Gates tried, whenever possible, to avoid clashes between these two financiers, and he balked at joining boardroom revolts, stock-market squeezes, and other activities that might bring Rockefeller into any further disrepute.

Famished for blue-chip securities, Gates clamored for inclusion in both J. P. Morgan and Company *and* Kuhn, Loeb syndicates, but always believed that he got superior treatment from Kuhn, Loeb. Under the aegis of this house, Rockefeller swallowed huge chunks of railroad issues, including giant stakes in the Southern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Pennsylvania Railroads. He also took a large share in loans floated for the Imperial Japanese government in 1904–1905 during the Russo-Japanese War and for the Chinese government in 1911. He contributed to Kuhn, Loeb’s consolidation of the Chicago meatpackers, led by Armour and Swift, helping to foster another trust. Constantly on the prowl for good securities, he sometimes bought from Kuhn, Loeb just to maintain harmonious relations.

Gates and his minions smarted at the high-handed treatment they received from J. P. Morgan and Company, where they were routinely assigned small portions of mediocre issues—curious treatment for the world’s richest investor. In the early 1900s, Rockefeller found himself with disconcerting frequency involved in Morgan’s biggest blunders, including the Chicago Street Railway that he financed for the magnate Charles Yerkes and the International Mercantile Marine, Morgan’s abortive effort to forge a North Atlantic shipping cartel. For Rockefeller, this was not happenstance but reflected Morgan’s settled antipathy. Bruised by these bad investments, Rockefeller told his son in 1911, “In future, when investments are offered us by this house, we will be of one mind, I think, in accepting nothing which we do not all agree is very desirable for us to have.”<sup>40</sup> After J. P. Morgan, Sr., died in 1913, Rockefeller told his advisers to keep up cordial relations with the Morgan bank while tartly reminding them that “we have had sufficient experience with the House of Morgan & Company in the role of ‘pack horses’ for their poor investments.”<sup>41</sup>

In spite of his phalanx of able advisers, Rockefeller had a very uneven record as an investor. Among his triumphs, he extended a six-million-dollar loan to the fledgling General Motors in 1906—about \$98 million today—taking notes for his cash. When the notes were paid off, Rockefeller took payment in General Motors shares, which then obligingly soared from 200 to 1,500. He also fared well as the premier investor in Consolidation Coal and the B&O Railroad. Yet Rockefeller could stumble abysmally, as evidenced by his mystifying relationship with George Gould. When Jay Gould, who had memorably looted the Erie Railroad, died in late 1892, leaving an estate of more than \$100 million, his twenty-eight-year-old spendthrift son George inherited his investments. He proved an unlikely business partner for Rockefeller. Where Rockefeller frowned upon the expense of private railroad cars, George Gould owned an entire train and savored the patrician pleasures of fencing, hunting, yachting, and polo. The New York tabloids

also delighted in reporting upon his racy relations with women. Whatever his misgivings about George’s philandering, Rockefeller was attracted by the Missouri Pacific and other western railroads that Gould wanted to weld into a transcontinental empire. In 1902, Rockefeller took giant portions of a Missouri Pacific stock offering, and before long he had buried \$40 million in this graveyard, as much as George Gould himself had.

Troubles soon developed. In 1906, irate over Gould’s profligate spending and failure to consult him, Rockefeller had his son withdraw from the Missouri Pacific board. By 1909, Rockefeller felt so abominably treated by Gould that he refused further cooperation unless his representatives controlled the board. As the price of rescuing the Missouri Pacific, Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb likewise insisted upon heavy board representation. When Gould finally resigned the presidency, he installed a crony in his stead, leading Gates to declare it high time to terminate relations with “the mad failed Gould.”<sup>42</sup> In 1912, Rockefeller unloaded his holdings in the Missouri Pacific stock, ending the misadventure.

Starting in the late 1890s, newspapers published sensational accounts of a shadowy cabal known on Wall Street as the “Standard Oil Crowd.” As diarist Henry Clews recorded, “A new order had come, due to the most powerful influence that had ever manifested itself in Wall Street. This influence was very largely composed of the Standard Oil combination, who introduced in their Wall Street operations the same quiet, unostentatious, but resistless measures that they had always employed in the conduct of their corporate affairs.”<sup>43</sup> It was popularly assumed that John D. Rockefeller masterminded these diabolical exploits and was determined to digest Wall Street itself. “It has been said that I control all the banks, all the trust companies, all the insurance companies, even all the railroads in the United States,” a chagrined Rockefeller told one reporter in 1906. “Will you believe me when I say that I do not own a controlling interest in any bank, trust company or insurance company?”<sup>44</sup>

Rockefeller dabbled in stocks more than he admitted, but he was largely a passive investor and remained as leery of Wall Street as any cracker-barrel Populist. Once pressed for investment advice, he retorted, “I suppose if I were to give advice it would be to keep out of Wall Street.”<sup>45</sup> When he bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange in 1883, he made an obligatory appearance before the admissions committee, then avoided the exchange for the next fiftyfour years. He proudly pointed out that, during his tenure, Standard Oil was never listed on the exchange and that management’s attention was “directed to the administration of the business rather than to the stock gambling.”<sup>46</sup> Although he never issued a public refutation, Rockefeller played no part in the Standard Oil crowd and cringed at the exploits of its three mainstays: Henry H. Rogers, James Stillman, and his own brother William. Rogers and William paid for their speculations with Standard Oil checks, a practice that always riled John D.

While John always professed warm friendship for his brother, their values had radically diverged over the years as William became a typical grandee of the Gilded Age and plunged lustily into a world of fashionable clubs and resorts. Having sold much of his Standard Oil stock to his brother, William was not nearly as rich as John, but he was still one of the six major recipients of Standard Oil stock and was often listed among the ten richest Americans. A connoisseur of the good life, he loved cocktails, gambling, fast-trotting horses, hunting, fishing, opera, theater, and yachts. His Fifth Avenue mansion faced Alva Vanderbilt’s French limestone château, and he frequented her costume balls. His weekend house, Rockwood Hall, a vast pile of towers and turrets with 204 rooms and gardens landscaped by Frederick Law Olmsted, loomed over the Hudson River. He also had a rugged Adirondack estate of several thousand acres. In 1888, along with such moguls as J. P. Morgan, William K. Vanderbilt, and Cyrus McCormick, William founded the Jekyll Island Club—the posh resort of the “One Hundred Millionaires”—on an island off the Georgia coast that soon boasted roads with names such as Morgan Road and Rockefeller Path. In his later years, William traded in his Baptist upbringing for a more epicurean life. “I used to be very much interested in the church,” he told a friend in later years, “but I haven’t attended for many a day.”<sup>47</sup> Unlike John, William gave little to charity and turned a deaf ear to John’s entreaties to contribute to the University of Chicago. At one point, when pressing William to help build a church, John needled him by saying: “Paintings are good, this would be better.”<sup>48</sup> William was more jaundiced than John was about the motives of people who solicited his money.

It was in their stock-market operations that the two brothers differed most— so much so that John stayed aloof from enterprises in which William was involved. In declining a proposed investment, John simply told his financial staff, “No, that is William’s,” and that ended all discussion.<sup>49</sup> As a denizen of Wall Street, William was often found in his downtown office, puffing on a cigar and glancing at a stock ticker by the window. Besides being president of Standard Oil of New York, he was a director of forty companies, including railroads, banks, and copper mines, plus steamship, gas, and water companies. What irked John was that William engaged in stock promotions and market raids and other activities that he equated with gambling and manipulation. It might have been friction over this issue that caused their relationship to cool in the late 1890s. In 1897, John omitted William’s name alone from a list of top Standard Oil executives slated to receive large salary increases, prompting this plaintive protest from Flagler:

*I wish you would include Will—from a purely business standpoint. I think he is worth as much as the younger of “the three others” and I doubt if you realize what a reflection upon him it would seem to be left out. The last day of this month will round out thirty years since I joined you and Will in business. Do not let us at this late day do anything that will have the appearance even of unkindness. I think I know Will’s personal feeling for you better than you do—it is far more kindly than you imagine.*<sup>50</sup>

John held back from William’s stock-market deals in part because he associated them with James Stillman, who on the strength of his Standard Oil connections and his friendship with William had converted National City Bank into New York’s largest bank. “I like William,” said Stillman, a darkly elegant, taciturn man, “because we don’t have to talk. Often we sit fifteen minutes in silence before one of us breaks it!”<sup>51</sup> They were an oddly matched pair, William good-natured and easygoing, Stillman an icy individual who played his cards close to the vest. One of Stillman’s descendants left this description of him: “Stern, brooding, forever silent except when dropping sardonic remarks, he was known on Wall Street as ‘the man with the iron mask.’”<sup>52</sup> At one point, Stillman feuded with his wife and banished her forever from the house, forbidding his five children from mentioning her name. The rapport between James Stillman and William Rockefeller was transferred to their children. Stillman’s daughters, Elsie and Isabel, married William’s sons, William G. and Percy, breeding a line of Stillman Rockefellers who would be central figures in the subsequent history of National City Bank, today’s Citicorp.

Many contemporary critics assumed that John D. formed an investing triumvirate with his brother and Stillman; in fact, he had serious reservations about Stillman’s character and regretted his friendship with William. Evidently, Stillman repaid the compliment. One day, he dropped by 26 Broadway



to visit William, strolled over to Junior's desk, and proceeded to make derogatory comments about Senior. At once, Junior rose stiffly to his feet, spluttering, "Mr. Stillman, you can say those things to my father but you can't say them to his son. Good day."<sup>53</sup>

In spite of their uneasy relationship, Stillman invited Junior to become a National City Bank director in 1901. Junior was tempted to accept but feared that Stillman's rival J. P. Morgan might retaliate by excluding his father from underwriting syndicates. Senior was more concerned that the appointment might lend credence to the bothersome canard that he held a major stake in National City Bank. If Junior took the position, Senior warned him, it "might seem to indicate a closer relation in that quarter than really exists, or would be wise for us to publish to the world."<sup>54</sup> For once defying his father's wishes, Junior joined the National City Bank board; Senior, relenting, bought ten thousand shares of the bank's stock. As it turned out, Junior resigned from the bank board the following year, finding some of its practices questionable.

The significance of Senior's stake in National City Bank should not be overstated. A 1906 statement of his holdings shows that he had \$415,000 invested in the bank as opposed to \$375,000 in the First National Bank—controlled by Morgan's crony George F. Baker—while his largest bank holding was \$1.4 million in New York Trust, dominated by the Harkness family. He also bought a substantial stake in Bankers Trust when it was started in 1903. In general, Rockefeller deliberately avoided National City Bank and the Standard Oil crowd, but he chose never to make that public and thought it unconscionably craven that William, Stillman, and Henry Rogers failed to disabuse the press. Once asked privately about Stillman's bank, he replied dryly, "It is called, I am told, the Rockefeller institution. But I don't control it. I have perhaps \$300,000 of its stock, and its capital is \$200,000,000. . . . I have never been in the building in my life. Why, I declare I don't even know where it is located."<sup>55</sup>

Rockefeller did acquire a major interest in one bank. After the Armstrong investigation of 1905 exposed massive double-dealing between insurance companies and their bankers, reform legislation was enacted in 1911 that forced the Equitable Life Assurance Company to spin off its subsidiary, the Equitable Trust Company. Seizing this chance, Rockefeller, George Gould, and Kuhn, Loeb took control, with Rockefeller the principal shareholder. Rockefeller hoped to participate in the bank's lucrative financial operations and soon urged all companies within the Standard Oil universe to switch their accounts to the bank. Profiting from the Rockefeller tie, the Equitable Trust became within a decade America's eighth-largest bank. The move was fraught with significance for the Rockefellers, for the bank was to merge with the Chase Bank following the 1929 crash; the resulting institution would be the fortress of Rockefeller-family finance. If the descendants of William Rockefeller were identified with National City, the progeny of John D. were always associated with Chase.

Of the three principals in the Standard Oil crowd—Rogers, Stillman, and William Rockefeller—it was Henry H. Rogers who most entranced the public. In the pantheon of Standard directors, nobody save John D. himself achieved wider fame. There was something lithe and lethal, charming and fierce, about Rogers that made him a magnetic figure even to those he repelled. At Standard Oil, they affectionately dubbed him the "Savage Old Tiger," while Wall Street, taking his initials, christened him Hell Hound Rogers. He was a handsome and athletic man, with a theatrical mustache, a sharp gaze, and a swashbuckling aura.

Rogers had a chameleon personality. He could be sensitive and generous one moment, a pitiless foe the next. In Manhattan clubs and drawing rooms, he charmed companions, relating hilarious stories and playing a wicked game of poker. He was also very charitable: He helped Colonel Edwin Drake's impoverished widow and also built a school, library, church, parish house, and masonic hall in his hometown of Fairhaven, Massachusetts. "He looked at you and he owned you," said one Standard Oil colleague, fascinated by his kaleidoscopic moods. "He was affable unless you tramped on his little toe. He was a man of the fiercest likes and dislikes that I ever knew in the business."<sup>56</sup> "His expression could transform itself totally while he blinked his eyes," a reporter wrote in the *Evening Post*. "His voice could travel through the scale of vindictiveness, indifference, politeness, affability and friendliness in a single sentence."<sup>57</sup>

Rogers's journey from an impecunious boyhood to the summit of Wall Street affluence was startling. A sea captain's son, he spent his adolescence clerking in a grocery store, hawking newspapers, and working on a railroad before setting off with a friend to operate a small refinery outside Oil City. Through a mutual friend, he was introduced to Charles Pratt, who bought his operation and ushered him into the Standard Oil fold. Had he stuck to oil, Rogers would have fared far better in his relations with Rockefeller, who thought he divided both his time and loyalty. From his elegant mahogany office, decorated with small bronze bulls and bears, Rogers hatched deals by the dozen, forcing reporters to work full-time to track his machinations. At one point, he became the veritable czar of Staten Island, controlling its trolleys, railroads, ferries, and electric and gas companies. In 1884, he and William Rockefeller formed the Consolidated Gas Company to provide gas to Brooklyn, and he also vied with J. Edward Addicks for control of Boston gas.

With his executive flair, Rogers thought he was the ideal candidate to succeed Rockefeller and he was elevated to vice president of the trust in 1890. He therefore bristled when Archbold was tapped for the top spot. The decision was partly a question of style. Rockefeller was irked by Rogers's gambling and profanity, his strutting in public and mingling with high society. Rockefeller also favored Archbold because he was wedded to Standard Oil business, whereas Rogers was often distracted by other interests. Rogers sometimes bullied Standard Oil subordinates to starve his gas competitors of needed oil, even if this hurt Standard profits—a cardinal sin in Rockefeller's view.

The flash point in the feud between Rockefeller and Rogers came in 1899 when James Stillman, William Rockefeller, and Rogers acquired secret control of Anaconda Copper of Butte, Montana, a mining venture formerly owned by Senator George Hearst. They made the purchase with a \$39 million loan from National City Bank. They then turned around, restyled the new holding company Amalgamated Copper, and fobbed it off on a gullible public for \$75 million, retiring the \$39 million loan and pocketing a \$36 million profit. Rockefeller was incensed by the issuance of so much watered stock, which gave him a chance to feel self-righteous when his own virtue was under attack. The new company was floated by Stillman and National City Bank, and both William and Rogers exploited their Standard Oil connections to stoke a speculative fever.

To execute this deal, Rogers made the mistake of inviting a sharp-eyed Boston stockbroker named Thomas W. Lawson into the project. Starting in July 1904, Lawson published a tell-all account in *Everybody's* magazine that was later collected into a classic volume entitled *Frenzied Finance*. The most melodramatic potboiler in American financial history, the book opened with this histrionic dedication: "TO PENITENCE: that those whose devilry is

exposed within its pages may see in a true light the wrongs they have wrought—and repent.”<sup>58</sup> Describing himself as a mere “neophyte in crime,” Lawson gave his exposé a confessional note: “I have unwittingly been made the instrument by which thousands upon thousands of investors in America and Europe have been plundered.”<sup>59</sup>

The gist of his indictment was that the public paid two-thirds of the purchase price for Amalgamated Copper while Rogers and his comrades took two-thirds of the stock. At the time, Lawson noted, Standard Oil was considered “the greatest power in the land,” and its supposed involvement had stimulated a buying mania.<sup>60</sup> At the subscription deadline on May 4, 1899, mobs had formed outside National City Bank, and four burly policemen had to shut the doors against these disappointed investors. With the offering five times oversubscribed, Rogers handed out preferred allotments to favored politicians. Rogers and William Rockefeller had lured investors with the promise of their own involvement, but they dumped stock soon after it was issued. Lawson’s character sketches were as memorable as his revelations about the syndicate’s methods. Oddly, he expressed affection for William Rockefeller, whom he portrayed as solid, laconic, and far more trustworthy than Rogers. In Henry Rogers, he found his true protagonist, a mutable man of violent extremes, an actor of genius who got lost in the many roles he shuffled:

*Yet away from the intoxicating spell of dollar-making this remarkable man is one of the most charming and lovable human beings I have ever encountered, a man whom any man or woman would be proud to have for a brother. . . . Once he passes under the baleful influence of “The Machine,” however, he becomes a relentless, ravenous creature, pitiless as a shark, knowing no law of God or man in the execution of his purpose.*<sup>61</sup>

By liberally splashing the names *Rockefeller* and *Standard Oil* across his pages, Lawson made it seem as if John D. had formed a conspiratorial trio with Rogers and William. At one point, he said more truthfully, “It was the first venture of size these two strong wheelmen [Rogers and William] of ‘Standard Oil’ had undertaken without the cooperation of John D. Rockefeller, and it appeared that he was considerably worked up over the public hubbub, and so opposed to the whole Amalgamated affair that nothing short of a great success could justify his subordinates’ temerity.”<sup>62</sup> In a footnote, Lawson further conceded that Rockefeller never put a dime into the Amalgamated flotation. Nevertheless, the general public came away with the impression that John D. was pulling the strings.

At one point, Lawson quoted Rogers’s views on the merits of cartels versus competition: “No man has done his business properly who has missed a single dollar he could have secured in the doing of it. . . . It is one of the first principles Mr. Rockefeller taught me; it is one he has inculcated in every ‘Standard Oil’ man, until today it is a religion with us all.”<sup>63</sup> While Rogers was talking in general terms, it again left the impression that John D. lurked somewhere behind the copper trust.

Had he not been unfairly implicated, Rockefeller might have enjoyed the rebuke delivered to Rogers. When the Lawson series began, Junior rushed him a copy, declaring, “I think you will be well repaid for reading this article, although it seems to be written in a bitter, vituperative, sensational manner.”<sup>64</sup> Any such satisfaction, however, paled before the sense that he had been unjustly slandered. “They said I owned copper stock—that Boston man said it—when as a matter of fact it belonged to my partners and I had nothing to do with it,” he was still seething years later. “It was not pleasant to sit still and take all the abuse and not hear one word of explanation from them.”<sup>65</sup> Rockefeller suffered in silence, knowing that if he spoke up he would have to repudiate his brother. After the Lawson series, John D. and Rogers saw each other only twice during the next five years.

In early 1907, Rockefeller took revenge against Rogers at a meeting of Standard Oil’s board of directors. After investing millions of his own money in the Virginia Railway, a coal-carrying railroad in Virginia, Rogers could no longer carry the debt and sought relief from Standard Oil. Spying his chance to cut Rogers down to size, Rockefeller told his partners, “Gentlemen, we should not as an organization become involved in other corporations or side issues. We are making money and success as an oil corporation and we should confine our efforts to Standard alone.” When a vote was taken, Rockefeller prevailed, and Rogers grew so enraged that he slammed his fist on the table, threatening to sell every share of Standard Oil stock he owned. To this, Rockefeller placidly replied, “What is your price?” When Rogers named it, Rockefeller rejoined, “I will meet you here with a certified check tomorrow at 10.” The next day, in an incalculable blunder, Rogers handed over his block of Standard Oil stock to Rockefeller, surrendering in a moment of pique a vast fortune in future dividends and appreciation.<sup>66</sup> As we shall see shortly, Rockefeller might have had more than the Lawson series on his mind, for he thought that Rogers had played a treacherous trick on him by meeting with Ida Tarbell.

Posterity has received another portrait of Henry H. Rogers, and, given the power of the pen that drew it, it has been an imperishable one. Something of a literary man, Rogers had long admired Mark Twain and read his books aloud to his children. “If I ever meet that man,” he once commented, “I’d like to do something for him.”<sup>67</sup> He thus responded with alacrity in 1893 when Twain’s friend Clarence Rice asked if Rogers would meet the author at the Murray Hill Hotel to discuss the bankruptcy of Twain’s publishing house, which was staggering under heavy debts. The two men, who had met on a yacht two years before, were both legendary raconteurs and wits and developed an instant rapport. Rogers decided to mount a rescue effort and the next morning wrote out a check for eight thousand dollars. Taking Twain’s finances in hand, he kept Twain’s creditors at bay and rallied his spirits, inviting him along with Archbold to prizefights at the New York Athletic Club. With canny foresight, Rogers insisted that Twain retain all his copyrights, “a service which saved me and my family from want and assured us permanent comfort and prosperity,” Twain said later. <sup>68</sup> Under Rogers’s tutelage, Twain invested his royalties wisely and paid off his debts. Awash with gratitude, Twain refused to publish Henry Demarest Lloyd’s *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.

A friend of infinite tact, Rogers endeared himself to Twain as much by the manner as the substance of what he did. “By no sign, no hint, no word did he ever betray any consciousness that I was under obligations to him,” Twain wrote. “I have never been so great as that, and I have not known another who was.”<sup>69</sup> Their friendship survived Twain’s financial crisis, and Rogers later negotiated lucrative book contracts for Twain, who became a frequent guest aboard Rogers’s steam yacht, the *Kanawha*. (During one cruise, Twain composed his sketch “The Loaves and the Fishes,” in which he argued that the true miracle of the biblical story was not the multiplication of bread and fishes but that twelve disciples served five thousand people and lived to tell the tale.) When Rogers was devastated by Lawson’s vitriolic portrait in *Frenzied Finance*, Twain supplied favorable anecdotes about him for a profile in *The World’s Work*, a magazine published by Frank Doubleday. For Rogers, Twain reserved his highest encomium: “He is not only the best friend I

have ever had, but is the best man I have known.”<sup>70</sup>

A frequent visitor to 26 Broadway, Twain loved to smoke cigars, read, and lounge on the sofa in Rogers’s office while his friend entertained a steady stream of visitors. He had no concerns about Rogers’s reputation. “He’s a pirate all right,” Twain said, “but he owns up to it and enjoys being a pirate. That’s the reason I like him.”<sup>71</sup> For a time, Twain turned 26 Broadway into his downtown clubhouse and sometimes lunched with Junior. “I got down here to the Standard Oil in time for late luncheon with young Rockefeller—it is the best homemade table in the North,” Twain once told his wife.<sup>72</sup> He formed a favorable opinion of Junior as “a plain, simple, earnest, sincere, honest, well-meaning, commonplace person, destitute of originality or any suggestion of it.”<sup>73</sup> A defender to the end, Twain later blamed the muckrakers and Teddy Roosevelt for Standard Oil’s infamy. That the trust had scarcely had a strike in more than four decades proved to him that “the Standard Oil chiefs cannot be altogether bad or they would oppress their sixty-five thousand employees from habit and instinct, if they are so constituted that it is instinctive with them to oppress everybody else.”<sup>74</sup>

Another perceptive author developed intense affection for Rogers. In 1896, the sixteen-year-old Helen Keller, who was blind and deaf, met him and Twain at a gathering to raise money for her future education. Even before the meeting, Twain laid the groundwork, telling Mrs. Rogers, “It won’t do for America to allow this marvelous child to retire from her studies because of poverty.”<sup>75</sup> Rogers paid for much of Helen Keller’s education at Radcliffe College, which she gratefully acknowledged. “That I haven’t missed my small part of usefulness in the world, I owe to Mr. Clemens and Mr. Rogers,” she wrote.<sup>76</sup> After graduating cum laude, Helen stayed in touch with Rogers and poignantly dedicated her book *The World I Live In* to “My Dear Friend of Many Years.”<sup>77</sup> Before he died, Rogers established an annuity that gave her lifelong security. Helen Keller’s teacher, Anne Sullivan, later revealed that “Mr. Rockefeller [ Junior] and his father have been interested in Helen most of her life.”<sup>78</sup> Unlike the help from Rogers, the Rockefeller money was given anonymously.

In the 1890s, Rockefeller stumbled, almost by accident, into owning most of the iron ore on the Mesabi Range, the last business project that he executed on a monumental scale.

This legendary investment began as another blunder bequeathed by his bumbling former advisers, Colby and Hoyt. When Gates first examined the iron-ore properties the two had bought in Cuba, Michigan, and Wisconsin, he thought they were worthless holes. Colby and Hoyt had, however, unearthed one promising entity: the Minnesota Iron Company. Gates was impressed on a westward journey by the potential of the Mesabi Range, which contained a broad band of iron ore laid across a 120-mile strip in northern Minnesota. Though it held out hope of being the richest such vein ever found in North America, its commercial utility had not been demonstrated. Unlike hard rock dug from underground mines and fed into blast furnaces, the Mesabi ore was fine, powdery stuff that either clogged furnaces or blew out their chimneys, scattering dust across the countryside. On the other hand, it lay close to the surface and in such abundance that it could be scooped out by steam shovels at a fraction of the expense of underground mines.

Among the pioneers in Mesabi ore were the backwoods Merritt family. These so-called seven men of iron—four brothers and three nephews—borrowed recklessly, snapped up tremendous tracts of land, then launched construction of a railroad to carry the ore to Lake Superior. When the 1893 panic savaged iron prices, however, they faced a severe cash squeeze. The atmosphere in Duluth grew incendiary as workers with drawn pistols forced their way into the office of the Merritts’ railroad to demand payment of overdue wages.

In rescuing the Merritts, Rockefeller reenacted his old pattern of swooping down, fortified with cash, on distressed properties and seizing a commanding position. As with the malodorous Lima oil, he wagered that the Mesabi ore would someday be of value—even as Andrew Carnegie and his experts gleefully scoffed at this preposterous idea. As Carnegie’s right-hand man, Charles Schwab, said of these naysayers, “They couldn’t understand how [Rockefeller], without knowledge of the iron business, could invest money in ores that were useless—at least for a long time to come.”<sup>79</sup> To which Rockefeller retorted tersely, “It was a surprise to me that the great iron and steel manufacturers did not place what seemed to be an adequate value on these mines.”<sup>80</sup> He believed that, like the early days in oil, the steel industry was on the verge of overproduction and would soon fall prey to suicidal competition unless stabilized by strong owners. An expert in the strategic importance of transportation, he avidly eyed the extensive rail and dock facilities controlled by the Merritts.

When Rockefeller advanced money to the Merritts in the panic summer of 1893, he was one of the few people who could have saved them. Naively, he expected to disburse a modest \$100,000, and he never imagined that the Mesabi project would tax his colossal resources and consume eight years of his time. In exchange for his investment, Rockefeller negotiated a deal with the Merritts to set up a holding company, the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines, which would combine the Merritts’ rail and mining assets and the rather mediocre mining properties cobbled together by Colby and Hoyt. The idea was that the Merritts would run the company and employ Rockefeller’s cash infusion to finish the stalled railroad. At first, Rockefeller owned only a fifth of the stock, but he exercised final control through his first mortgage bonds, which enjoyed a lien on the entire company in the event of a default.

Given their intertwined fates, it seems odd that Rockefeller met the head of the Minnesota family, Leonidas Merritt, on only a single occasion and then briefly in June 1893. Gates tried to shield Rockefeller from such contacts, but Merritt warmly insisted that he wished to shake his savior’s hand. When they met at 26 Broadway, the meeting lasted five minutes, and Rockefeller was the pattern of affability. He touted the virtues of the Mesabi venture then turned to the Minnesota weather. After a few more pleasantries, he politely excused himself and never saw any of the Merritts again. Afterward, Gates made it clear that his boss would now withdraw behind his customary screen. “In talking to me,” he told Leonidas Merritt, “you are talking to Mr. Rockefeller.”<sup>81</sup> Even by his own extremely reclusive standards, Rockefeller was remarkably aloof during his eight-year fling in the iron business. Though he became chief landlord of the Mesabi Range, he set foot on its slopes only once and that was long after he had disposed of his properties.

In the autumn, Rockefeller’s goodwill toward the Merritts ebbed. As their notes matured, they frantically pressed Gates for cash, and Rockefeller reluctantly obliged them with loans. Gates matured as a businessman during this crisis, and Rockefeller bestowed exceptional authority on him. When Gates visited Duluth in September, Rockefeller confided to Cettie, “[Gates] reports progress daily, and has one hundred thousand dollars in his pocket to use at his discretion.”<sup>82</sup> By October, the initial loan had burgeoned to nearly \$2 million, with no guarantee that the Mesabi ore would ever

demonstrate commercial value. It all seemed a gamble gone hideously wrong. Pacing the Forest Hill porches, Rockefeller later remembered the harrowing, sometimes daily emergencies forced upon him by the uncouth Merritts, who kept their securities stuffed in their pockets: “I had to loan my personal securities to raise money, and finally we were compelled to supply a great deal of actual cash, and to get it we were obliged to go into the then greatly upset money market and buy currency at a high premium and ship west by express to pay the laborers and the railroad and to keep them alive.”<sup>83</sup>

In early 1894, still burdened by debt, the Merritts were forced to offer Rockefeller ninety thousand shares of Consolidated stock at ten dollars a share. As with Standard Oil, Rockefeller kept adding to his Consolidated holdings, the ten-dollar price being on a par with his other purchases at the time; the Merritts, though, vociferously claimed they had been swindled. A year later, they had to forfeit to Rockefeller an option on another 55,000 shares of Consolidated stock, surrendering to him complete control of the company. With fullthroated passion, Gates urged Rockefeller to expand his investment. “It is, in my opinion, the opportunity of a lifetime, one of those opportunities, the seizing or failing to seize, which marks the difference between success and failure in life.”<sup>84</sup>

During the next few years, as steelmakers found ways to adapt their furnaces to the bargain-priced Mesabi ore, Consolidated stock rose to stratospheric heights. In a paroxysm of frustrated rage, the Merritts demonized the man they had earlier heralded as their savior. In a rancorous suit filed against Rockefeller in federal circuit court in Duluth, they portrayed themselves as innocent lumberjacks fleeced by the eastern mogul. Fearing a biased local jury, Rockefeller retained a Minnesota newspaperman to counteract local hostility toward him and even stepped up his Baptist-missionary donations in the state. As Rockefeller feared, the Duluth jury reached a verdict in favor of the Merritts, though it was overturned on appeal. The whole feud was finally settled out of court: Rockefeller paid \$525,000 to the Merritts, who publicly retracted their charges. Of this settlement, Rockefeller commented sarcastically, “We settled, paid money, rather than submit to larger robbery by the twelve just and good men, as we could not get to a higher court.”<sup>85</sup> Stung by the controversy, Gates was still defending his behavior almost twenty years later in a short polemical pamphlet, *The Truth About Mr. Rockefeller and the Merritts*, which he mailed out gratis to ten thousand people.

While Rockefeller and Gates were irked by the Merritts’ ingratitude, they were not entirely blameless. The Merritts alleged that Rockefeller had inflated the value of the mining properties he contributed to Consolidated, a charge that seems substantiated by Gates’s own papers. In early 1893, he had written two letters to Frank Rockefeller, expressing shock at the high prices Colby and Hoyt had paid for the mines. He summed up their value as follows: “Whatever induced Colby Hoyt & Co. to form syndicates to pay such enormous figures for these worthless properties, I cannot understand. I mean to keep pegging along at it from time to time until the whole thing comes out.”<sup>86</sup>

Having acquired several million tons of iron ore and a railroad to cart it off, Rockefeller was now stymied by a group of Lake Superior shippers who would lease him vessels only at extortionate rates. To end the deadlock, Rockefeller again recruited a talented man from the enemy ranks, Samuel Mather of Cleveland, a son-in-law of Amasa Stone. On one of those historic occasions when the curtain parted fleetingly to reveal the wizard working the levers, Rockefeller held a cordial, ten-minute, predinner chat with Mather at West Fifty-fourth Street. The visitor left with a three-million-dollar order to build twelve ore-carrying ships, steel monsters that would surpass in size anything ever floated on the Great Lakes. After shaking hands with Rockefeller, Mather never saw him again.

Given the large number of ships that he had to build, Mather figured that the shipyards would gang up and gouge him, so he pretended that he needed only one or two. After the contractors submitted their bids, they were stunned to discover that they all had contracts. The operation of this fleet required another engineering feat: the creation of specially constructed docks on Lake Superior with long railroad trestles extending hundreds of feet into the water. As the lake’s shipping cartel watched in consternation, the Rockefeller operation began to load ore at the stupefying rate of ten thousand tons every six hours. Where the schooners had charged \$4.20 a ton, Rockefeller’s operators carried their mineral cargo at a cost of 80 cents a ton.

When Mather declined to manage the fleet, Rockefeller asked Gates to suggest an experienced firm to pilot the ships. “No,” said Gates, increasingly showing flashes of a quirky independence, “I do not know of any firm to suggest at the moment, but why not run them ourselves?” Taken aback, Rockefeller replied, “You don’t know anything about ships, do you?” Gates confessed not but nominated his uncle LaMont Montgomery Bowers as a candidate. “He lives up the state, and never was on a ship in his life. He probably wouldn’t know the bow from the stern, or a sea-anchor from an umbrella, but he has good sense, he is honest, enterprising, keen, and thrifty.”<sup>87</sup> Having often hired people based on general ability, not specific skills—Gates himself being a prime example—Rockefeller acceded to the choice.

Bald and well-tailored, Bowers had an extensive business résumé, ranging from selling soap to running a real-estate agency in Omaha to selling groceries in upstate New York. Much to Rockefeller’s delight, he not only ably commanded but considerably expanded the fleet. Mostly under the aegis of the Cleveland-based Bessemer Steamship Company, Rockefeller acquired fifty-six steel vessels, the largest fleet on the Great Lakes and the world’s biggest assemblage of ore carriers. His position in lake shipping was so unassailable that he could dictate rates on Lake Superior, much as they had been dictated to him a few years earlier—a situation that galvanized Andrew Carnegie into organizing the competing Pittsburgh Steamship Company.

Tutored by Gates in the eccentric ways of Mr. Rockefeller, Bowers was told that he must not, under any circumstances, communicate with the boss. Rockefeller never saw the vast majority of ships in his armada. One day, however, Rockefeller dropped by unexpectedly to consult him on a shipping matter, prompting a humorous exchange. “You are making me break the orders I have from your own office, Mr. Rockefeller,” Bowers reminded him. “Oh, Mr. Bowers, I am getting along in years,” Rockefeller replied in his droll, midwestern manner. “I think I may really be allowed a little liberty by my office!”<sup>88</sup> Bowers’s success in managing the fleet was perhaps unfortunate, for it led directly to his later assignment to a Rockefeller-controlled mining venture in the Rocky Mountains called Colorado Fuel and Iron, where he would bring lasting disgrace to the Rockefeller name.

Rockefeller’s success on the Mesabi Range precipitated a clash between America’s two wealthiest individuals, John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. In their approach to business, the two men had often mirrored each other, stressing attention to detail, ruthlessly slashing costs, and keeping dividends low. Both had struggled with their own unacknowledged avarice, pioneered in philanthropy, and prided themselves on being friends of the working man. Yet they never seemed to get along. Each Christmas, they perfunctorily exchanged gifts, Rockefeller giving Carnegie a paper vest, while Carnegie sent the teetotaler excellent whiskey. In letters to his colleagues, Carnegie often struck a jeering tone toward Rockefeller, refusing to concede

his business acumen, and he suffered under the misapprehension that Rockefeller had conspired with Standard Oil colleagues in the Mesabi venture. Upon first hearing of his pact with the Merritts, Carnegie lectured his steel-company board, “Remember Rockafellows [*sic*] & Porter will own the [railroad] and that’s like owning the pipe lines—Producers will not have much of a show. . . . I don’t think Standard people will succeed in making ore a monopoly like oil, they have failed in every new venture and Rockefeller’s reputation now is one of the poorest investors in the world.”<sup>89</sup>

Much too patronizing toward Rockefeller, Carnegie had seriously misjudged developments in the ore business. Having moved decisively to control coke and coal supplies, he assumed that ore would always remain cheap and plentiful and flatly told colleagues that their “brilliant and talented young partners” should stay clear of that business.<sup>90</sup> When a colorful Pittsburgh promoter, Henry Oliver, tried to interest Carnegie in a joint venture with the Merritts, he responded with a tongue-lashing: “If there is any department of business which offers no inducement, it is ore.”<sup>91</sup> Luckily, Carnegie’s subordinates overruled him and took a stake in the Mesabi ore. As a result, Carnegie Steel was not entirely excluded from the rush to secure properties in northern Minnesota.

Having failed to move aggressively, Carnegie looked on impotently as Rockefeller applied to iron ore lessons he had learned in oil, such as controlling an industry through transportation and demoralizing competitors with prices too low for them to match. Two industry trends finally compelled Carnegie to broker a deal with Rockefeller. As mergers consolidated the steel industry, it became essential to pin down sure sources of supply. And as new furnaces were equipped to use the dirt-cheap Mesabi ore, it developed into the industry standard. By 1896, the press buzzed with speculation that Rockefeller would build a huge steel mill in Cleveland or south Chicago, forge a steel trust on the Standard Oil model, and go head-to-head with Andrew Carnegie. Meanwhile, Rockefeller poured another nineteen million dollars into the Mesabi Range to buttress his railroad and shipping operations.

It vexed Carnegie that Rockefeller, an oilman, had possessed such superior foresight in the iron-ore business. In his private correspondence, he vented his frustration in petty digs, referring to him derisively as Rockafellow and later on as Wreckafellow. In December 1896, a humbled Carnegie at last consented to a sweeping deal. He promised to consume the entire output of Rockefeller’s chief mines (a minimum of 600,000 tons of ore) at the rock-bottom royalty rate of twenty-five cents a ton. In exchange for this steep discount, however, Carnegie agreed to ship the entire amount plus another 600,000 tons from his own mines over Rockefeller’s railroads and on his vessels. It was the same kind of back-scratching arrangement that Rockefeller had negotiated with the railroads to monopolize the oil industry. To complete their truce, Carnegie pledged to refrain from buying new Mesabi fields or transporting iron ore, while Rockefeller renounced any ambition to construct a steel mill. A generation later, Carnegie still boasted of this deal before a Senate committee. “Don’t you know, it does my heart good to think I got ahead of John D. Rockefeller on a bargain.”<sup>92</sup> In fact, the bargain had been Carnegie’s belated attempt to redress his own error.

Small competitors found it impossible to survive the union of the largest producer and largest consumer of iron ore, and Carnegie and Rockefeller profited smartly. As with oil, ore prices skidded lower, bankrupting marginal producers and bolstering the Rockefeller-Carnegie alliance. As the decade closed, ferocious competition broke out for the remaining Mesabi properties. The price of Lake Superior Consolidated stock that Rockefeller had bought for \$10 in 1894 levitated to \$60 in 1899, \$70 in 1900, then a staggering \$100 in 1901.

America now stood on the threshold of an era of economic consolidation that saw trusts spread to many industries. What Rockefeller had accomplished in oil a generation earlier was now being imitated in steel, copper, rubber, tobacco, leather, and other products—much to the alarm of many voters. The ideological lines were drawn sharply in the 1896 presidential election. The Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, an eloquent orator adored by socialists, populists, and silverites, vied with former Ohio governor William McKinley, a staunch advocate of tariffs, trusts, and hard currency. Apprehensive about a Bryan presidency, businessmen transformed the McKinley campaign into a crusade against trustbusting infidels. Standard Oil supplied \$250,000 to McKinley’s coffers—equal to half of the total Democratic contributions—and Rockefeller sent another \$2,500 to campaign manager Mark Hanna. For a man normally scornful of politicians, Rockefeller displayed unusual passion for McKinley, asserting, “I can see nothing else for us to do, to serve the Country and our honor.”<sup>93</sup>

The business community reacted to the McKinley victory as if America had been blessedly spared a revolution, a mood summed up in Hanna’s congratulatory telegram to McKinley: “God’s in his heaven—all’s right with the world.”<sup>94</sup> During the next few years, a new faith arose in business circles about the inevitability and unrivaled efficiency of monopolies. Mark Hanna, now tagged “Dollar Mark” by the press, proclaimed loudly that the Sherman Antitrust Act would never be allowed to thwart this trend in a Republican administration.

Stimulated by the Spanish-American War, the Klondike gold strike, and McKinley’s reassuring presence, the American economy surged ahead in the late 1890s, propelling the United States past all other nations in industrial capacity. In a country that still liked to picture itself as composed of small businesses, huge companies now blanketed markets from coast to coast. As satirist Finley Peter Dunne observed in 1897, “I have seen America spread out from th’ Atlantic to th’ Pacific, with a branch office iv th’ Standard Ile Comp’ny in ivry hamlet.”<sup>95</sup> Between 1898 and 1902, 198 trusts or giant new corporations were created in coal, sugar, and other industries, prompting a growing backlash. At a Chicago antitrust conference in 1898, William Jennings Bryan drew roars from the faithful when he shouted, “One of the great purposes of government is to put rings in the noses of hogs!”<sup>96</sup> The McKinley administration, true to its promises, stood guard over the new corporate giants.

The merger wave conferred a new centrality on Wall Street investment houses, for the capital needs of the new trusts dwarfed the resources of small-town banks and private individuals. Only the prestigious Wall Street firms such as J. P. Morgan and Company or Kuhn, Loeb could tap the foreign and domestic capital needed to execute these transactions. Switching their focus from railroad bonds to industrial securities, they forged the new trusts, issued their stock, tucked away shares for themselves, and handpicked their executives. However much reformers deplored the trusts, they excited many investors, who absorbed wave after wave of new issues sponsored by Wall Street. While many Americans quaked before these giant new concerns, many others were trying to figure out how to profit from them.

When J. P. Morgan decided to create a steel trust in late 1900, he knew he would have to tangle with two men who were confirmed cynics about Wall Street: Carnegie, master of the steel mills, and Rockefeller, king of the iron ore. Morgan was worried that Carnegie would diversify into finished steel

products and threaten his recently launched Federal Steel Company, while Carnegie feared a reverse maneuver by Morgan. Meanwhile, Carnegie and Morgan were both alarmed by reports that Rockefeller might diversify into steel mills. To avert overbuilding and internecine price wars, Morgan decided to spearhead a new steel consolidation.

Morgan was not thrilled about catering to Rockefeller, who had flouted Wall Street by financing his trust from retained earnings and holding cash reserves equal to those of many banks. He was also well aware of William Rockefeller's intimacy with James Stillman of National City Bank. When Morgan contemplated a merger with the London house of Barings in 1904, his counterpart, Lord Revelstoke, reported afterward to a partner that Morgan "inveighed bitterly against the growing power of the Jews and of the Rockefeller crowd, and said more than once that our firm and his were the only two composed of white men in New York."<sup>97</sup>

In many respects, Rockefeller and Morgan were antithetical types, offering a vivid contrast between the ascetic and the sybarite, the Roundhead and the Cavalier. As the chieftain of the Anglo-American financial establishment, the wellborn Morgan, expensively educated in America and Europe, was a consummate insider in the business world. For more than forty years, he had been the chief conduit for British capital that had financed American railroads and industry. Blustery and theatrical, Morgan was impetuous and hot-blooded, cursed with a short attention span. At his headquarters at 23 Wall Street, he often seemed harried, ruling by brilliant snap judgments. Fond of luxury, Morgan inhabited the world of the ultrarich, with their gargantuan cigars, fine port, and oversized steam yachts.

For Rockefeller, Morgan embodied all the sins of pride, luxury, and arrogance. When they first met at William Rockefeller's Hudson River mansion, they took an instant dislike to each other. "We had a few pleasant words," noted Rockefeller. "But I could see that Mr. Morgan was very much—well, like Mr. Morgan; very haughty, very inclined to look down on other men. I looked at him. For my part, I have never been able to see why any man should have such a high and mighty feeling about himself."<sup>98</sup> For Morgan, Rockefeller was too dry and prudish, devoid of manly charms and vices. And how could he not grumble at the effrontery of someone who had created a cartel without him?

Nevertheless, both men detested competition as a destructive force, a dangerously antiquated notion. For years, Morgan had arbitrated disputes among railroad presidents, helping them to carve up territories, and his formation of industrial trusts constituted a logical progression in his career. When Judge Elbert H. Gary informed Morgan in early 1901 that Rockefeller's Mesabi interests had to form part of any steel cartel, Morgan balked. "We have got all we can attend to," he told Gary. When Gary persisted, Morgan glumly agreed that they had to incorporate Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines and Bessemer Steamship into U.S. Steel.

"How are we going to get them?" he asked.

"You are going to talk to Mr. Rockefeller," said Gary.

"I would not think of it," said Morgan.

"Why?"

"I don't like him."

"Mr. Morgan," Gary retorted, "when a business proposition of so great importance to the Steel Corporation is involved, would you let a personal prejudice interfere with your success?"

"I don't know," said Morgan.<sup>99</sup>

In all likelihood, Morgan's attitude was a mixture of haughtiness and cowardice, for Rockefeller was one of the few people he could not intimidate. In an act of considerable self-mortification, Morgan asked Rockefeller if he could see him at 26 Broadway. Explaining that he was retired and never went to the office, Rockefeller said he would be happy to receive him at West Fifty-fourth Street. Rockefeller knew the bargaining edge of the last-minute holdout and enjoyed tweaking Wall Street's foremost banker. Soon after he arrived at Rockefeller's house, Morgan gruffly asked the price of the ore properties. Rockefeller threw up his hands in mock despair, reminded Morgan that he was retired, and told him to discuss the deal with his twenty-seven-year-old son, "who would undoubtedly be glad" to talk with him.<sup>100</sup> This was a blatant affront, but the banker grudgingly said that Junior should call at his office at Broad and Wall Streets.

Relishing their little game, Senior and Junior stalled in arranging the meeting and very nearly overplayed their hand. Then, on the morning of February 25, 1901, Henry Rogers stopped by Junior's desk and inquired, "Would you like to go with me to meet Mr. Morgan?"<sup>101</sup> Sensing that the time had come to put Morgan out of his misery, Junior accompanied Rogers that afternoon. Now it was Morgan's turn to behave in a condescending manner. When Rogers and Junior entered his office, he was consulting with his partner Charles Steele and did not look up from his desk. When Steele left, Morgan finally lifted his eyes, and Rogers introduced Junior. Morgan complained about the delay and said matters had to be wrapped up within twenty-four hours. Junior explained that it had taken time to appraise the properties. "Well," Morgan barked, glowering at Junior, "what's your price?"

If Morgan thought he was dealing with a choirboy, he was soon undeceived. Showing an unexpected pluck that nobody, not even Junior, knew was there, he shot back, "Mr. Morgan, I think there must be some mistake. I did not come here to sell. I understood you wished to buy."<sup>102</sup> He asked Morgan to name a price that his father might accept or decline. For Junior, it must have been a revelatory moment: He was sparring with Wall Street's potentate. When Morgan stepped out briefly, Henry Rogers, flabbergasted, advised Junior to soften his tone, but Junior said he meant every word and that he and father were "absolutely indifferent about coming into the consolidation."<sup>103</sup> The tense standoff ended in a compromise: Morgan and Junior agreed that Henry Clay Frick would serve as an honest broker to establish a mutually agreeable price. As Junior was leaving, he asked Morgan whether his father might take a share in the steel syndication. Taking another jab, Morgan replied that the offering was oversubscribed and that he had delayed too long in submitting his request. Since Morgan had already set aside five-million-dollar allotments for William Rockefeller and James Stillman, he must have

known that John D. would be stung by this exclusion.

When Junior returned to 26 Broadway, he immediately wrote to his parents, describing Morgan's brusqueness and his response. "The whole thing suggested the final sweep-up of the room and we seemed to be the crumbs around the edge which of course must be swept up and expect to be swept up and which it was most annoying to find at this late date still on the floor."<sup>104</sup> His parents were overjoyed that Junior had stood up to Morgan. His father, reading the letter aloud to Cettie, paused every few sentences to exclaim, "Great Caesar, but John is a trump!" Cettie—every inch the Spartan mother—was no less amazed. "Indeed you were masterly in the conduct of the negotiation," she wrote back, "and you are so quiet and unassuming in both words and manner. Control of self wins the battle, for it means control of others."<sup>105</sup> The ecstatic response of Junior's parents perhaps hints at relief from unspoken doubts, as if they both had wondered whether he could meet the demands imposed by the family fortune.

After the meeting, Morgan urged Frick to visit Rockefeller at his Pocantico estate. To avoid publicity, Frick took a carriage up after dark, and the coachman waited at the front gate while Frick and Rockefeller huddled behind some shrubbery. "Wouldn't it have made quite a story for the newspapers—our skulking around in the bushes in the dark?" Rockefeller later mused.<sup>106</sup> As usual, he was wary and distant, not tipping his hand. "As my son told Mr. Morgan, I am not anxious to sell my own properties. But as you surmise, I never wish to stand in the way of a worthy enterprise. I do frankly object, however, to a prospective purchaser arbitrarily fixing an 'outside figure,' and I cannot deal on such a basis."<sup>107</sup> When Frick finally told him that Judge Gary's figure for Rockefeller's ore properties was five million dollars below its true value, Rockefeller said curtly, "Then, I will trust you to represent me."<sup>108</sup> With his usual minimalist art, Rockefeller had concluded this epochal meeting in about fifteen minutes. On February 28, when Gates and Junior sat down with Frick at 26 Broadway, they maintained the party line that Rockefeller was not eager to sell. Just two weeks later, Rockefeller's papers show a startling development that altered the course of the negotiations. Gates had commissioned new maps of potential ore deposits along the Mesabi Range that disclosed for the first time the likely existence of undiscovered mines. As Junior interpreted this catastrophic news to his father, "We had supposed up to date that we now controlled practically all of the ore reserve of the range. In view of this new map, the information of which is known only to ourselves, we are more inclined to make some trade."<sup>109</sup> After this, the Rockefellers subtly softened their negotiating posture, aided by a rapport between Junior and Frick so strong that Junior was later made an executor of Frick's estate. "I have met no one in business whom I have been more strongly drawn to and have greater confidence in than Mr. Frick," Junior told his father in mid-March.<sup>110</sup> The talks were also assisted by Rockefeller's declared resolve not to extract the last penny so as "to leave a favorable and friendly impression on Mr. Morgan," as Junior put it.<sup>111</sup>

For all that, Rockefeller reaped a fantastic profit in the creation of U.S. Steel, the first billion-dollar corporation and the first trust to overtake Standard Oil in size. The Consolidated stock originally bought for \$10 a share in 1893 now fetched the equivalent of \$160 in cash in 1901. Gates and Junior made an agreement with Frick that the Rockefellers would receive \$80 million for the Consolidated stock—half in the form of U.S. Steel common stock and half in preferred—and another \$8.5 million for the fifty-six lake vessels of the Bessemer fleet. Gates estimated that \$55 million of the \$88.5 million was clear profit. The U.S. Steel deal swelled Rockefeller's net worth beyond \$200 million (\$3.5 billion today) and made him the second-richest man in America. On the other hand, he fell further behind Andrew Carnegie, who had received \$300 million in bonds as his portion for the sale of Carnegie Steel. But this moment marked the zenith of Carnegie's wealth, whereas Rockefeller was just warming up.

Having overseen the Mesabi operation, Gates was not shy about demanding his due. When he delivered an oral report on the \$55 million profit, Rockefeller saluted his effort and murmured quietly, "Thank you, Mr. Gates—thank you!" Gates fixed Rockefeller with a steady, quizzical look. For a long time, he had shown an almost filial deference toward his boss, but he was now well aware of his worth. Seizing the moment, he had the courage to say, "'Thank you' is not enough, Mr. Rockefeller." Forced to reconsider, Rockefeller evidently came up with a large enough bonus, although Gates never revealed the exact amount.<sup>112</sup> Notwithstanding his veneration of his mentor, Gates griped for years about his compensation and sometimes stooped to nasty jokes about Rockefeller's avarice.

For a time, it seemed the steel trust might effect a rapprochement between Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan. As one of the largest U.S. Steel stockholders, Rockefeller demanded and won board seats for himself and his son. Yet financial differences quickly soured his relations with Morgan. Rockefeller was upset by U.S. Steel's extravagant dividends, even though he was a major recipient. In 1904, to register his protest, he resigned from the board, never having attended a meeting, and left Junior behind to represent him. By 1911, the Rockefellers liquidated the last of their U.S. Steel holdings. During the next two years, Morgan enjoyed an unspoken revenge by continuing to assign Rockefeller inferior positions in the weaker bond syndicates while excluding him from the sounder issues. Gates was always mystified by Morgan's success. "He seems to be a man incapable of calm and reasoning reflection; the victim of a succession of unreasoning impulses."<sup>113</sup>

Before leaving Rockefeller's exploits in the realm of iron ore, we should mark a prominent casualty of this adventure: his already troubled relationship with brother Frank. During the 1890s, Frank remained a vice president of Standard Oil of Ohio and took home a generous salary, despite his extended absences from Cleveland and a scornful indifference to business. As irascible as ever, he wrote testy letters to Standard Oil colleagues, forcing John and William to mediate. Frank was devoured by bitterness and often lapsed into violent, ungovernable rages that were aggravated by his alcoholism.

Frank could never curb his compulsive gambling. Wanting to emulate the big killings of his brothers, he was tempted again and again into foolhardy ventures. With the best intentions, John fed Frank's gambling addiction, even though Frank often did not realize the source of the loans. John and William continued to carry a \$180,000 mortgage on his Kansas ranch and bailed him out when his crops failed in 1893. This generosity only highlighted Frank's chronic dependency and further embittered him. In extending loans to Frank, John followed his usual strict accounting rules, which he always applied in a compulsive, inflexible fashion. Nevertheless, when it suited his convenience, Frank was offended by his brother's refusal to compromise on his business principles.

Frank's best friend at the time was a bluff Irishman named James Corrigan. They hunted together, maintained adjoining estates in Ohio, and often invested together. A handsome man with a heavy jaw and bull neck, Corrigan was a popular, pugnacious Cleveland businessman. In the early 1880s, he had sold several refineries to John D., who had given him his first job and counted him as a friend. As payment for one refinery, Rockefeller gave Corrigan 2,500 shares of Standard Oil. With this money, Corrigan bought a half interest in the Franklin Iron Mining Company in the Lake Superior region

of Wisconsin—the investment that first piqued Rockefeller’s interest in the Mesabi Range. John loaned Frank the money to purchase the other half, keeping the mining stock as collateral. Not without reason, John D. later ruefully stated, “Neither my brother nor Corrigan had any reason to complain of my conduct. I made James Corrigan his fortune. I made my brother his fortune.”<sup>114</sup>

When the 1893 panic struck, John D. behaved in exemplary fashion. He and William agreed to cancel their mortgage on Frank’s Kansas ranch. Corrigan, meanwhile, took more loans from John D., secured by his Standard Oil stock, bringing the total to more than \$400,000; Frank ran up debts to his brother in excess of \$800,000, or \$13 million in contemporary dollars. By these actions, John D. acquired considerable power over the two men, for he had retained as collateral their Franklin mining stock, Corrigan’s Standard Oil shares, and Corrigan’s share in a lake shipping fleet.

As the panic deepened, Rockefeller refused to release collateral despite Corrigan’s pleas that he could use his lake vessels to raise additional money. In October 1894, Corrigan tried to borrow another \$150,000 from John without posting extra collateral. George Rogers tersely informed Corrigan that “Mr. Rockefeller had advanced all he ought to on the Franklin mine property and that unless he could offer some further collateral, I felt very sure Mr. Rockefeller could not help him out.”<sup>115</sup> When Corrigan stopped making interest payments altogether, Rockefeller carried him for another year before calling the loan. He offered to pay Corrigan \$168 or \$169 per share for his 2,500 shares of Standard Oil, which would yield enough to retire his \$400,000 in debt.

To gauge the value of this stock, Corrigan’s attorney asked Rockefeller to provide detailed information about the trust’s stocks, assets, investments, and earnings during the previous five years. Rockefeller refused to publicize such sensitive information. “The securities to which you refer have a well-known market value, which is published in the newspapers every day,” Rockefeller told the attorney.<sup>116</sup> At the time, few companies published annual reports. Yet Frank interpreted his brother’s behavior in darkly conspiratorial terms. Several years later, he told Ida Tarbell that when he met with him to plead for more time for Corrigan, John said, “Frank, persuade Corrigan to sell me his Standard Oil stock. He is in a tight place. He can never get out and I might as well have the stock as anybody.”<sup>117</sup> Frank took this to mean that John was bent upon destroying Corrigan to obtain his Standard Oil stock, and Frank advised his friend not to sell under any circumstances.

Corrigan finally sold his Standard Oil stock to John D. at \$168 a share in February 1895. Rockefeller paid the market price, roughly equivalent to what he paid his Standard colleagues for their stock that month. One Standard executive, Joseph Seep, said that Rockefeller did not even keep Corrigan’s stock but distributed it among his colleagues. Nevertheless, before a month had elapsed, the stock zoomed to \$185 and then much higher. Instead of blaming bad luck, Corrigan decided he had been swindled and in April 1895 wrote Rockefeller to that effect. When he received the letter, Rockefeller was stunned. “Is it possible that ‘Jim Corrigan’ should be willing to write me such a letter,” he wrote back, “after my uniform kindness to him for a lifetime?”<sup>118</sup> Some years later, possibly with the Corrigan affair in mind, Rockefeller lectured his son, “John, never lend money to your friends; it will spoil your friendships.”<sup>119</sup>

Rockefeller had been neither Santa Claus nor Scrooge but simply a hard, un-sentimental lender. It is true that he had more than enough collateral to cover Corrigan’s \$400,000 in loans, but he had exercised patience and carried Corrigan for a year after payments ceased. Gates even complained that Rockefeller was coddling him. Corrigan waited until July 1897 before filing suit, saying it had taken that long to serve a subpoena on Rockefeller. The delay was more likely due to the continuing rise in Standard Oil stock, which had jumped to nearly \$350 a share because of Archbold’s generous dividend policy. Corrigan issued an ultimatum: Rockefeller could either give back his Standard shares or pay him \$500 a share. The court-appointed arbitrators in the case, given rare access to Standard Oil’s confidential books, decided that Rockefeller’s conduct had been blameless. Even though Frank hotly insisted that John had cheated his best friend, he continued to touch his brother for money and a year later borrowed another \$130,000. Still unaware of the true depth of Frank’s bile, John jotted down a memo for his files in February 1896, saying of Frank, “He is all very nice and pleasant and I think appreciates that I am doing things for him.”<sup>120</sup>

After the Corrigan case, Frank began to seem deranged on the subject of his brother. He began to materialize at 26 Broadway or on the broad veranda at Forest Hill, boisterously demanding to see him. Because of the pending Corrigan suit, John would receive him only with a secretary present to record what he said. In 1898, John told William that Frank was now threatening him and asked him to intercede. John then had some long talks with a drunken Frank, who made extremely abusive remarks about him. Frank felt that his brother was so rich that he should forgive all his loans. When John differed, the breach between them widened. During their last meeting, as they walked down the street together, John said to him, “Frank, I’ll always be a brother to you.”<sup>121</sup> They never spoke to or set eyes on each other again.

Nursing an obsessive resentment, Frank decided to make a symbolic break with his brother. When John erected the towering obelisk at the family plot in Cleveland’s Lake View Cemetery in 1898, Frank had the caskets of his two children who had died in childhood disinterred from the family plot and transferred to another part of the cemetery. “Not one of my blood,” he declared, “will ever rest upon land controlled by that monster, John D. Rockefeller.”<sup>122</sup> Soon thereafter, Frank, his wife, and three daughters withdrew from the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church.

Even after these unforgivable insults, John let Frank represent him on several corporate boards. While Frank’s salary was reduced from \$15,000 to \$10,000 for his sinecure at Standard Oil of Ohio, he continued to draw this largely unearned salary until 1912. In September 1901, his finances ravaged by speculation, Frank told William that he would file for bankruptcy if he did not receive an immediate cash infusion of \$86,000. When William secretly asked John to contribute half the amount, John wrote to him: “I will take half of the \$86,000 if you take the other half, but Frank must not know that I am loaning the money.”<sup>123</sup> In 1907, John and William again saved Frank from bankruptcy by guaranteeing loans that Frank had gotten from his stockbroker.

After the Corrigan business, Frank no longer felt any need to muzzle himself. Reporters soon learned that to get an inflammatory quote about John D., they simply had to contact Frank Rockefeller. Discussing the Corrigan affair, Frank told one reporter, “That treacherous act was but a detail in my brother’s long record of heartless villainy. . . . He seems never to get enough. I wonder where it would end—this desire of his for more millions?”<sup>124</sup> John never commented publicly on these diatribes. Unfortunately for John’s reputation, Frank began to spew forth this invective just as the muckraking era got under way. Coming from a brother, these highly quotable remarks made a tremendous impression upon the public, who never dreamed that John



D.'s treatment of Frank was one area of his life where his record was spotless.

## CHAPTER 21

### The Enthusiast

When Rockefeller receded from the business world in the mid-1890s, the average American was earning less than ten dollars per week. Rockefeller's average income—a stupefying \$10 million per annum in those glory days before income taxes—defied public comprehension. Of more than \$250 million in dividends distributed by Standard Oil between 1893 and 1901, over a quarter went straight into Rockefeller's coffers. As Standard Oil shares took flight in the late 1890s, one periodical computed that Rockefeller's wealth had appreciated by \$55 million (\$972 million today) in nine months. "Where in the history of the world did any man ever make \$55,000,000 in 9 months?" the editorialist demanded.<sup>1</sup> Rockefeller was becoming Mister Money Bags, a byword for wealth.

One might have thought Rockefeller would relax in retirement, but he was still a prisoner to the Protestant work ethic and attacked recreational interests with the same intensity that he had brought to business. "I have not had the experience of the majority of business men," he later told William O. Inglis, "who find time hanging heavily on their hands."<sup>2</sup> Yet his retirement was equally remarkable for its omissions. For instance, he lacked the wanderlust that infected other rich men, such as J. P. Morgan, in their later years. He never collected art or exploited his wealth to broaden his connections or cultivate fancy people. Aside from the occasional courtesy call from other moguls, he hobnobbed with the same family members, old friends, and Baptist clergy who had always formed his social circle. He showed no interest in old-money clubs, parties, or organizations. Commenting on this, Ida Tarbell branded Rockefeller a "social cripple" and detected an inferiority complex that made him afraid to venture beyond his home turf, but his behavior actually connoted mental health.<sup>3</sup> When someone expressed surprise to Rockefeller that he had not gotten a big head, he replied, "Only fools get swelled up over money."<sup>4</sup> Comfortable with himself, he needed no outward validation of what he had accomplished. We can criticize him for lack of imagination, but not for weakness.

It is striking that Rockefeller, so grave in business, was extremely fond of games in retirement and indulged in a little skylarking. As his body aged, his mind grew younger and more buoyant. Having missed a carefree boyhood, he seemed to want to compensate in his later years and he suddenly showed a lot of his father's jollity. In the 1890s, Cleveland was seized by a bicycle craze, and the "wheel season" was opened each spring by hundreds of colorful tandem bikes gliding down Euclid Avenue. Though in his fifties, Rockefeller joined the fad with boyish élan. A firm believer in appropriate dress, he bought, in assorted shades, sporty riding costumes of corded knickerbocker suits, alpine hats, and cloth leggings. Frederick Gates was at Forest Hill when Rockefeller learned to ride, and he watched Rockefeller teach himself to turn around without alighting. "He would start in with a wide circle," Gates recalled, "and then follow it round and round each time narrowing the circuit until without dismounting he was almost circling the rear wheel."<sup>5</sup> As with industrial methods, Rockefeller broke down cycling into its component parts then perfected each movement. Much in the spirit of Big Bill, he liked to perform stunts on the bike, often jumping onto the seat as someone held the bike or holding open an umbrella as he rode with no hands. Through his interest in bike riding, Rockefeller came to master the fundamentals of civil engineering, a subject that had long intrigued him. When he wanted to ride his bike up the steep slope to the Forest Hill house, an engineer told him that no practicable grade could be found. "Nothing is impossible," Rockefeller replied.<sup>6</sup> Burying himself in civil-engineering books, he figured out a suitable angle—a 3 percent grade, in engineering lingo—and, true to his prediction, rode his bike straight up to the door.

Rockefeller proved fatally susceptible to another fad: golf. In 1899, he was staying at a hotel in Lakewood, New Jersey, and pitching horseshoes with a friend, Elias Johnson, who praised his easy style and nearly unbeatable game. Johnson tried to persuade Rockefeller that these skills would serve him well in golf. "He would look me through with those calm, gray-blue eyes but say nothing," said Johnson.<sup>7</sup> Finally, he convinced Rockefeller to try a few swings on a grassy, secluded spot near their hotel. After a few tips, Johnson later recalled in an interview, Rockefeller drove three balls more than one hundred yards apiece.

"Is that all there is of it?" Rockefeller asked. "Yes, that's all there is of it, but not one in one hundred would do the same thing you've done just now. They want to do too much." His competitive urges surfacing, Rockefeller said, "Do not some players send the ball farther than that?" "Yes, but long shots come only after much practice."<sup>8</sup>



*A photo of John D. Rockefeller taken in 1904, after alopecia had drastically altered his appearance. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

Rockefeller decided to play a little prank on his wife. He had a golf pro, Joe Mitchell, come to the hotel and give him lessons on the sly. Every time the caddies saw Cettie approaching, Rockefeller scampered for cover in the bushes. Several weeks later, he said to her offhandedly that golf seemed like a very nice sport and that he might take a shot at it. He then stepped up to a tee and smacked the ball 160 yards straight down the fairway. After marveling for a moment, Cettie shook her head and said, “John, I might have known it. You do things better and more easily than anyone else.”<sup>9</sup>

On April 2, 1899, right before his sixtieth birthday, Rockefeller played his first complete game of golf, finishing nine holes in sixty-four strokes. After this, he took up the sport with a vengeance. Not always a powerful player, he was nonetheless eerily accurate, his swing so exacting that time seemed suspended. “It was the slowest back-swing I ever saw,” said one partner. “It seemed to last for minutes.”<sup>10</sup> Once again, Rockefeller dissected his game like a manufacturing method. Noticing that he twisted his right foot at the end of his stroke, he had his caddy nail his foot into the ground with a wire croquet wicket—a hazardous trick that he abandoned once the fault was corrected. Since he lifted his head as he shot, he hired a boy to say “Keep your head down” whenever he teed off. Rockefeller was frustrated at one point when he kept slicing his woods. To identify the source of the problem, he commissioned a Cleveland photographer to do snapshots of his swing, a time-and-motion study that enabled him to root out the troublesome flaw. Later, he had movies made of his game, which he studied intently. As part of this studious approach, he recorded all his golf scores in thick little books, with names, dates, and places included.

Rockefeller’s passion for golf was linked to his medical problems of the 1890s, which turned him into a fitness buff. “Played in moderation golf is not only a fascinating game but a valuable aid to health,” he advised friends.<sup>11</sup> His physician and frequent golf partner Dr. Hamilton Biggar credited golf with rejuvenating Rockefeller after his near breakdown. “Since he has taken it up with such gusto there has been a marked change in his appearance,” he told a reporter. “His skin, which was formerly pallid and wrinkled, is now firm and ruddy and healthy.”<sup>12</sup> In later years, Rockefeller gave up walking and bicycled from hole to hole to conserve energy for the game. As an old man, he sat upright on the bike and had it pushed along by his caddy to economize further on his strength. Nothing could keep him from his morning game. If it rained or the sun was too strong, a caddy shielded him with a big black umbrella throughout. His retinue came equipped with rubbers for muddy weather, sweaters for chilly weather, and towels to dry the clubs in a drizzle.

Golf made Rockefeller a more gregarious person, bringing out a bonhomie that had been stifled during the Standard Oil years. For a man who shrank from intimate discussion, golf provided an ideal way to socialize in a highly structured, risk-free environment from ten-fifteen to twelve each morning. As soon as he arrived, he would clown around, setting a tone of genial banter, and people responded in kind. He hummed hymns or popular songs, told humorous anecdotes, or even read short poems of his own composition. One of his favorite gags involved an eminent minister who liked to cheat at golf; an adroit mimic, Rockefeller aped the divine giving the ball a secret little kick behind a tree stump. Golf brought out a native drollery that he had never allowed to flower before. “We should not rejoice in the downfall of others,” he wrote his daughter Bessie, “but I slaughtered four men at golf on Saturday last. . . . This was very wrong, and of course I will never do it again.”<sup>13</sup>

Rockefeller established various taboos on the course, including that no business or charitable bequests should ever be discussed. People who flouted these rules were never invited back, and Rockefeller was extremely uncompromising on the subject. He wanted to keep things on a superficial, slightly unreal level and ward off any serious discussion. In this way, he could be with people yet surrounded by his own ring of silence, an isolated figure amid the crowd, setting the terms of social intercourse.

Despite his unmatched place in America’s urban and industrial growth, Rockefeller remained a country boy at heart and now receded further from the city. Perhaps as a legacy of his upstate boyhood, he was drawn to hilltop houses with spacious water views. Seeking an escape from Manhattan, he was especially attracted to the Hudson River, on which William had built his thousand-acre manor. John D. was moved by the river’s beauty and majestic shoreline, flanked by rolling farmland and picturesque villages. When land prices plunged during the 1893 panic, he bought four hundred acres in the Pocantico Hills of North Tarrytown, just south of Rockwood Hall. Though he considered establishing a weekend house or summer hideaway, he had no exact plan. “As I stated to you before coming,” he wrote to Cettie in early September 1893, “I have no scheme whatever in reference to this new property on the Hudson, further than to own it and let the future determine how [we] wish to use it.”<sup>14</sup>

Rockefeller was drawn to the spot by natural beauty, not elegant neighbors. “He chose the site of his house on Pocantico Hills for its glorious view of the Hudson and the Catskills, one of the most magnificent landscapes in America,” reported Gates, who accompanied him on the first trip.<sup>15</sup> The property included a jagged ridge called Kykuit Hill—pronounced *kye*-cut and derived from the Dutch word for lookout—which enjoyed splendid views of the river and distant Palisades. As at Forest Hill, Rockefeller simply took the furnished house that came with the property, a modest frame structure with wide verandas known as the Parsons-Wentworth House. As was his wont, he kept remodeling the house over the years, enlarging a room here, making one more comfortable there. It was his own Walden, a place where “fine views invest the soul and where we can live simply and quietly.”<sup>16</sup>

By 1900, Rockefeller had acquired 1,600 acres and eventually the Pocantico Hills estate expanded to 3,000 acres, threaded by dozens of miles of winding roads and bridle paths. Rockefeller could tolerate extravagance as long as the style was understated and did not trumpet his wealth too loudly. He avoided a gaudy residence and had no desire to impress other people. If anything, he craved seclusion. At one point, Rockefeller decided that he had to purchase a small corner property owned by Thomas Birdsall. He offered an excellent purchase price and said he would buy a nearby strip of land to which Birdsall could move his house. When Birdsall refused, Rockefeller ordered his superintendent to surround the offending property with the largest cedar trees he could find, casting the house into perpetual gloom. Birdsall caved in.

Almost as soon as he caught the golf fever in 1899, Rockefeller laid out four holes at Pocantico. “Mother and Father crazy over golf,” Junior told a college chum in 1900. “Father plays from four to six hours a day, and Mother several hours.”<sup>17</sup> William Tucker, a golf pro from nearby Ardsley, coached Rockefeller regularly. By 1901, the titan hired a golf architect, William Dunn, to plot a twelve-hole course, and he also had a nine-hole course designed for Forest Hill. Gamely trying to please his father, Junior took lessons for a year, but he was not cut out for competitive games and favored the

more solitary pleasure of horseback riding.

At some point, Rockefeller decided that he had to play golf daily at Pocantico. In early December 1904, after four inches of snow had fallen on Westchester County, Elias Johnson was taken aback to receive a call from Rockefeller, inviting him up for a foursome. When Johnson objected that they could not possibly play in the snow, Rockefeller said, “Just come up and see.” Even as they spoke, a team of workmen with horses and snowplows were assiduously clearing snow from five fairways and putting greens; the next morning, Johnson found a shimmering green course, carved from a wintry landscape. “We never had a finer game,” said Johnson.<sup>18</sup> Rockefeller played in all kinds of weather. “Yesterday morning I played with the thermometer at 20 in the shade,” he boasted to a niece in 1904. “It was cold indeed on these Pocantico Hills, but a good thing for my health.”<sup>19</sup> To keep his partners warm, he distributed paper vests, which became a trademark gift.

Golf was his greatest indulgence. A full-time crew at Pocantico was charged with keeping the greens clear, and they were often out in the early morning, wiping dew from the grass with special mowers, rollers, and bamboo poles. An account book from early 1906 shows that Rockefeller spent \$525,211.47 on personal expenses during the previous year, devoting an astounding \$27,537.80—or \$450,000 in 1996 dollars—to golf.<sup>20</sup>

Another rich man might have turned to his estate for rest, but for Rockefeller much of the charm lay in the construction and heavy labor. At first, he had the firm of Frederick Law Olmsted, who had designed Central Park and many other parks, do the landscaping at Pocantico. Then, he took this work in hand himself, relegating outside firms to advisory roles and building a surveying tower to help him lay out the gardens. Rockefeller had a flair for landscape design and delighted in transplanting trees as tall as ninety feet. By the 1920s, he had some of the world’s largest nurseries at Pocantico, where he planted as many as ten thousand young trees at a time, selling some of them at a profit.

Rockefeller belied Thorstein Veblen’s generalization that rich men possessed “an instinctive repugnance for the vulgar forms of labor,” for he always believed in the dignity of manual labor.<sup>21</sup> Along with his son, he laid out sinuous trails and framed striking vistas, leading the work gangs himself. “How many miles of roads I have laid out in my time,” he reflected, “I can hardly compute, but I have often kept at it until I was exhausted. While surveying roads, I have run the lines until darkness made it impossible to see the little stakes and flags.”<sup>22</sup> He became so skillful that he built roads without an engineer. “I am thinking of moving that hillock,” he would say, quickly sizing up the volume of material involved. “Offhand, I would say there are just about 650,000 cubic feet of dirt here.”<sup>23</sup>

As at Standard Oil, Rockefeller was a paternalistic boss at home. Among his three hundred mostly black and Italian workmen he outlawed profanity and even tried to purchase and shut down Tarrytown’s lone tavern. Though he was exacting and did not pay high salaries, he never yelled at his employees and dealt with them in a patient, considerate manner, occasionally inviting them to sit by the fire for a chat.

Rockefeller’s absorption in his estates might well have stemmed from his fear of the general public and preference for staying in a protected home environment. As one early biographer noted, “Universally execrated, broken physically and nervously, he was forced almost three decades ago to retreat behind stone walls, barbed wire fences, grilled iron gates.”<sup>24</sup> He preferred to socialize on home turf, where guests had to conform to his rules and his timetable. He was also concerned about terrorist acts. In early 1892, George Rogers told Cettie that he had just gotten a letter signed “Justice or Extermination,” which warned that a packaged bomb was on the way.<sup>25</sup> Such threats posed a dilemma for Rockefeller in fashioning his estates, for he wanted to keep his lands open to the public. He finally decided to protect himself by having a secure, private core of four to five hundred acres, including the family houses and golf course, ringed by fences and manned by watchmen. The public was allowed to wander through the rest of the estate, provided that they brought no cars. For decades, Pocantico was a hiker’s and rider’s paradise, making the Rockefeller domain at once exclusive and democratic.

In retirement, Rockefeller subordinated many things to the overriding goal of longevity. “I hope you will take good care of your health,” he once told Junior. “This is a religious duty, and you can accomplish so much for the world if you keep well and strong.”<sup>26</sup> His Baptist avoidance of tobacco or alcohol made him a natural advocate of abstemious living, and he was convinced that virtuous habits were medicinal. “I enjoy the best of health,” he said in later years. “What a compensation for the loss of the theaters, the clubs, the dinners, the dissipations which ruined the health of many of my acquaintances long, long years ago. . . . I was satisfied with cold water and skimmed milk, and enjoyed my sleep. What a pity that more men did not enjoy these simple things!”<sup>27</sup>

Rockefeller’s boon companion was Dr. Hamilton F. Biggar. They had met in the 1870s in the early days on Euclid Avenue when Rockefeller, playing blindman’s buff with the children, was dashing madly about the parlor and ran smack into a doorway; Dr. Biggar came to stitch the wound and remained in the family bosom. Born in Canada, Biggar moved to Cleveland after the Civil War and became a leading figure in the increasingly popular field of homeopathic medicine. He rose to professor of anatomy and clinical surgery in the local Homeopathic Hospital College and counted William McKinley and Mark Hanna among his patients. Founded by the German physician Samuel Hahnemann (1755–1843) and prevalent in nineteenth-century America, homeopathy cured disease by using minute amounts of substances that in larger doses might cause the disease. At Biggar’s behest, Rockefeller served as a vice president and trustee of the Homeopathic Hospital College, providing money for land, building, and instruction. It was a striking paradox that the philanthropist who would create the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and did more than anyone else to advance scientific medicine in the twentieth century was emotionally wedded to traditional remedies. Rockefeller sometimes smoked mullein leaves in a clay pipe to heal respiratory problems and never lost a residual suspicion of medical doctors. “The doctor came to see me today,” he once reported to his son. “He wouldn’t give me the medicine I wanted, and I wouldn’t take the medicine he prescribed, but we had a lovely talk.”<sup>28</sup>

Portly, tall, and round-faced, given to derby hats and watch chains, Dr. Biggar shared Rockefeller’s love of yarns and dry wisecracks and they took pleasure in good-naturedly ribbing each other. Since Biggar dressed in a more dapper fashion than his rich friend, many people imagined that *he* was the titan when they traveled together. More than anybody, Dr. Biggar brought out Rockefeller’s amiability, as reflected in his description of Rockefeller: “He has a keen sense of humor, is fond of jokes, sharp in repartee, an entertaining conversationalist and a gracious listener.”<sup>29</sup>

Not everybody was enamored of Dr. Biggar. As Rockefeller's official doctor, issuing medical bulletins to the press, he struck some as pompous and self-serving. Some physicians even thought him a charlatan with a good bedside manner. One such doubter was Harvard president Charles Eliot, who told Frederick Gates that most Harvard doctors considered Biggar inept. In 1901, according to Eliot, when Biggar had a physical breakdown, Rockefeller paid his expenses for a European trip to recuperate. While he was away, Rockefeller had a renewed attack of hydrocele, an accumulation of serous fluid, which Biggar had pronounced incurable. Rockefeller summoned a doctor from the Harvard Medical School "who not only promptly relieved him of present pain but in a month effected a permanent cure, which Mr. Rockefeller had been led to believe was not possible," Eliot told Gates nine years later.<sup>30</sup> After that, Rockefeller consulted other doctors, especially an elderly German named Dr. Henry N. Moeller, but Biggar was often at his side and had a continuing influence on his views.

By the early 1900s, Dr. Biggar frequently prophesied in the press that Rockefeller would live to one hundred (which doubtless endeared him to his patron), and he became such a zealous spokesman for Rockefeller's health principles that it became hard to tell where Biggar ended and Rockefeller began. In 1907, Biggar stated his foolproof rules for long life: "At fifty the American businessman should cease to worry, eschew liquor and tobacco and make play in 'God's out of doors' his chief aim in life."<sup>31</sup> As time passed, Biggar added an admonition to rise from the table a little bit hungry, while Rockefeller laid additional stress on nine hours of daily sleep, including a long siesta after lunch.

There are hints that Rockefeller had a more than ordinary dread of death. Years later, he was playing a golf foursome at Ormond Beach, Florida, when one partner, a Mr. Harvey, thought he had a severe attack of indigestion. Rockefeller took his arm and uttered consoling words before Harvey crumpled to the ground from a heart attack. Doctors were summoned while Harvey was carried inside, where he died thirty minutes later. Rockefeller, so compassionate at first, unceremoniously fled the scene. As one golfing partner recalled, "Mr. Rockefeller turned away and walked rapidly to his car and drove off. I always felt that he did not want to witness death."<sup>32</sup> Nowhere in his voluminous records does he ever even remotely discuss death.

Rockefeller seemed to believe that he could keep death at bay if he adhered to his fixed rules. Extremely finicky about diet, rest, and exercise, he reduced everything to a routine and repeated the same daily schedule, forcing other people to fall in step with his timetable. In a letter to his son, Rockefeller credited his longevity to his willingness to reject social demands. "I attribute my good condition to my almost reckless independence in determining for myself what to do and the rigid adhering to regulations which give me the maximum of rest and quiet and leisure, and I am being richly paid for it every day."<sup>33</sup>

Part of his single-minded program for reaching one hundred was to go through life in a steady, unhurried fashion. He paced himself, husbanded his energy, and took pride in his abnormally low pulse: "That indicates a capacity for enduring and retaining one's balance."<sup>34</sup> In his early years, he had struggled to master his temper and clear his mind of petty annoyances; now, he had a medical rationale for purging his system of turbulent emotions, especially anger. "It produces in the blood a lot of toxins that poison the system of the angry person. That tires him out and renders him less efficient, to say nothing of causing him to grow old and wear out before his time."<sup>35</sup> Worry was also to be avoided. "I am certain that worry causes a greater strain upon the nerves than hard work."<sup>36</sup> This outlook further encouraged him to avoid spontaneous, potentially confrontational encounters with people.

Rockefeller was partial to massage and other forms of bodily manipulation. In the early 1900s, he became a passionate devotee of osteopathy, which tries to restore the body's structural integrity by manipulating the skeleton and muscles, and he talked Cettie and Lute into going for treatments. In one rapturous outburst in 1905, he told his son that he had profited from osteopathy while at Forest Hill and was "more grateful than I can tell you for the good health which I have and which enables me to do two or three times as much work, Mrs. Tuttle [his telegrapher] says, as I used to do when she was here before. Osteopathy! Osteopathy! Osteopathy!"<sup>37</sup> When exponents of more advanced medicine—spurred on, ironically, by Rockefeller philanthropy—tried to enact legislation to bar osteopaths, Rockefeller rushed to the osteopaths' defense. "I believe in osteopathy," he instructed his secretary, "and if any of our people at 26 Broadway can say or do anything to aid the osteopaths at this time of their struggle, I should appreciate it."<sup>38</sup> A visit to an osteopath occasioned one of Rockefeller's most celebrated witticisms. As the osteopath cracked his vertebrae, Rockefeller said wryly, "Listen to that, doctor. They say I control all the oil in the country and I haven't enough even to oil my own joints."<sup>39</sup>

In the early 1900s, the press still circulated preposterous stories of how Rockefeller could digest only milk and crackers and had a standing offer of one million dollars to anyone who could fix his stomach. The most ghoulish myth claimed that he needed mother's milk to survive and that his caddy smuggled it to him daily in a thermos on the golf course. Thousands of letters flooded into 26 Broadway, offering remedies for stomach troubles. Rockefeller was perplexed by these weird rumors. When approaching eighty, he said wearily, "There are multitudes of people in the country today who, from these false reports, believe that I am in such a sad condition that I would give all I possess on earth to be a well man. And I know of no man in better health than I am—and so it goes."<sup>40</sup> Biggar had, in fact, prescribed bread and milk for Rockefeller's digestive troubles in the 1890s, and he continued to drink milk and cream regularly in the early 1900s, believing that "fresh milk is an excellent food for the nerves."<sup>41</sup> Yet as his health returned in the late 1890s, he resumed a varied menu, which he consumed slowly and in tiny portions. He had a plain but healthy diet: green peas and string beans from his garden, rice, barley water, lettuce, fish, brown bread, and baked potatoes twice a day.

In the early 1900s, portly tycoons such as Morgan incarnated the robust prosperity of the era, while Rockefeller weighed in at a lean 165 pounds. Still the ascetic Protestant, he decried overeating, warning that it caused more sickness than did any other cause. He never ate hot food, waited for dishes to cool, and encouraged guests to start without him. Food was fuel for Rockefeller, not a source of sensual pleasure. "He could not understand why anyone would eat a piece of candy, if that piece of candy were not good for him, just because that person liked candy," Junior explained.<sup>42</sup> Once, in an uncharacteristic moment, he had a craving for ice cream and humbly asked Dr. Moeller for a waiver from his prohibition against eating it. "If I had a license from you to eat a very little ice cream occasionally it would be a special dispensation which I would much appreciate, but, you are the Doctor," he said meekly.<sup>43</sup>

Rockefeller's most distinctive piece of medical advice—and the eternal bane of his dinner guests—was that people should chew each bite ten times before swallowing. So conscientiously did he adhere to this practice that he even advised people to chew liquids, which he would swirl around in his mouth. He would still be eating a half hour after other guests had finished. To promote digestion, he also thought it important to linger at the table for an

hour or so after dinner. To pass the time, he played a parlor game with guests called Numerica, a form of competitive solitaire. Since, as a Baptist, he could not play cards, he had square counters made to replace the poker decks that were ordinarily used. Any number of guests could play, and Rockefeller distributed a dime to the winner, nickels to the losers. The game required a certain agility with figures, and Rockefeller grew so proficient from incessant practice that he tended to award himself the dime.

For Americans of a later day, John D. Rockefeller was etched in their minds as a bald, wizened man, a desiccated fossil. Yet before his health troubles of the early 1890s, the few reporters who penetrated his inner sanctum were struck by his youthful demeanor. His correspondence does show that his problem with hair loss began earlier than previously imagined; in 1886, at age forty-seven, he was already ordering bottles of hair restorative. In 1893, Rockefeller's hair loss, or alopecia, suddenly worsened as he struggled with digestive problems and fretted over the University of Chicago finances.

Generalized alopecia, or total loss of body hair, has been attributed to many causes, ranging from genetic factors to severe stress, but remarkably little is known for certain. For Rockefeller, the onset of the disease coincided with his breakdown of the early 1890s. In 1901, the symptoms worsened markedly, with Cettie recording in a memo book that in March of that year "John's moustache began to fall out, and all the hair on his body had followed by August."<sup>44</sup>

The change in his appearance was startling: He suddenly looked old, puffy, stooped—all but unrecognizable. He seemed to age a generation. Without hair, his facial imperfections grew more pronounced: The skin appeared parchment dry, his lips too thin, his head large and bumpy. Soon after losing his hair, Rockefeller went to a dinner thrown by J. P. Morgan (one of the few public dinners he ever attended) and sat down next to a mystified Charles Schwab, the new president of U.S. Steel. "I see you don't know me, Charley," said Rockefeller. "I am Mr. Rockefeller."<sup>45</sup>

Coming on the eve of the muckraking era, Rockefeller's alopecia had a devastating effect on his image: It made him look like a hairless ogre, stripped of all youth, warmth, and attractiveness, and this played powerfully on people's imaginations. For a time, he wore a black skullcap, giving him the impressively gaunt physiognomy of a Renaissance prelate. One French writer wrote that "under his silk skull-cap he seems like an old monk of the inquisition such as one sees in the Spanish picture galleries."<sup>46</sup>

The alopecia dealt a blow to Rockefeller's morale—the psychological effect is crushing for most people—and he dabbled restlessly in remedies. Biggar started him on a hair-restoration regimen in which he took phosphorus six days a week and sulfur on the seventh. When such remedies failed, Rockefeller decided to buy a wig. Self-conscious at first and reluctant to wear it, he tested it one Sunday at the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church. Before the service, he stood in the pastor's office, nervously adjusting it and telling a listener what an ordeal it would be to wear it in the church. When the wig met with a good reception, he was almost boyishly elated. Soon, he grew to love this wig, telling daughter Edith, "I sleep in it and play golf, and I am surprised that I went so long without it, and think I made a great mistake in doing so."<sup>47</sup> He became so fond of wigs that he started to wear rotating wigs of different lengths to give the impression of his hair growing then being cut. He even had wigs styled for different occasions: golf, church, short walks, and so on. For all his wealth, however, Rockefeller could never find the ideal wig. Starting out with a fashionable wig maker on the rue Castiglione in Paris, he grew disillusioned when springs in the framework pushed up through the hair. He then switched to a Cleveland wig maker whose product had another maddening defect: The foundation fabric would shrink, making the wig suddenly slide across his bald pate. What God had taken away, it seems, could never be perfectly restored.

Before Rockefeller's hair fell out, people noted the contrast between him and his often sickly wife. Then, overnight, the alopecia seemed to equalize their ages. John and Cettie had enjoyed a happy marriage, if one constrained by formality. Whether playing with the children or golfing with cronies, John was capable of a certain hilarity—he could kick up his heels and have fun. Cettie—gentle, sweet, charming—remained immured in her cloistered world of religion and clung to her belief in John as a superman. One observer described Cettie as "a dignified, simple-minded, elderly lady, pleasant faced, soft spoken, entirely without ostentation" for whom John "was still her hero after all the years."<sup>48</sup> As reformers branded her hero a corporate malefactor, she found a necessary sanctuary in Christianity, her mind soaring to serene religious heights far above the din of political strife.

It is hard to date with precision Cettie's transformation from an alert, capable woman into a professional invalid. She had never had a strong constitution: As early as the 1880s, Junior had taken care of many household tasks, such as buying carpets and overseeing repairs, because his mother lacked the strength. By the early 1890s, she complained of "a general state of prostration."<sup>49</sup> John had always confided in her about business and in 1893 was still sending her detailed reports about Mesabi ore. Then, abruptly, in the mid-1890s, his letters to her became empty and platitudinous, stuffed with bland descriptions of weather, garden walks, or golf, and they remained so for twenty years. It is hard to avoid the impression that he was deliberately tiptoeing around unpleasant subjects out of respect for her delicate medical state.

Cettie suffered from so many strange symptoms and vague ailments as to defy precise medical diagnosis. She complained in the 1890s of asthma and colitis, as well as sporadic problems with her eyes and spine. For her intestinal troubles, doctors ordered her to cut out fruits and vegetables in favor of a diet rich in milk, cream, butter, and eggs. At first, despite her problems, she was not bedridden. She and John took long drives before lunch, and around 1900 she often sneaked in several holes of afternoon golf. Then, in April 1904, at the height of the publication of Ida Tarbell's series in *McClure's Magazine*, she had an attack, perhaps a mild stroke, that left her nearly paralyzed. As she told her diary, "Dr. Allen says it will take two years of the most quiet living to be myself again. This I accept and shall gain daily feeling thankful that it is no worse."<sup>50</sup> John took her to Forest Hill, where she sunned on the porch and listened to him read aloud daily portions from *With God in the World* by Bishop Brent. She never entirely recuperated.

The image of Cettie projected by her family was invariably that of the stoic mother. "Everything which came to her, she accepted," her daughter Edith once wrote, "and she bore her frailty of body with uncomplaining patience."<sup>51</sup> Outsiders, however, saw less of this patient nobility. Where she had always been considerate with servants, she now became finicky and demanding. "Her hot milk must be brought to her at 11 o'clock each morning," one of Rockefeller's secretaries, H. V. Sims, recalled. "The little napkin which went with it must be inserted by the maid between the 4th finger and the little finger—or all was wrong."<sup>52</sup> She would ask nurses to extract shawls from the middle of a tall stack without disturbing the others. Everybody crept on eggshells around her.

John learned to coax and humor her to get his way. The nurses often wilted in the stifling heat that Cettie demanded and were afraid to open the window. John would waltz in and say, “Mother, don’t you think you should have the window open just so much?” He would spread his fingers slightly apart. When she replied, “Very well, John, if you think so,” he signaled the nurses, when she wasn’t looking, to open it far more.<sup>53</sup> John treated his wife tenderly, but his behavior now became largely ceremonious. If she stayed up too late with guests, he would slip his hand through her arm and announce, “This is good night, as it is Mother’s bedtime.”<sup>54</sup>

In a 1905 portrait of her by Arthur Ferraris, which shows her in a lovely black dress with her hair swept up and holding a prayer book, she seems despondent but still sensitive and wise. She clung ever more assertively to religion and wrote to her children in the elevated language of sermons, telling Junior as he was about to embark on a trip that she was “blessed of God above so many mothers, in my children, my precious jewels—loaned me for a season to be handed back when the call comes.”<sup>55</sup> On his twenty-first birthday, she congratulated her son thus: “You can celebrate your birthday in no better way, whether at home or not, than by such earnest work as I know you are giving, for God and the saving of the souls of your fellow students.”<sup>56</sup> It never seemed to dawn on her to encourage her children to have a good time.

Cettie’s invalidism must have tormented Rockefeller. Since his boyhood, he had felt a particular affinity for women and taken special delight in their company. He would not have contemplated extramarital affairs, as other moguls might have done. He stayed loyal to Cettie and his Baptist upbringing, and he always had the specter of Big Bill before his eyes to remind him of the extreme perils of philandering. He had long lived with the knowledge of man’s sinful nature. As long as Cettie was alive, so far as we can tell, he kept his amorous impulses in check and remained a model paterfamilias.

The Rockefellers found it difficult to confront the infirmities of both the mind and flesh. A whole world of forbidden, subversive feelings simply did not exist for them. If you averted your eyes from unpleasant things, they seemed to believe, they would lose their sting. For this reason, the story of the eldest Rockefeller daughter, Bessie, has long been an impenetrable mystery.

After Charles Strong had married Bessie in 1889, he taught briefly at Clark University and then became an associate professor of philosophy at the new University of Chicago in 1892. While Charles had ambivalent feelings toward his father-in-law, he never hesitated to exploit his connections and largesse. In 1895, the Strong family had to abandon Chicago, owing to Bessie’s poor health. As Charles informed his Harvard mentor, William James, his wife’s health was “still so delicate that it seems unwise to expose her to the inclemencies of the Chicago climate, and the result is that I find myself permanently settled in New York.”<sup>57</sup> So that Charles could write his treatises and live with Bessie in New York, Rockefeller gave him a thousand-dollar subsidy for a year’s work. When Bessie gave birth to a daughter, Margaret, at Pocantico in 1897, Rockefeller declared a holiday for workmen on his estate.

Since Charles had become a freethinker, Rockefeller might have feared for the immortal soul of his granddaughter. “Charles would tell Margaret, ‘There is no God,’ ” Margaret’s daughter would recall. “Both mother and father concurred and agreed not to contaminate her with uncertain belief.”<sup>58</sup> Perhaps aware of this indoctrination, Rockefeller was eager to keep the Strong family in New York. He had Junior approach Seth Low, the president of Columbia College, about endowing a professorship in psychology for Charles, who increasingly studied both psychology and philosophy in his work. Junior suggested that it would be more gracious to endow the chair and then let the college voluntarily appoint him, rather than to demean Charles by creating a chair expressly for him. Senior followed this advice and, after making sure that Columbia would give him the chair, gave the school a \$100,000 endowment, effectively buying his son-in-law’s job at considerable expense.

For a time in the early 1900s, Rockefeller saw a lot of Charles and Bessie, thanks in part to his newfound passion for golf. Desperate for a place where he could extend Pocantico’s limited golf season, he found it in the tony resort of Lakewood, New Jersey, where George Gould and other rich residents played polo, attended tea parties, rode to hounds, and held cotillions. Rockefeller began buying property there in May 1901, and a year later a dreamlike opportunity appeared. The Ocean County Hunt and Country Club decided to merge with another club and abandon its clubhouse, which was surrounded by a golf course set amid seventy-five acres of spruce, fir, pine, and hemlock. Only eight or nine miles from the sea, this flat, sandy country had “delicious, dry air,” Rockefeller told a friend, and would permit him to golf nearly ten months a year.<sup>59</sup> The big, rambling, three-story wooden clubhouse—which Rockefeller always called Golf House—had striped awnings and a glass-sheltered porch that gave a view of sheep browsing on the lawn. This hideaway could be reached only by a twisting road of crushed bluestone that ran through dense woods—perfect for security purposes. Expanding the house and adding acreage, Rockefeller transplanted thousands of trees from Pocantico to this new estate. Rockefeller loved his new, relaxed place. “I believe I have recovered my health,” he wrote to a friend from Lakewood in 1903. “I feel better now than I have felt in years. . . . I believe the improvement in my condition is due to my newly acquired habit of playing golf.”<sup>60</sup>

To provide company, Rockefeller also bought the small Claflin Cottage at Lakewood, where Charles and Bessie stayed for three seasons. To hear William James, a frequent visitor, tell it, it was a gloomy place. When Strong’s first major book, *Why the Mind Has a Body*, appeared in 1903, James extolled it as “a sterling work, admirable for clearness of statement & thoroughness of discussion, luminous, and likely to be much used by students of philosophy.”<sup>61</sup> During his stays at Lakewood, James accompanied Charles on walks around the lake and the two often paused to sit on pine needles and reflect. On such a stroll, James paid them both a high compliment when he turned to Strong and said, “I am John the Baptist and you are the Messiah.”<sup>62</sup> Yet James was more versatile than Strong and came to dread these Lakewood trips, where he felt trapped by perpetual shoptalk. Charles could convert a pleasant weekend into an interminable seminar, and James voiced his frustrations to his wife, Alice, tempering them with his great admiration for Charles. “I never knew such an unremitting, untiring, monotonous addiction as that of his mind to truth. He goes by points, pinning each one definitely, and has, I think, the very clearest mind I ever knew. . . . I suspect that he will outgrow us all, for his rate accelerates, and he never stands still.”<sup>63</sup>

As an antidote to Charles, William James especially welcomed his Lakewood encounters with Rockefeller, who would sometimes materialize at lunch, fresh from golf. Rockefeller had only the most fleeting encounters with the intelligentsia, which makes James’s descriptions of him the more valuable. The philosopher had an uncanny knack for telescoping titanic figures into thumb-nail sketches. He was especially struck by Rockefeller’s willpower and wrote to Alice about the primordial strength that radiated from him, telling her that Rockefeller was a “very *deep* human being” who

gave him “more impression of *Urkraft* [primitive or original force] than anyone I ever met.” He was also unexpectedly charmed by his genial style: “Glorious old John D. . . . [is] a most love-able person.” To round out this portrait, he marveled that Rockefeller could be “so complex, subtle, oily, fierce, strongly bad and strongly good a human being.”<sup>64</sup>

William dashed off an even more vivid description to his brother Henry:

*Rockefeller, you know, is reputed the richest man in the world, and he certainly is the most powerfully suggestive personality I have ever seen. A man 10 stories deep, and to me quite unfathomable. Physionomie de Pierrot (not a spear of hair on head or face) flexible, cunning, quakerish, superficially suggestive of naught but goodness and conscientiousness, yet accused of being the greatest villain in business whom our country has produced, a hater of cities and lover of the open air (playing golf & skating all the time at Lakewood) etc.*<sup>65</sup>

James wrote this while Ida Tarbell was inflaming popular opinion against Standard Oil. He urged Rockefeller to discard his policy of silence and combat the attacks by letting the public become better acquainted with him. When Rockefeller published his memoirs in book form in 1909, James applauded. “This is what I proposed to you many years ago!” he wrote to him. “Expansiveness wins a way where reserve fails!”<sup>66</sup>

In 1902, the already somber world of Charles and Bessie Strong darkened suddenly when Bessie, age thirty-six, experienced fresh medical problems. One cannot state with certainty what this ailment was, but in one letter to her brother, she refers to her “most weak and unreliable heart.”<sup>67</sup> We do know that her condition deteriorated dramatically in the spring of 1903, for that autumn Charles wrote to William James, “Mrs. Strong is pretty well for her, thank you; but she had an attack in the spring which gave some cause for disquietude.”<sup>68</sup> Her granddaughter later contended that Bessie had “suffered a stroke and consequent impairments.”<sup>69</sup>

In the few brief, cryptic references to Bessie’s illness in the press, it was always said that she had withdrawn from Lakewood society to lead a quiet life—a cover story that does not begin to capture the pathos of what happened. Overnight, the stroke or heart condition turned this pretty young woman into someone much older and frailer. The Rockefellers always suppressed the fact that it affected her mind. As Strong’s friend George Santayana wrote, “She was always, as they put it, in delicate health, which was a euphemism for not being in her right mind.”<sup>70</sup> Turned into a semi-invalid who spent much of the day in bed, she shuffled slowly about the cottage in a gray shawl, careworn and bent. She sometimes lapsed into morbid fears of poverty, retrenching on household expenses, reworking gowns to save money, and informing friends that she could no longer afford to entertain. During these periods, Charles supplemented her spartan grocery orders with extra purchases. Even as she wondered darkly in early 1904 how she and Charles would survive, Bessie was worth \$404,489.25, with an estimated annual income of \$20,030. At moments, she also threw off her imaginary cares and gaily announced that they were rich.

After a while, transported into a dreamworld, Bessie started to babble in childlike French. William James arrived in Lakewood one day and was thunderstruck by Bessie’s condition. To his wife, he reported Bessie’s words as follows:

*“M. James, cela me fait de joie de voir votre bonne figure, vous avez un coeur généreux comme mon papa. Nous sommes tres riches maintenant. Mais Papa me donne tout ce que je lui demande pour le donner a ceux qui ont besoin. Mois aussi j’ai un bon coeur.”* (Translation: “Mr. James, it gives me joy to see your nice face, you have a generous heart like my papa. We are very rich now. But Papa gives me everything I ask him for, to give to those who are in need. I too have a good heart.”)

A flabbergasted James said afterward, “It was just like a fairy-tale.”<sup>71</sup> It was an indescribably sad fate for the one Rockefeller daughter who had gone to college.

It was also a bitter irony for Charles Strong, with his overpowering intellect, to become a nursemaid for the blighted, demented Bessie. Solitary and emotionally blocked, he soon grew bored with any conversation that did not revolve around philosophic disputation. His letters to William James contain few personal asides or mundane details, and they read like philosophic abstracts. For such a man to have ended up the caretaker of a wife spouting gibberish must have been an intolerable strain. In the spring of 1904, nervous and rundown, Charles took a leave of absence from Columbia and sailed for Europe with Bessie. He planned to consult with French specialists in nervous diseases and hoped that his wife might be helped by the warm climate of southern France. It might also have been for Charles a chance to escape from both his overbearing father and father-in-law.

Like Bessie, the Rockefeller’s youngest daughter, Edith, was beset by nervous troubles throughout her life. Unlike Bessie, her maladies led her on an odyssey of sustained introspection unique in Rockefeller annals. She experimented with psychology and other spheres alien to the rest of the family, subjecting the Rockefeller verities to the cold test of modern skepticism and threatening her relationship with her father along the way.

Among the four children, Edith seemed the family changeling. Where her siblings had been submissive children, Edith was recalcitrant, headstrong, and outspoken. Once, as an adolescent, she greeted Grandma Spelman with a hug so fierce that she cracked one of her ribs. She read voraciously and by an early age entertained religious doubts. In a smart but not reflective family, Edith had intellectual aspirations. “Reading has always been more important to me than eating,” she confessed to a newspaper reporter late in life. “Except in a case of dire starvation, if a bottle of milk and a book were placed on the table, I would reach for the book, because I must feed my mind more than my body.”<sup>72</sup> Such a person might well find something antiseptic about the Rockefeller life.

In 1893, twenty-seven-year-old Bessie and twenty-one-year-old Edith went to Philadelphia for a rest cure at the Hospital for Orthopedic and Nervous Diseases, run by the patrician neurologist-cum-novelist, S. Weir Mitchell. A specialist in female nervous disorders, Mitchell separated his patients from their quotidian world, banning casual visits or even mail from relatives. Rockefeller visited his daughters only once, in February 1894, and would have heartily endorsed their program of relaxation, massage, good food, and electrical stimulation of muscles. Bessie responded better than Edith, who required an extended follow-up rest in a cottage at Saranac Lake in upstate New York.



In November 1895, hard on the heels of her recovery, Edith married Harold McCormick of Chicago, who had just graduated from Princeton. He was the son of Cyrus McCormick, the developer of the mechanical reaper and founder of what became International Harvester. Junior had befriended Harold at the Browning School and was the inadvertent matchmaker. During the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, he, Cettie, and his three sisters traveled west to Chicago by private railroad car and stayed with Nettie Fowler McCormick, Cyrus's indomitable widow, at her Rush Street mansion. Devout Presbyterians and generous donors to missionary work, the McCormicks resembled the Rockefeller family in many respects. They had raised their children strictly, giving them small allowances and urging them to donate to the poor. There was also a streak of mental instability among the McCormick children that would be far more pernicious than that among the Rockefeller offspring.

The Rockefellers deplored the vogue among rich Americans of marrying off their daughters to titled Europeans and welcomed the McCormicks as an upright, God-fearing industrial family. As the heir to a fortune, Harold McCormick did not have to allay suspicions that might have shadowed another suitor for Edith's hand, and John and Cettie found something winning about his expansive ways. He was an athletic man with luminous blue eyes and a dreamy gaze who wore jeweled cuff links and embroidered vests. Among his tightly wound in-laws, he stood out for his free and open manner. Yet he got along well with Senior and was the only son-in-law allowed to smoke in Cettie's presence.

The only misgivings that John and Cettie had about the marriage centered on Harold's drinking. Several times before the wedding, Rockefeller tried to extract a pledge that he would abstain from liquor, but each time Harold firmly resisted. "While I believe we hold the same general views as to the ruin wrought in the world by strong drink, and as to individual responsibility with regard to it, I am convinced that for me a life pledge is not for the best," Harold told Rockefeller two months before the wedding. As a concession, he stopped drinking briefly. Senior was again receiving threats, and Harold closed his note by adding, "I am distressed to have the subject renewed, and just at a time, when you, and therefore we, have much anxiety and worry by reason of the cranks."<sup>73</sup>

Edith and Harold were to be married in November 1895 at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church in Manhattan, but Harold got a cold and the ceremony was shifted to the Buckingham Hotel. Right before the wedding, Senior sent for his daughter, telling her that they needed to have one last confidential chat. Once they were alone, Edith recounted in a later interview, he said in his most portentous manner, "I have brought you here to make a request that lies very close to my heart and a request that has been very carefully considered." "Yes, father," Edith replied, "but why be so serious. . . . what is this request that stirs you so much?" "It is this daughter. I want you to promise never to serve a drink of liquor in your home. . . . Promise me that and you will never regret it." As Edith recalled, "Unthinkingly, I said, 'Why, of course, father,' and immediately set off in a peal of laughter over the solemnity of what seemed such a trivial request."<sup>74</sup> This agreement concluded, father and daughter proceeded to the ceremony, and Edith entered on her father's arm, wearing a tiara of diamonds and emeralds given to her by Harold. In the press coverage, Edith was labeled the "Princess of Standard Oil" and Harold the "Prince of International Harvester." Henceforth, Edith was always known as Edith Rockefeller McCormick, signaling that she planned to retain her own identity.

With his children, Rockefeller had tried to create that most elusive thing, a self-perpetuating puritanism, but he was destined to produce at least one rebellious spendthrift and that honor fell to Edith. After an Italian honeymoon, at last emancipated from her austere past, she and Harold moved into a grand stone mansion at 1000 Lake Shore Drive in Chicago. In this Gold Coast fortress, barricaded behind a high iron fence, Edith vied for social preeminence. She displayed in bold relief qualities that Rockefeller had struggled to root out of his children—vanity, ostentation, narcissism, and hedonism—but they were redeemed in part by her prolonged introspection and intellectual fearlessness. In Chicago, away from her father, Edith cultivated a separate set of interests.

All the affectations of European royal courts were displayed in Edith's mansion, and Chicago society tattled about her "imperial complex."<sup>75</sup> After being welcomed by footmen, guests were escorted into sumptuous rooms embellished with beautiful pictures and chandeliers. Edith decided that the Rockefellers were descended from the noble La Rochefoucaulds, and this accounted for a French motif throughout the house. Her dinner guests, sometimes numbering as many as two hundred, received menus and place cards printed in French and engraved with raised gilt letters. The guests dined off a gilded-silver service that had belonged to the Bonapartes and footmen stood stiffly behind every second chair. Edith had a majestic empire room that featured four of Napoleon Bonaparte's royal chairs—two with *Ns* emblazoned across the back and two with *Bs*. Edith slept in an ornate Louis XVI bed and kept a gold box on her dressing table that had been a gift to the Empress Marie Louise from Napoleon.

Edith was not shy about her self-presentation. She ran through clothes like a queen, renewing her wardrobe yearly, and always shimmered in jewels. A 1908 painting shows a demure, gray-eyed Edith gazing knowingly at the viewer in tiara and expensive décolleté gown, a boa draped over her shoulders. A short, slender woman, she daringly exposed her ankles and wore a gold ankle chain. On one social occasion, she appeared in a silver dress of such imposing weight that it was said she could scarcely breathe. She had one cape of 275 animal skins, laboriously stitched together, which all but smothered her. Doubtless to her father's horror, Edith assembled a jewelry collection that would have made an eastern potentate blush. She had a Cartier necklace strung with ten emeralds and 1,657 tiny diamonds. For her wedding, her parents gave her a \$15,000 rope of pearls, a modest gift soon overshadowed by her \$2 million string of pearls. In 1908, discovering that Edith and Harold were borrowing to support this luxury, Rockefeller scolded Harold: "Since my attention was called to this subject, I have made inquiries of Alta and John as to their expenses, and find that theirs have been less than one-third of what yours have been."<sup>76</sup>

Edith's temperance pledge cramped her style as a hostess. Noticing that her soirées lacked a certain sparkle, she turned to Harold for an explanation. "My dear," he said, "don't you realize that these red-blooded young Chicagoans are used to having liquor? They simply must have their cocktails, their wine, their highballs and cordials."<sup>77</sup> No child of John D. Rockefeller would flout a temperance oath made to him, so Edith had to contrive ways to compensate. "I invited the most brilliant men and women whom I met," she told one reporter. "I gave musicales at which I presented the greatest artists of the day."<sup>78</sup> She befriended artists, intellectuals, and society figures and developed into a prominent patroness of the arts, collecting antique furniture, lace, Oriental art, and fine books.

Having always loathed hymns, Edith shared Harold's affection for the opera—she paid for the translation of several librettos into English—and they frequently threw dinner parties on opera nights. In a habit that curiously parodied her father, Edith kept a small jeweled clock at the dinner table and

held the guests to a precise schedule, so that everyone arrived at the opera on time. When she pressed a button for the next course, the team of waiters whisked plates away from the startled guests, whether they were finished or not. Edith ran a hierarchical household and never addressed most of the servants directly, dealing exclusively with the top two of them.

It is easy to satirize Edith's foibles and dismiss her as dilettante, yet she was fiercely devoted to her adopted causes. After she had five children—John, Fowler, Muriel, Editha, and Mathilde—Edith created a kindergarten for girls, with classes held in French. Senior doted on her eldest son, John Rockefeller McCormick, known as Jack. During the winter of 1900–1901, Jack and Fowler were staying at Pocantico when both boys contracted scarlet fever. Whatever the latent tensions between them, Edith gratefully remembered her father's behavior during Jack's illness. "As long as I live I shall never forget the great love and the untiring effort which you put forth to save dear Jack's life," she wrote to him a few years later. "Absolutely forgetful of self and showing a love much like the Christ love."<sup>79</sup> To confine the disease, Rockefeller constructed a special staircase that allowed the children and nurses to go from the upstairs sickroom to a glass-enclosed porch without infecting other household members. Rockefeller offered one New York physician a half-million dollars to save the two boys. Little was then known about the cause or treatment of scarlet fever, and although Fowler recovered, John Rockefeller McCormick, nearly four years old, died at Pocantico on January 2, 1901. The shock was no less profound to Rockefeller than to Edith and Harold. A scurrilous rumor later circulated that Edith had learned of Jack's death from a butler during a dinner party at her Chicago mansion, but the report was bogus. Edith happened to be at Pocantico at the time.

Jack McCormick's death strengthened Rockefeller's resolve to endow a medical-research institute. A year later, as a memorial to their son, Edith and Harold created the John McCormick Institution of Infectious Diseases in Chicago. Among the grants it gave out was one to researchers at Johns Hopkins, who isolated the bacterium that causes scarlet fever and set the stage for a treatment.

After Jack's death, Harold succumbed to depression. His charm and gaiety had always veiled a deep vein of melancholy, and he now sought psychiatric help in Switzerland. In 1908, he returned as a patient to the Burghölzli Psychiatric Clinic outside Zurich under the care of Dr. Carl Jung. Edith had also long exhibited manic-depressive mood swings that only widened after the birth of Mathilde in April 1905. Because she had been ill during the pregnancy, Edith and Harold toured Europe by automobile that summer, leaving the baby with John and Cettie. After a fleeting improvement in her health, Edith relapsed the next spring and was belatedly diagnosed as suffering from tuberculosis of the kidney. Rockefeller knew his daughter's troubles were as much psychological as physical in origin and observed to Harold's brother Cyrus that Edith would "require quiet and rest for some time, after all the severe strain through which she has passed in the last few years."<sup>80</sup> For both Harold and Edith, the lure of Europe deepened over the years, a magnetic attraction that the provincial Rockefellers found difficult to fathom.

Edith's marriage to Harold McCormick brought Rockefeller under renewed scrutiny because it attached him to the reaper trust as well as the oil trust and steel trust. In August 1902, George Perkins, a J. P. Morgan partner, amalgamated McCormick Harvesting Machine, Deering Harvester, and three smaller competitors into International Harvester, a behemoth with 85 percent of the farm-equipment market. Harold McCormick was named vice president and brother Cyrus president of the company. It was a troubled merger, and the McCormicks feared that Perkins and the Deerings were secretly plotting to gain control of the company. To create a counterweight, they persuaded Rockefeller to take a five-million-dollar block of preferred stock. Never one to do things by halves, Rockefeller soon expanded his stake to between twenty-five and thirty million dollars. His loans to International Harvester later rose as high as \$60 million, and he took stock in the trust as collateral.

This discreet collaboration did not thaw the icy relations between the Rockefeller family and the house of Morgan. On the contrary, the Rockefellers spied conspiracies everywhere. When Junior learned that control of International Harvester would be vested in a three-man voting-trust committee composed of Perkins, Cyrus McCormick, and one of the Deerings, he felt their worst fears were confirmed. "The object of so tying up these securities is that J.P. Morgan & Co. may be assured of the control of the business for a given period of years, and they have made every effort to make it difficult, yes well nigh impossible, for the securities to change hands," he wrote to Senior.<sup>81</sup> Though Rockefeller requested a board seat, George Perkins countered that this would tip the power balance toward the McCormicks and "engender feelings so strong that he could not hope to harmonize them," as Junior told his father.<sup>82</sup> Since the Rockefellers thought that J. P. Morgan and Company secretly exercised the Deering shares, they were not entirely surprised when their vigorous dissent came to nothing.

Equipped with a fine instinct for flattery, Harold professed the greatest admiration for Senior's business abilities. "I have always taken you and the Standard Oil Company as my ideals in the progress of a large company," he told him a year after the reaper trust was formed.<sup>83</sup> Rockefeller did not reciprocate the sentiment and grew critical of Harold's stewardship of International Harvester. He developed a lengthy list of grievances, including Harold's failure to notify him of upcoming earnings reports. Sounding an old refrain, he also chastised Harold for paying excessive dividends. In time, George Perkins grew adamant that the dividend should be boosted, even though the company was borrowing heavily. When Gates went to Morgan to protest, he came away convinced that the house of Morgan was milking the stock for short-term profit. "It is further highly probable," he told Rockefeller, "that the reason why Morgan & Co. are so insistent on increasing the dividend from 4 to 6% is to enable them to sell out their stocks at a very high figure on the basis of the increased dividend. The stock has lately been manipulated upward clearly by an insider namely Mr. Perkins who knew that it was closely held and little was to be had."<sup>84</sup> Senior was dismayed when Harold and Cyrus McCormick protested this only in the lamest fashion. When the voting trust expired in 1912, the McCormicks, with a majority of shares, grimly maintained control, but Rockefeller gradually sold off his position. He would not allow family sentiment to overrule his business judgment.

Unlike the nonconformist Edith, the middle daughter, Alta, was kind and obedient and always eager to please her parents. Slender and dainty, she was an anxious teenager and wrote to her brother reassuringly from the Rye Female Seminary, "Classes are not very large and I shall not be frightened."<sup>85</sup> Of the three daughters, she probably felt most affectionate toward father and never strayed too far from the family fold. "No, I don't change," she once confessed to a friend. "I'm still wearing cotton stockings."<sup>86</sup> She could exhibit a touching innocence and even when married with children radiated a girlish charm. "She seemed just like the 16 years old daughter of the home," Cettie told her diary after a visit from the forty-one-year-old Alta.<sup>87</sup>

As would happen to her brother, Alta suffered from terrible headaches. At age eight or nine, she had an attack of scarlet fever that left her partly deaf

in one ear, an affliction that brought her closer to her parents. She later found significant relief with a Viennese physician, Dr. Isidor Muller, and for decades thereafter made annual pilgrimages to Karlsbad to renew this ear treatment. Alta was such a fine singer and pianist that many people did not detect the handicap, but close observers noted the quick, subtle way she flicked her good ear toward the speaker to catch his words.

Forever vigilant against fortune hunters with designs on his daughters, John D. worried the most about Alta, who was passionate and impressionable. Easily smitten, she was constantly falling in love with the wrong men, prompting family rescue operations. Often her crushes were mixed up with a missionary impulse to redeem her beloved from some presumed failing.

If Rockefeller had thought Alta safe in the sanctuary of the Baptist Church, he was rudely awakened in early 1891. Though the Rockefellers had moved to Manhattan, they resumed their involvement in the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church every summer when they returned to Forest Hill. As a deacon and superintendent of the Sunday school, Rockefeller still paid half the church expenses from his own pocket. While teaching in the Sunday school, Alta, nineteen, became infatuated with the forty-seven-year-old pastor, the Reverend Dr. L. A. Crandall. Despite the considerable age difference between them, Alta tried to wean him from his evil smoking habit. Though only five years younger than Rockefeller himself, Reverend Crandall was highly susceptible to Alta's adoration. His wife had died a year and a half earlier, leaving him with a son in college, a daughter in private school, and an emotional void in his life.

Persuaded that Alta genuinely loved him, Crandall began to talk to her about marriage. When Rockefeller heard rumors of this, he refused to believe them at first, then summoned people to his home, quizzed them, and was stunned to discover the truth. Rockefeller delivered a stern ultimatum to Dr. Crandall: Either he would resign or the Rockefellers would withdraw from the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church. The church would have been devastated without the Rockefeller money and torn apart by the scandal. Submitting to a superior force, Dr. Crandall left for a Chicago pastorate under the cover that he was moving there to seek a superior education for his children.

Three years later, Alta fell in love with a young minister named Robert A. Ashworth, who was in poor health. When Rockefeller got wind of his daughter's attachment, he tried to figure out how to cure her of it without showing his hand. In late December 1894, he suddenly organized a party of young people, including Junior, Alta, and Ashworth, for a festive sledding and tobogganing trip to the Adirondack Mountains. Rockefeller chose to emphasize vigorous sports that would expose Ashworth's frailty to Alta. "Most of the young men taken along were highly robust, and the minister in his physical weakness cut a sorry figure beside them," said Junior's friend Everett Colby.<sup>88</sup> The ploy apparently worked and the problematic relationship ended a week later.

Of all the Rockefeller children, Alta was the most affected by the plight of the poor immigrant populations crowding into American cities in the late nineteenth century. Where her father exercised his benevolence at a distance, Alta rolled up her sleeves, went into the slums, and administered self-help programs for the poor. At Tenth Avenue and Fifty-fifth Street in Manhattan, she set up a sewing school for indigent girls, drafted a corps of volunteer teachers, and enrolled 125 pupils. She also set up a small private clinic for invalid women.

Despite her managerial talents, Alta departed from her father's penchant for building large institutions and favored small-scale charities, of which the best example was Alta House in Cleveland. In the 1890s, a local minister interested Rockefeller and his daughter in a charity, the Day Nursery and Free Kindergarten Association, serving poor Italian immigrants in the Murray Hill district, the Little Italy of Cleveland. Many working couples left their children there during the day. Rockefeller agreed to construct a new settlement building, Alta House, which was dedicated in February 1900 and furnished with a family laundry and medical dispensary. Although he supplied the money and covered the budget for its first twenty years, Alta did the legwork. She enjoyed direct contact with the immigrant families and took special delight in dressing up dolls for their children.

After completion of the settlement house, Alta was desperately eager to marry. When Edith married Harold McCormick in 1895, Alta was openly envious and told her brother that "I must try to enter heartily into all her happiness."<sup>89</sup> Through Harold McCormick, Alta met Ezra Parmalee Prentice, then working in Chicago as general counsel for the Illinois Steel Company. Cold and smart, a rigid perfectionist, Parmalee was also an amateur scientist with a large collection of meteorological instruments. The scion of an old Albany family and a graduate of Amherst College and Harvard Law School, he underwent the same microscopic scrutiny that awaited any supplicant for Alta's hand. As she told Junior in early 1900, "[Parmalee] gave Father the names of four of his friends who would answer any questions about him that Father might want to ask and said that he would add to this list if it were desired."<sup>90</sup> When Parmalee passed muster, he and Alta were married the following year, but Parmalee and Senior had a remote relationship and seldom saw each other. Parmalee penned formal letters to his father-in-law that began, "Dear Mr. Rockefeller" and were signed, "E. Parmalee Prentice."

Unlike Edith, Alta wanted to live near her parents. Perhaps Parmalee erred by abandoning his Chicago job to practice law in New York and join a firm that would one day evolve into Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy. Surrendering his freedom by slow degrees, he allowed Junior to buy and furnish a new home for them at 5 West Fifty-third Street. A gift from Senior, this house stood behind his own home on West Fifty-fourth Street. "Uncle John did furnish that house," one of Alta and Parmalee's children said. "My father could not have cared less and my mother did not have the know-how. She had grown up in the same rut as Uncle John and had no one to pull her out. She was timid, spiritual like her mother, and besides, she had the idea that her brother always knew best."<sup>91</sup> Parmalee had a fine legal mind, authored two legal books, and argued cases before the Supreme Court. At first, Rockefeller referred legal work to him and advised other moguls to follow suit, but he never got the expected gratitude from his proud son-in-law. In 1905, when Rockefeller asked him to reorganize Colorado Fuel and Iron, he was not only outraged by the fees Parmalee charged but indignant at his high-handed treatment of the bondholder representatives. At that point, Rockefeller advised Gates to refer less business to Parmalee's firm. Unable to compromise on business principles, Rockefeller chose to jeopardize family relations instead.

Instead of distributing money to his children at maturity, Rockefeller kept them on allowances after they married and reserved the right to oversee their finances. Junior was appointed family auditor, and this turned him, perforce, into an irritating, censorious presence in the lives of his three brothers-in-law. When Junior decided in 1904 that Alta and Parmalee were spending twice as much as their income warranted, Parmalee bristled at this intrusion into their private lives. The prodigal generosity displayed by Senior after Alta's wedding now turned into its opposite, and she was placed in the demeaning position of having to beg him for money. After a point, she did not disguise her anger. "Ten years ago when we came into the house you

were good enough to pay for all the lace curtains,” she wrote to her father. “These curtains are now worn out and I have bought new ones. . . . Would you help me out by buying the curtains. If so, I shall be greatly pleased. If not, of course it will be all right.”<sup>92</sup> Once he had made them feel punished for earlier extravagance, Senior would relent and disburse the money. As long as the right conditions were met, this controlling father was always happy to be generous. In 1910, he offered Alta and Parmalee \$250,000 to purchase a house and land, and they bought a thousand-acre farm, which they christened Mount Hope, in the Berkshire Mountains near Williamstown, Massachusetts.

It is interesting that both Alta and Bessie married cold, remote, self-absorbed men. One can speculate that they chose these men because of their resemblance to their father, yet neither Charles Strong nor Parmalee Prentice had Rockefeller’s redeeming cordiality or spontaneous interest in other people. Many observers felt that Alta had blundered in marrying the autocratic Parmalee. Priggish and straitlaced, he demanded that their three children dress formally for dinner each night, and he never allowed them to bring friends to the table. Highly cerebral, Parmalee translated *Treasure Island* into Latin and insisted that the children converse with him in Latin each evening. Each Sunday, he prepared an essay on a theme and led a family discussion. Parmalee was so fearsome a father that even Junior’s children felt their own home positively wild and decadent in comparison.

Whatever her frustrations, Alta put the best face on the marriage. “Parmalee is beautiful in his thoughts for me and his consideration of me, and if he had his way nothing would ever be allowed to fret me nor disturb me for one single minute,” she wrote to her father. “He makes my life one long, glad song.” While Parmalee had rather cool relations with his children, Alta insisted to her father that they “love him as dearly and respect him so much that they cannot bear to see even the slightest shadow cross his face.”<sup>93</sup> The compliment can also be read to connote a certain fear that the children had of him.

After purchasing the farm, Alta and her husband increasingly inhabited a rural world, tramping about the muddy fields and growing corn, oats, potatoes, buckwheat, and McIntosh apples. Alta’s letters abound in talk of plowing, threshing, and manure. Prompted by an interest in Gregor Mendel’s genetic theories, Parmalee began to experiment with scientific agriculture and studied ways to boost the output of their potato crop, dairy herd, and hens. Visitors to Mount Hope were far more likely to meet geneticists from Williams College than society figures. When Parmalee organized an experiment to cross black and white mice, Alta had to photograph a thousand mice. Where Edith had ventured out into the world, Alta—who had little contact with her sister—stuck to a simple life that revolved around her husband, children, farm, and horses.

Senior wanted all three sons-in-law, along with Junior, to be involved in the Rockefeller philanthropies; for reasons discussed later, he skipped over his three daughters. Senior and Junior made intermittent efforts to interest Parmalee, but he habitually declined their offers. At one point, Harold McCormick tried to relieve tensions between Junior and Parmalee. While admitting to Senior that Parmalee had “a proud and perhaps even haughty spirit,” Harold maintained that he was a good-hearted man who suffered from a “feeling on the part of the harsh world . . . that he is discredited by his family or even viewed with indifference.” Citing the hostility between Junior and Parmalee, Harold added, “Alta is torn almost in two in her love.”<sup>94</sup> Apparently, Senior was not convinced. Soon after Harold’s plea, he complained to Edith that Junior was overburdened with charitable work and explicitly blamed his sons-in-law: “I could wish that Harold and Parmalee, with their broad shoulders, were heart and soul in this work with us.”<sup>95</sup> Yet it was never clear how they could do that without subordinating their identities to Rockefeller, who never understood their need for freedom from his domineering presence.

While Parmalee craved distance from Senior, he did not renounce the financial rewards that came with the relationship. In 1912, Rockefeller guaranteed him a \$30,000 annual income from his legal work; if he failed to reach that level, Rockefeller would make up the difference. Whether Parmalee suddenly grew lazy or suffered a sharp downturn in business is unclear, but two years later Rockefeller had to pay \$26,000 of his salary. Two years after that, he doubled Parmalee’s annual guaranteed salary to \$60,000. Meanwhile, Alta’s annual allowance was boosted to \$50,000 in 1914. By transferring more money to Alta and Parmalee and giving them the means to pay their own bills, Rockefeller hoped to end the constant tussles between them and Junior over money— something that he should have done in the first place.

## Avenging Angel

The relief that washed through Standard Oil after William McKinley's 1896 election had proved short-lived. Despite a sudden upsurge of prosperity, the electorate remained wary of the new monopolies and the muscular arrivistes who had created them. The crusade to curtail the trusts was very much alive, if temporarily shunted to the state level. Once again, the first salvo against Standard Oil was fired in Ohio. The state attorney general, Frank Monnett—successor to the crusading David K. Watson—was the son of a Methodist preacher, a former railroad attorney, and a hardworking public servant. In 1897, he received a visit from the maverick refiner George Rice, who persuaded him that Standard Oil had never complied with the 1892 decision to sever Ohio Standard from the trust. To check up on his adversaries, Rice had bought six shares of Standard Oil trust certificates. When he tried to redeem them for fractional shares in the twenty constituent companies spun off by the 1892 decision, the liquidating trustees—including Rockefeller—procrastinated for four years. Now, five years after the verdict, \$27 million in trust certificates remained unredeemed. On November 9, 1897, Monnett charged that Standard of Ohio had never seriously planned to leave the trust and was in contempt of court. It had all been a charade to pacify trustbusters.

Rockefeller's retirement began to assume the inexorable nature of a Greek tragedy: Just as he sought to extricate himself from the trust, its legal troubles deepened. Conditioned by a long history of Standard Oil mendacity, both press and public mocked his so-called retirement as a tawdry ruse to evade testimony. It defied the common conception of villainy to think that such a man could simply walk away from his creation.

To expedite the case, Monnett had a master commissioner interrogate witnesses in New York. On October 11, 1898, Rockefeller was summoned to testify at the New Amsterdam Hotel, the prosecution hoping to prod him into an admission that he had stalled in liquidating the trust. Through more than five hours of questioning, Rockefeller, as imperturbable as ever, spoke in such a low voice that people strained to hear him, and he conceded so little that the next day's *World* ran the headline, "Rockefeller Imitates a Clam."<sup>1</sup> Standard lawyers spent much more time objecting to questions than Rockefeller did in answering them. Once again, he presented the past as a dense fog that he could scarcely penetrate. As the *World* dryly observed, "The virtue of forgetting, which is one of the most valuable virtues that a monopolist can have under cross-examination, is possessed by Mr. Rockefeller in its highest degree."<sup>2</sup>

Rockefeller, as always, refused to believe that anybody could have a legitimate objection to Standard Oil. Once again, he fell back on his all-purpose explanation that the suits filed against him were just extortion rackets posing as public service. Later on, he said that Monnett's motive was to "blackmail the Standard Oil Company" and that he was a "comrade in schemes with George Rice."<sup>3</sup> Rockefeller suppressed signs of irritation at the hearing, yet he seemed edgier than on earlier occasions. Reporters noted telltale nervous habits that called into question his surface composure—the way he kept shifting his weight, crossing and recrossing his legs, rubbing his nape, blowing out his cheeks, and biting his mustache.

At the end of his testimony, Rockefeller, discernibly relieved, did something very unusual for him: He bounded straight over to George Rice, extended his hand, and tried to engage him in conversation. He suddenly grew very chatty, as two newspapers reported:

"How are you, Mr. Rice? We are getting to be old men now, eh? Don't you wish you had taken my advice years ago?"

"Perhaps it would have been better for me if I had," said Rice, glaring at him. "You have ruined my business, as you said you would."

"Pshaw! Pshaw!" replied Rockefeller, moving away.

"You did, you ruined me," persisted Rice, chasing him. (Rice, a well-to-do businessman, perhaps overstated his case.)

"Pshaw! Pshaw!" said Rockefeller, donning his silk hat. "I would rather have given ten—"

"It's no use your saying 'pshaw,' " Rice interrupted. "You know damned well you did."<sup>4</sup>

Rockefeller flashed a funereal smile, then disappeared from the room. It was one of the few times in his mysterious career that he ever confronted one of his nemeses. If Rockefeller's style was to slip away from attacks, the Monnett investigation displayed the two-fisted style of his successor, John D. Archbold. On the stand, Archbold accused Rice of trying to extort \$500,000 from Standard Oil for his refinery, and at the lunch recess, according to one newspaper, he marched up to Rice, jabbed a finger in his face, and said, "You are nothing but wind and weight." "And you," retorted Rice, "are nothing but money stolen from the people."<sup>5</sup> The impetuous Archbold behaved as if public opinion were of no importance. He did not see that the day of reckoning for Standard Oil was fast approaching and that he would soon need all the friends he could get. In a preview of his brawling, arrogant style with authorities, Archbold got into a heated shouting match with a man named Flagg, one of Monnett's assistants:



***Ida Minerva Tarbell, seated before her rolltop desk at McClure's Magazine in 1898. (Courtesy of the Drake Well Museum)***

"You keep still or I'll expose you right here," Archbold shouted at him.

"You couldn't if you tried," said Flagg. "I'm not afraid of your millions."

"Shut up or I will show you up," cried Archbold.

"Is any one low lived compared with a Standard Oil magnate?"

"You know what you are."

"You are a coward and a liar," shouted Flagg.

"You are a stinking liar," Archbold shot back.<sup>6</sup>

What prompted this vehement exchange was the burning of company records at a Standard Oil facility in Cleveland. Monnett had charged Standard of Ohio with surreptitiously paying dividends to holders of trust certificates after 1892, which Rockefeller and other officials denied. To resolve the matter, the state supreme court ordered Standard of Ohio to produce its books in December 1898. Two weeks later, reports filtered out that sixteen boxes of books had been incinerated by Standard employees. Amid a national furor, Standard attorneys denied that the boxes contained the ledgers in question—"from time to time," said Standard Oil's attorney, Virgil Kline, the company destroyed "useless material which accumulates in its business"—but he refused to produce the pertinent ledgers.<sup>7</sup> Monnett thought the books were torched to shield Rockefeller. As he told Henry Demarest Lloyd, "I am of the opinion that the books were burned at least in part. . . . They were obliged to either let the books contradict Mr. Rockefeller . . . or else take a defiant stand and conceal the books from the court."<sup>8</sup>

Among other damning accusations, Standard Oil was said to have hired the Malcolm Jennings Advertising Agency to promote its products in Ohio and Indiana newspapers in exchange for favorable news items. The most sensational charge trumpeted by Monnett involved an alleged attempt by Standard Oil to bribe him into dropping the case, much as had been alleged with David K. Watson. Monnett said that a nameless emissary had come to his Columbus office with an offer of \$400,000. The money was to be left in a safety-deposit box in New York, with Monnett given the key. Standard attorneys hotly disputed this, demanding the name of their putative agent. When Monnett would not identify him, citing fears of reprisals, it cast doubt on the story. In a later statement, he named Feargus Charles Haskell and Frank Rockefeller as the culprits. Rockefeller's papers, unfortunately, shed no light on the situation.

Before Monnett could inflict lasting damage upon Standard Oil, he became persona non grata in many sections of his own Republican Party. He especially incurred the wrath of U.S. senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, who was on the Standard Oil payroll. (In 1900 alone, Archbold disbursed \$44,500 in lobbying fees to the senator.) At a Washington meeting, Foraker gave Monnett a brief but unforgettable education in Ohio political realities. As Monnett re-created the discussion:

*I at first discussed the impropriety and danger of [Foraker's] representing these trusts, criminal and civil violators of his own State, as long as he as well as myself should be interested in the welfare of the people of Ohio. He told me that he never allowed his law practice to interfere with politics or his politics with law practice, and added that he was a judge of ethics of our profession. He then took up the cause of action against these companies and reminded me of the great power financially and politically of the Standard Oil crowd. After talking a short time, he asked me to have the proceedings delayed in order to accommodate him. I firmly declined to concede any time whatever and told him so. He recalled the great power of the Oil Trust to anyone opposed to it.<sup>9</sup>*

True to Foraker's warning, Monnett failed to win the Republican renomination for attorney general in 1899; disillusioned, he joined the Democratic Party two years later.

Even though the Ohio suit fizzled, it alerted the trust to the need for a permanent corporate structure that could weather legal challenges. Ever since

1892, Standard Oil had sustained a precarious arrangement in which seventeen leading shareholders, many of them the liquidating trustees, held a majority of the stock of twenty constituent companies. These oil-industry veterans were now graying—Archbold, in his early fifties, was among the youngest—and since they alone bound the Standard Oil units together, they feared that if they died, their heirs might squabble, sell the shares, or otherwise threaten the trust’s cohesion. It was time for a less-shaky corporate framework.

The trust had long struggled with the legal straitjacket that prevented companies from holding stock in out-of-state corporations. In 1898, heeding the clamor against the trusts, Congress created the U.S. Industrial Commission to study the American economy. Testifying before that body a year later, Rockefeller bemoaned this legal anachronism. “Our Federal form of government, making every corporation created by a State foreign to every other State, renders it necessary for persons doing business through corporate agency to organize corporations in some or many of the different States in which their business is located.”<sup>10</sup> To rectify the problem, Rockefeller endorsed a federal incorporation law, even if a measure of government regulation came with it.

In the meantime, Standard Oil was aided by recent amendments to the New Jersey incorporation law. In June 1899, undergoing yet another change in form, Standard Oil became a full-fledged holding company under New Jersey law with the legal parent, Standard Oil of New Jersey, controlling stock in nineteen large and twenty-two small companies. Though he owned more than one-fourth of the shares, Rockefeller wanted to stay retired and avoid operational responsibility. Loath for him to relinquish his titular leadership amid legal troubles, his colleagues insisted that he remain honorary president. “I declined to have any official position in the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in 1899,” Rockefeller later told Harold McCormick, “and urged my brother [William] to take this position, but as he declined and all the others were very urgent, I was called the President, and have been since, although the position is and has all the time been entirely nominal.”<sup>11</sup> Unbeknownst to the general public, Rockefeller never attended a meeting or drew a salary, and Archbold, the new vice president, ran the organization.

In many respects, Standard Oil attained its peak influence in the 1890s. It now marketed 84 percent of all petroleum products sold in America and pumped a third of its crude oil—the highest percentage it ever reached. After years of harrowing prophecies that the industry might vanish, the business outlook had never looked brighter, despite the growing use of electricity. Sales boomed in everything from oil stoves to parlor lamps to varnish, soaking up oil supplies and driving up prices. In 1903, the British navy outfitted some battleships to use fuel oil instead of coal, attracting the notice of the U.S. Navy. Paraffin wax had become a vital insulator in the burgeoning telephone and electrical industries. Most momentous of all, the automobile promised to consume that vile, useless by-product, gasoline, and Standard Oil cultivated the new carmakers. When Henry Ford rolled out his first vehicle, Charlie Ross, a Standard Oil salesman, stood by with a can of the trust’s Atlantic Red Oil. The number of registered automobiles in America leaped from eight hundred in 1898 to eight thousand in 1900. When the Wright brothers took off from Kitty Hawk in 1903, their flight was powered by gasoline brought to the beach by Standard Oil salesmen. These new petroleum applications more than offset the dwindling kerosene business.

Though it had some scrappy competition at home from Pure Oil, Standard Oil’s monopoly seemed secure in the 1890s. But developments at home and abroad soon imperiled its power even before Teddy Roosevelt’s trustbusters entered the scene. In the late 1890s, Russia temporarily surpassed the United States to become the world’s largest crude-oil producer, capturing 35 percent of the world market. The trust’s global monopoly was sharply eroding on other fronts: The new Burmah Oil sold oil actively in Indian markets, Royal Dutch expanded its drilling in Sumatra, and Shell Transport and Trading stepped up its East Asian activities. In October 1901, Sir Marcus Samuel of Shell held secret talks at 26 Broadway. Archbold reported to Rockefeller, “This company [Shell] represents by all means the most important distributing Agency for Refined Oil throughout the World, outside of our own interests. He is here undoubtedly to take up with us the question of some sort of an alliance, preferable on his part of the sale to us of a large interest in their Company.”<sup>12</sup> Two months later, afraid of ceding too much power to Archbold, Samuel signed an agreement instead with Henri Deterding of Royal Dutch, creating a major new alliance along with the French Rothschilds. Archbold responded to this new threat with unrelenting price wars.

The home situation had grown no less treacherous. In 1900, the Waters-Pierce Company, Standard Oil’s rogue marketing subsidiary, was ousted from Texas for violating the state’s antitrust law. It had cornered 90 percent of the oil market, winning universal infamy for its cutthroat sales practices. This legal setback mattered greatly, for it evicted the trust from the state on the eve of a revolution. In 1901, drillers in Beaumont, Texas, made a major find in a dreary mound called Spindletop, which spouted oil with such explosive force that it spewed tens of thousands of barrels into the air for days before it was capped. The Texas oil boom, which spawned five hundred new companies during its first year alone, redrew the industry map. By 1905, Texas accounted for more than a quarter of the crude oil being pumped in America. Popular antagonism toward Standard Oil in Texas prevented the trust from moving aggressively to exterminate these new competitors, though the trust did have several refining affiliates there. When the Mellons, who had financed Spindletop, offered to sell it to Standard Oil, they were bluntly informed by one director, “We’re out. After the way Mr. Rockefeller has been treated by the state of Texas, he’ll never put another dime in Texas.”<sup>13</sup> Standard had to sit back and suffer the emergence of a host of competing producers, including Gulf Oil and the Texas Company, later called Texaco.

So while reformers noisily denounced the omnipotence of Standard Oil, its monopoly was swiftly crumbling at home and overseas. With additional oil strikes in California, Indian Territory (later Oklahoma), Kansas, and Illinois in the early 1900s, the industry became too vast and far-flung for even Standard Oil to control. It might not be too much of an exaggeration to say that the antitrust cases brought against the trust in the early 1900s were not just belated but were fast becoming superfluous.

After a young anarchist assassinated William McKinley in Buffalo in September 1901, the country was swept by widespread trepidation that the shooting had formed part of a broader conspiracy. In Chicago, a traveling salesman captivated reporters with tales of a conversation that he had overheard at a local train depot where J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller were mentioned as potential assassination targets. A heavily armed contingent of guards ringed Rockefeller’s residence and he remained incommunicado.

As it turned out, the gravest threat to the titan’s welfare emanated not from shadowy, gun-toting subversives but from the new White House occupant, forty-three-year-old Theodore Roosevelt. So long as McKinley was in the White House, Rockefeller had implicit faith that his business interests would be safeguarded. “America is truly to be congratulated upon Mr. McKinley’s election,” he had written in November 1900. “With financial interests on a sound basis, the next four years ought to accomplish much for the general welfare of the American people.”<sup>14</sup> In Roosevelt, however, whom he credited

as the “shrewdest of politicians,” Rockefeller knew he had a formidable rival.<sup>15</sup>

In a political world degraded by corrupt bosses and ward heelers, Teddy Roosevelt was that *rara avis*: a cultivated, well-to-do man. Descended from Dutch settlers who had emigrated to New Amsterdam before 1648 and later made a fortune in Manhattan real estate, Roosevelt, like many of his social peers, was scandalized by the sordid ethics of the new industrial class. As a New York state assemblyman in 1883, this aristocratic renegade reviled Jay Gould and his ilk as members of “the wealthy criminal class,” the first of many such rhetorical blasts.<sup>16</sup> In 1886, Rockefeller contributed one thousand dollars to Roosevelt’s unsuccessful mayoral campaign only because he feared even more the single-tax policy espoused by one of his opponents, Henry George. Running for New York governor in 1898, Roosevelt accepted contributions from Henry Flagler and a number of Wall Street executives, whom he promptly double-crossed by enacting a tax on corporate franchises and supporting factory regulation. A militant preacher against class divisions, he warned that politicians ignored popular discontent about the trusts at their peril. If they stuck to *laissez-faire* neglect, he predicted, “then the multitudes will follow the crank who advocates an absurd policy, but who does advocate something.”<sup>17</sup> A dyspeptic Henry Flagler spluttered: “I have no command of the English language that enables me to express my feelings regarding Mr. Roosevelt.”<sup>18</sup> New York businessmen were so eager to get rid of Roosevelt that they eased him out of the governorship and into the vice presidential slot on the McKinley ticket in 1900. Roosevelt always believed that Standard Oil had formed part of the effort to export him from state politics.

By 1901, virtually all American industrialists were converts to the doctrine of cooperation preached by Rockefeller and feared Teddy Roosevelt’s reputation as a trustbuster, even if that anxiety was somewhat overblown. Like Rockefeller, the new president favored industrial consolidation to exploit economies of scale. Scoffing at calls by William Jennings Bryan and Robert La Follette to dismantle the trusts, he contended that any such course would thwart the economy’s natural tendency. “Much of the legislation not only proposed but enacted against trusts is not one whit more intelligent than the medieval bull against the comet, and has not been one particle more effective.”<sup>19</sup> Roosevelt distinguished between bad trusts, which gouged consumers, and good trusts, which offered fair prices and good service. Instead of indiscriminate trust-busting, he concentrated on the worst offenders, and he singled out Standard Oil as emblematic of the abusive trusts.

When Roosevelt became president, Mark Hanna urged him to reassure skittish businessmen by avoiding provocative statements. With mischievous relish, the young president threw a dinner for J. P. Morgan, telling one cabinet member, “You see, it represents an effort on my part to become a conservative man in touch with the influential class and I think I deserve encouragement.”<sup>20</sup> He sought the advice of Senator Aldrich and stayed on his best behavior around businessmen. In November 1901, after a friendly meeting with Roosevelt, an aide to Henry Flagler suggested that he meet with the president and patch up hard feelings between them. “I don’t believe there is a man in America who dreads such a thing as much as I do,” Flagler responded. “I am glad you saw him, for I am sure I don’t want to do it.”<sup>21</sup> The statement captured the hubris that would soon be the downfall of Standard Oil, which treated the federal government as a meddlesome, inferior power.

Roosevelt trod a tightrope between radical reformers and trust kings. He had a clever way of delivering sharp, sudden blows against business, then following with conciliatory speeches. By nature, he was a political hybrid: Strident reformers brought out his conservatism while stand-pat businessmen brought out his crusading zeal. Much like Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930s, he introduced regulation in order to save the country from social unrest and forestall more extreme measures. He was accused of appropriating the policies of William Jennings Bryan, much as Franklin Roosevelt was later said to have undercut his left-wing critics by appropriating many of their policies.

In February 1902, as businessmen speculated about his true colors, Roosevelt showed that he had not mellowed. Without consulting Wall Street, he launched an antitrust suit against the Northern Securities Company, a holding company created by J. P. Morgan to consolidate railroads in the Pacific Northwest. Stunned businessmen sold stocks on the news. However aggrieved, J. P. Morgan did not declare open warfare on Roosevelt and later in the year helped him arbitrate an end to the anthracite coal strike. As Roosevelt turned the presidency into an honest broker between capital and labor, Morgan, unlike the more myopic Rockefeller, saw that Roosevelt stood ready to make concessions to cooperative businessmen.

In early 1903, Roosevelt supported the Elkins Act, which strengthened penalties for railroad rebates, and energetically promoted plans for a new Department of Commerce and Labor, which would include a Bureau of Corporations with broad powers to investigate the trusts. The new bureau was indispensable to his antitrust program, since the federal government was too small and thinly staffed to tackle the trusts on anything like an equal basis. In the 1890s, the entire Justice Department staff in Washington had only eighteen lawyers. To take on the industrial giants, Roosevelt needed more staff and, especially, more information.

As business interests fought the bureau, Roosevelt artfully manipulated the press to demonize his foes. In February 1903, he informed reporters that six senators had received telegrams from John D. Rockefeller urging defeat of the proposed bureau in these words: “We are opposed to the anti-trust legislation. Our counsel will see you. It must be stopped. John D. Rockefeller.”<sup>22</sup> This mighty revelation, as Roosevelt expected, caused a terrific commotion. Rockefeller’s name was now shorthand for corporate villainy so that his opposition to the bureau appeared conclusively to prove its need. As Teddy Roosevelt exclaimed jubilantly, “I got the bill through by publishing those telegrams and concentrating public attention on the bill.”<sup>23</sup>

In truth, the telegrams were sent by Junior after prodding from Archbold. Shocked and embarrassed by the uproar, Junior resented Archbold for having dragged him into the ill-advised lobbying operation. That everybody believed his revered father had authored the telegrams only made it the more mortifying. “I came out of college something of an idealist,” he later reflected, “and I was immediately thrust into the tough give and take of the business world. I really wasn’t ready for it.”<sup>24</sup> No stranger to controversy, Rockefeller told his son to ignore his critics—“Let the world wag,” he said—but Junior kept brooding.<sup>25</sup> He desperately wanted to rehabilitate the family name and live an irreproachable life, and here he was already wading hip-deep in Standard Oil muck. It was one of several events that finally convinced him that he was too squeamish for a business career.

Fiercely self-righteous, Teddy Roosevelt never forgot Standard Oil’s attempt to sabotage his new department, but he was a practical politician and recognized the value of winning Standard Oil support in his 1904 election campaign. Trying to mediate a truce between Standard Oil and the White House, Congressman Joseph C. Sibley told Archbold that the president thought the oil trust was hostile toward him, to which Archbold said facetiously,



“I have always been an admirer of President Roosevelt and have read every book he ever wrote, and have them, in the best bindings, in my library.” Sibley relayed this flattering news to Roosevelt—minus, of course, the sarcasm. “The ‘book business’ fetched down the game at the very first shot,” Sibley reported back to Archbold. “You had better read, at least, the titles of those volumes to refresh your memory before you come over.”<sup>26</sup> The rapprochement did not survive the 1904 election, for once the voting was over the president had an unpleasant surprise in store for Standard Oil.

In stalking Standard Oil, Teddy Roosevelt had no more potent ally than the press. In the spring of 1900, Rockefeller could still reassure a correspondent that favorable publicity about him overshadowed adverse coverage. “No man can succeed in any calling without provoking the jealousy and envy of some,” he observed. “The strong level-headed man will go straight forward and do his work, and history will rightly record.”<sup>27</sup>

Several trends gave birth to a newly assertive press. The gigantic trusts swelled the ranks of national advertisers, fattening the pages of many periodicals. Aided by new technologies, including linotype and photoengraving, glossy illustrated magazines streamed forth in such numbers that the era would be memorialized as the golden age of the American magazine. Paralleling this was the rise of mass-circulation newspapers, which catered to an expanding reading public. Competing in fierce circulation wars, Joseph Pulitzer, William Randolph Hearst, and other press barons plied readers with scandals and crusades. Nonetheless, the turn of the century marked more than the heyday of strident tabloids and yellow journalism, as sophisticated publications began to tackle complex stories, illustrating them lavishly and promoting them aggressively. For the first time in history, college graduates went to work on newspapers and magazines, bringing a new literary flair to a world once considered beneath the dignity of the educated elite.

Studded with star writers and editors, the most impressive periodical was McClure’s Magazine, which was started by Samuel S. McClure in 1893. In September 1901, the same month that Roosevelt ascended to the presidency, the magazine’s managing editor, Ida Minerva Tarbell, sailed to Europe to confer with McClure, then taking a rest from his strenuous life in Vevey, Switzerland. In her suitcase she carried an outline for a three-part series on the Standard Oil Company, though she wondered whether anyone would ever wade through a long, factual account of a business empire—a journalistic enterprise never assayed before.

The Standard Oil story was intertwined with Tarbell’s early life. Born in 1857 in a log cabin thirty miles from where Drake struck oil two years later, she was a true daughter of the Oil Regions. “I had grown up with oil derricks, oil tanks, pipe lines, refineries, oil exchanges,” she wrote in her memoirs.<sup>28</sup> Her father, Franklin Tarbell, crafted vats from hemlock bark, a trade easily converted into barrel making after Drake’s discovery. The Tarbells lived beside his Rouseville barrel shop, and Ida as a child rolled luxuriously in the heaps of pine shavings. Down the hill from her house, across a ravine, lived an amiable young refiner named Henry H. Rogers, who later recalled seeing the young girl picking wildflowers on the slope.

Ida watched men with queer gleams in their eyes swarming through Rouseville en route to the miracle-turned-mirage of Pithole Creek. Franklin Tarbell set up a barrel shop there and cashed in on the boom before Pithole’s oil gave out. But Franklin’s prosperity was tenuous, based on an antiquated technology. Wooden barrels were soon replaced by iron tanks—the first of several times that Ida’s father was hurt by progress. He then sought his fortune as an independent oil producer and refiner, just as Rockefeller was consolidating the industry and snuffing out small operators.

In 1872, as an impressionable fifteen-year-old, Ida saw her paradise torn asunder by the South Improvement Company. As her father joined vigilantes who sabotaged the conspirators’ tanks, she thrilled to the talk of revolution. “On the instant the word became holy to me,” she later wrote.<sup>29</sup> The SIC darkened her sunlit world. The father who once sang, played the Jew’s harp, and told funny stories became a “silent and stern” man, breeding in his sensitive daughter a lifelong hatred of Standard Oil.<sup>30</sup> For her, Standard Oil symbolized the triumph of grasping men over decent folk, like her father, who played fair and square.

She remembered the Titusville of her teenage years as divided between the valiant majority who resisted the octopus and the small band of opportunists who defected to it. On the street, Franklin pointed out turncoats to his daughter. “In those days I looked with more contempt on the man who had gone over to the Standard than on the one who had been in jail,” she said.<sup>31</sup> After a time, Franklin’s family would not speak to blackguards who had sold out to Rockefeller. It revolted Ida that the trust could turn proud, independent entrepreneurs into beaten men taking orders from distant bosses.

Although Tarbell had a more genteel upbringing than Rockefeller, with more books, magazines, and small luxuries, one is struck by the similarity of the Rockefellers’ Baptist and the Tarbells’ Methodist households. The straitlaced Franklin Tarbell forbade cards and dancing and supported many causes, including the temperance movement. Ida attended prayer meetings on Thursday nights and taught an infant class of the Sunday school. Shy and bookish, she tended, like Rockefeller, to arrive at brilliant solutions by slow persistence.

What set Tarbell apart from Rockefeller was her intellectual daring and fearless curiosity. As a teenager, despite her family’s fundamentalism, she tried to prove the truth of evolution. By the time she enrolled at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, in 1876—she was the sole girl in the freshman class of this Methodist school—she loved to peer through microscopes and planned to become a biologist. What distinguished her as a journalist was how she united a scientific attention to detail with homegrown moral fervor. After graduation, Tarbell taught for two years at the Poland Union Seminary in Poland, Ohio, then got a job on the editorial staff of *The Chautauquan*, an offshoot of the summer adult-education movement, which originated as a Methodist camp meeting. The fiery, militant Christian spirit of the movement made Ida even more high-minded in her expectations.

Tall and attractive, with dark hair, large gray eyes, and high cheekbones, Tarbell had an erect carriage and innate dignity and never lacked suitors. Yet she decided never to marry and to remain self-sufficient. She steeled herself against any feelings that might compromise her ambitions or integrity, and she walked through life, perhaps a little self-consciously, in a shining moral armor.

In 1891, the thirty-four-year-old Tarbell moved to Paris with friends and set up Bohemian quarters on the Left Bank—an unusually courageous decision for a young American woman at the time. She was determined to write a biography of the Girondist Madame Roland while selling freelance articles to Pennsylvania and Ohio newspapers and attending classes at the Sorbonne. Hardworking and levelheaded, she mailed off two articles during her first week in Paris alone. Even though the prim Tarbell was taken aback when lascivious Frenchmen flirted with her, she adored her time in Paris. She interviewed eminent Parisians, ranging from Louis Pasteur to Emile Zola, for American newspapers and won many admirers for her clean, accurate

reportage; she claimed that her writing had absorbed some of the beauty and clarity of the French language. Still, she struggled on the “ragged edge of bankruptcy” and was susceptible when McClure wooed her as an editor of his new magazine.

While she was still in Paris, two events occurred that would lend an emotional tinge to her Standard Oil series. One Sunday afternoon in June 1892, she found herself roaming the Paris streets, unable to shake off a sense of doom. Later that afternoon, she read in the Paris newspapers that Titusville and Oil City had been ravaged by flood and fire, with 150 people either drowned or burned to death. The next day, her brother, Will, sent a single-word cable— “Safe”—relieving her anxieties, but the event reinforced a guilty feeling that she had neglected her family. In 1893, one of her father’s oil partners shot himself in despair because of poor business, forcing Franklin Tarbell to mortgage his house to settle the debts he inherited. Ida’s sister was in the hospital at the time, and “here was I across the ocean writing picayune pieces at a fourth of a cent a word while they struggled there,” she later recalled. “I felt guilty, and the only way I had kept myself up to what I had undertaken was the hope that I could eventually make a substantial return.”<sup>32</sup> While in Paris, Ida Tarbell laid hands on a copy of *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, where she rediscovered the author of her father’s woes: John D. Rockefeller.

Once in New York in 1894, Tarbell published two biographies in serial form that might have predisposed her to focus on a single figure at Standard Oil. Anticipating her portrait of Rockefeller, she presented Napoleon as a gifted megalomaniac, a great but flawed man lacking “that fine sense of proportion which holds the rights of others in the same solemn reverence which it demands for its own.”<sup>33</sup> Lifted by this series, McClure’s circulation leaped from 24,500 in late 1894 to more than 100,000 in early 1895. Then followed Tarbell’s celebrated twenty-part series on Lincoln, which absorbed four years of her life (1895–1899) and boosted the magazine’s circulation to 300,000. She honed her investigative skills as she excavated dusty documents and forgotten courthouse records. In 1899, after being named managing editor of *McClure’s*, Tarbell took an apartment in Greenwich Village and befriended many literary notables, including Mark Twain, who would soon provide her with entrée to Henry H. “Hell Hound” Rogers. By this time, having sharpened her skills, she was set to publish one of the most influential pieces of journalism in American business history. The idea of writing about Standard Oil had fermented in her mind for many years before she worked for *McClure’s*. “Years ago, when I dreamed of some day writing fiction. . . I had planned to write the great American novel, having the Standard Oil Company as a backbone!”<sup>34</sup>

After receiving McClure’s blessing, Ida Tarbell launched the series in November 1902, feeding the American public rich monthly servings of Rockefeller’s past misdeeds. She went back to the early Cleveland days and laid out his whole career for careful inspection. All the depredations of a long career, everything Rockefeller had thought safely buried and forgotten, rose up before him in haunting and memorable detail. Before she was done, Ida Tarbell turned America’s most private man into its most public and hated figure.

The inspiration for publishing the anatomy of a major trust came from Samuel McClure, one of the most gifted windbags ever to occupy an editorial chair, who recruited writers with marathon speeches about his magazine’s greatness. High-strung, mercurial, seized by hourly brainstorm, McClure was described by Rudyard Kipling as a “cyclone in a frock coat.”<sup>35</sup> Moving through life at breakneck speed, he seemed forever to be veering toward a nervous collapse. When McClure first materialized in Tarbell’s Paris apartment in 1892, he appeared distracted and breathless. “I’ve just ten minutes,” he told her, checking his watch, “must leave for Switzerland tonight to see [English physicist John] Tyndall.”<sup>36</sup> Eager to sign up this startled young woman, the man with the tousled, sandy hair and electric blue eyes stayed for three hours. “Able methodical people grow on every bush but genius comes once in a generation and if you ever get in its vicinity thank the Lord & stick,” Tarbell once told a colleague apropos of McClure.<sup>37</sup>

That McClure hired a young, relatively inexperienced woman as his first full-time staff writer attests to his unorthodox style. He would collar every talented young writer in America—Frank Norris, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Willa Cather—as well as more established figures, such as Mark Twain and Rudyard Kipling. O. Henry, Damon Runyon, and Booth Tarkington debuted in his pages. Yet it was perhaps in nonfiction that McClure left his most lasting imprint, for the best investigative reporters, from Lincoln Steffens to Ray Stannard Baker, gravitated to the magazine. Of his first office visit, Baker reminisced, “Even with S. S. McClure absent, I was in the most stimulating, yes intoxicating editorial atmosphere then existent in America—or anywhere else.”<sup>38</sup> McClure watched over the creative chaos like a restless genie. “I can’t sit still,” he once told Lincoln Steffens. “That’s your job. I don’t see how you can do it.”<sup>39</sup> Amid this swirling lunacy, Ida Tarbell sat in her high collar and shirtwaist dress, a model of calm sanity. As Lincoln Steffens recalled, she “would come to the office, smiling, like a tall, good-looking young mother to say, ‘Hush, children.’ ”<sup>40</sup>

A man with a weakness for big, startling facts, McClure commissioned articles on new gadgets, scientific research, and futuristic technologies. This penchant for facts enabled him to spot Tarbell’s talent for enlivening a dry subject when she wrote an entertaining article about the paving of Parisian streets. Instead of the scandalmongering being offered by Pulitzer or Hearst, McClure wanted to analyze complex issues and explore them with scientific precision. Aiming at a comprehensive critique of American society, McClure concluded by 1901 that two great issues confronted the country: the growth of industrial trusts and political corruption. Before long, Lincoln Steffens was digging out municipal corruption in a series entitled “The Shame of the Cities” that started to run in October 1902. (In the February 24, 1905, issue, he skewered Senator Aldrich in a piece on Rhode Island corruption.) The choice of the proper trust to expose was a trickier issue. At first, Tarbell contemplated the steel trust and the sugar trust before the discovery of oil in California turned her attention to Standard Oil as the “most perfectly developed trust.”<sup>41</sup> Since it had been investigated by various government bodies for three decades, it had left a rich documentary trail. At first projected for three issues, the Standard Oil series eventually stretched, by popular demand, to nineteen installments. It was inaugurated in November 1902 against an especially timely backdrop: An anthracite coal strike during the winter of 1902–1903 deprived the poor of coal, forcing them to heat their homes with oil, and the subsequent sharp rise in oil prices made energy an incendiary issue.

Although Tarbell pretended to apply her scalpel to Standard Oil with surgical objectivity, she was never neutral and not only because of her father. Her brother, William Walter Tarbell, had been a leading figure in forming the Pure Oil Company, the most serious domestic challenger to Standard Oil, and his letters to her were laced with anti-Standard venom. Complaining of the trust’s price manipulations in one letter, Will warned her, “Some of those fellows will get killed one of those days.”<sup>42</sup> As Pure Oil’s treasurer in 1902, Will steered legions of Rockefeller enemies to his sister and even vetted her manuscripts. Far from cherishing her neutrality, Tarbell in the end adhered to the advice she had once received from Henry James: “Cherish your contempts.”<sup>43</sup> Amazingly enough, nobody made an issue of Tarbell’s veritable partnership with her brother in exposing his chief competitor.

When Franklin Tarbell heard that his daughter was taking on the mighty Standard, he warned her that she was exposing herself to extreme danger. “Don’t do it, Ida—they will ruin the magazine,” he said and even broached the possibility they might maim or murder her—a far-fetched scenario but suggestive of the dread that the trust inspired.<sup>44</sup> As her research began, she made a sentimental trip to Titusville, which rekindled her old animosity toward Standard Oil. Her father was slowly dying of stomach cancer while she was writing her series, and this might have further embittered her toward Rockefeller, however unfairly; Franklin Tarbell would die on March 1, 1905. Contrary to her father’s predictions, Ida inflicted far more damage on Standard Oil than she received in return. The closest she came to being threatened was at a Washington dinner party where Frank Vanderlip, a vice president of National City Bank, drew her into a side room to voice his strong displeasure with her project. Sensing a vague financial menace to *McClure’s*, she retorted, “Well, I am sorry, but of course that makes no difference to me.”<sup>45</sup> In fact, what was most notable about Standard Oil’s response was its haughty, self-defeating silence.

Tarbell approached her work methodically, like a carpenter, but she soon reeled under the weight of documentary evidence. After a week spent combing through reports of the Industrial Commission in February 1902, she wrote despairingly, “The task confronting me is such a monstrous one that I am staggering a bit under it.”<sup>46</sup> By June, having completed three installments, she confessed that the material had acquired an obsessive hold over her mind and even invaded her sleep. On the eve of a needed European vacation, she told her research assistant, “It has become a great bugbear to me. I dream of the octopus by night and think of nothing else by day, and I shall be glad to exchange it for the Alps.”<sup>47</sup>

Upon her return from vacation, she met with Henry Demarest Lloyd at his seaside estate in Sakonnet, Rhode Island. He insisted that, despite the Interstate Commerce Commission, large shippers were still getting the same old freight rebates, although they carefully destroyed the evidence. He told her, barely containing his rage, that Rockefeller and his associates embodied “the most dangerous tendencies in modern life.”<sup>48</sup> At one point, when he learned that Ida Tarbell had met with Henry H. Rogers, Lloyd thought she might be in cahoots with the company and warned his Pennsylvania contacts to watch out for her. His doubts were instantly dispelled as the series got under way. “When you get through with ‘Johnnie,’ ” he applauded her in April 1903, “I don’t think there will be very much left of him except something resembling one of his own grease spots.”<sup>49</sup> In the end, Lloyd handed over his abundant notes to her and urged George Rice, Lewis Emery, and other independents to talk with her. Having passed the torch, Henry Demarest Lloyd died in September 1903, before the series was finished.

Shortly before Tarbell began her research, Sam McClure tried to coax Mark Twain into editing a magazine, but Henry H. Rogers persuaded Twain to resist. As early as December 1901—almost a year before the series started to run—Rogers spotted an ad announcing *McClure’s* forthcoming series on Standard Oil and was startled that nobody at 26 Broadway had been contacted by the author. Concerned, he wrote to Twain, “It would naturally be supposed, that any person desiring to write a veritable history, would seek for information as near original sources as possible.”<sup>50</sup> Fearing that Tarbell might be consorting with the enemy, Rogers suggested that Twain tell McClure that he should verify all statements with the trust before they were published. When Twain pressed for details about the series, McClure balked, saying, “You will have to ask Miss Tarbell.” To which Twain replied, “Would Miss Tarbell see Mr. Rogers?”<sup>51</sup> Tarbell had, of course, hoped to interview the top brass at Standard Oil, and when McClure burst into her office with the invitation, she was eager to seize the chance.

A veteran charmer, Hell Hound Rogers invited Tarbell for a two-hour chat at his home on East Fifty-seventh Street. She had never met a real captain of industry before and seemed entranced by his resemblance to Twain. “His big head with its high forehead was set off by a heavy shock of beautiful gray hair; his nose was aquiline, sensitive,” she wrote, still betraying admiration years later.<sup>52</sup> Rogers seduced her with nostalgic recollections of the days when they were Rouseville neighbors. “That reminiscence of Henry H. Rogers is only one of several reasons I have for heartily liking as fine a pirate as ever flew his flag in Wall Street.”<sup>53</sup>

The upshot of the meeting was that Tarbell agreed to give Rogers a chance to react to any revelations she unearthed, and for two years she periodically visited him at 26 Broadway. These encounters had a quasi-clandestine aura, with the reporter whisked in one door and out another. In a spirit of guarded cooperation, Samuel Dodd assembled material for Tarbell, while Daniel O’Day passed along information on pipelines. Since Tarbell had spoken with Rogers for nearly a year before the series started, she held her breath when the first issue appeared in November 1902. “I rather expected him to cut me off when he realized that I was trying to prove that the Standard Oil Company was only an enlarged South Improvement Company.”<sup>54</sup> To her astonishment, Rogers still received her and, while occasionally miffed by this or that article, he remained on friendly terms with her.

Rogers’s complaisance has always been a huge mystery, engendering two schools of thought. Tarbell cited Rogers’s self-interest. He and Archbold had been stung by accusations that they had conspired to blow up a Buffalo refinery that competed with Standard Oil. “That case is a sore point with Mr. Archbold and me,” he immediately told Tarbell. “I want you to go into it thoroughly.”<sup>55</sup> Responding to his heightened sensitivity on this matter, she agreed to let him review anything she wrote about it. (Rogers’s strategy paid off as far as the Buffalo imbroglio was concerned.) In Tarbell’s view, Rogers was willing to see Standard Oil’s reputation sullied as long as his own was preserved.

Another school of thought hypothesized that Rogers was both deflecting attention from his own misdeeds and taking revenge against Rockefeller, who had disapproved of his stock-market speculations. This argument suggests that Rogers enjoyed Tarbell’s series as a rebuke to his colleague’s sanctimony. Rockefeller privately denounced Rogers as a traitor who had fed Tarbell false, garbled information to defame him.<sup>56</sup> Many years later, after a confidential chat with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Allan Nevins recorded in a memo, “Junior thinks that [Rogers’s] part in the publication of Ida Tarbell’s book was far from unselfish; that he was secretly glad to see Rockefeller attacked, and supplied some of the material.”<sup>57</sup> Tarbell’s own notes reveal that while Rogers often defended Rockefeller, he also kept the spotlight tightly focused on the founder and away from himself. Rogers did not terminate his meetings with Tarbell until February 1904, when she published a shocking account of railway agents spying on Standard Oil competitors—a practice that Rogers had strenuously denied. When she next arrived at 26 Broadway, he demanded, “Where did you get that stuff?” That tense, brief meeting ended their relationship.<sup>58</sup>

While stewing about Rogers, Rockefeller would have been equally shocked and wounded had he seen the acidulous comments made to Ida Tarbell by

his old pal Henry M. Flagler, who portrayed the titan as petty and miserly. After their confidential talk, Tarbell recorded in her notes, “Mr. Flagler talked to me of J.D.R. Says he is the biggest little man and the littlest big man he ever knew. That he would give \$100,000 one minute to charity and turn around and haggle over the price of a ton of coal. Says emphatically: ‘I have been in business with him 45 years and he would do me out of a dollar today—that is, if he could do it honestly.’”<sup>59</sup> Though Flagler dispensed some pious claptrap about how “the Lord had prospered him,” Tarbell could not draw him into any serious, sustained discussion of Standard Oil history.<sup>60</sup>

From the start, sensing that Tarbell was full of malice toward Standard Oil, Archbold had refused to cooperate. As for Rockefeller, he was slow to fathom the magnitude of the gathering threat and had no notion that this magnificent journalist could wield her slingshot with such deadly accuracy. Having weathered thirty years of assaults in the courts and statehouses, he must have felt invulnerable. When associates clamored for a response to Tarbell, Rockefeller replied, “Gentlemen, we must not be entangled in controversies. If she is right we will not gain anything by answering, and if she is wrong time will vindicate us.”<sup>61</sup> To sit through an extended grilling from Tarbell would have violated his lifelong approach to business. This was a tactical blunder, for in dodging Tarbell he inadvertently seemed to validate her portrait.

From the perspective of nearly a century later, Ida Tarbell’s series remains the most impressive thing ever written about Standard Oil—a tour de force of reportage that dissects the trust’s machinations with withering clarity. She laid down a clear chronology, provided a trenchant account of how the combine had evolved, and made the convoluted history of the oil industry comprehensible. In the dispassionate manner associated with *McClure’s*, she sliced open America’s most secretive business and showed all the hidden gears and wheels turning inside it. Yet however chaste and clearly reasoned her prose, it was always informed by indignation that throbbed just below the surface. It remains one of the great case studies of what a single journalist, armed with the facts, can do against seemingly invincible powers.

Tarbell is perhaps best appreciated in comparison with her predecessor, Henry Demarest Lloyd, who was sloppy with his facts, florid in his prose, and too quick to pontificate. A meticulous researcher, Tarbell wrote in a taut, spare language that conveyed a sense of precision and restraint—though she had more than her quota of strident moments. By writing in such a relatively cool style, she made her readers boil with anger. Instead of invoking political panaceas or sweeping ideological prescriptions, she appealed to the reader’s sense of common decency and fair play and was most effective where she showed something small and mean-spirited about the Standard Oil style of business.

Like Teddy Roosevelt, Tarbell did not condemn Standard Oil for its size but only for its abuses and did not argue for the automatic dismantling of all trusts; she pleaded only for the preservation of free competition in the marketplace. While she was by no means evenhanded, she was quick to acknowledge the genuine achievements of Rockefeller and his cohorts and even devoted one chapter to “The Legitimate Greatness of the Standard Oil Company.” “There was not a lazy bone in the organization, not an incompetent hand, nor a stupid head,” she wrote.<sup>62</sup> It was the very fact that they could have succeeded without resorting to unethical acts that so exasperated her. As she said, “They had never played fair, and that ruined their greatness for me.”<sup>63</sup>

If Tarbell gave an oversimplified account of Standard Oil’s rise, her indictment was perhaps the more forceful for it. In the trust’s collusion with the railroads, the intricate system of rebates and drawbacks, she found her smoking gun, the irrefutable proof that Rockefeller’s empire was built by devious means. She was at pains to refute Rockefeller’s defense that everybody did it. “Everybody did not do it,” she protested indignantly. “In the nature of the offense everybody could not do it. The strong wrested from the railroads the privilege of preying upon the weak, and the railroads never dared give the privilege save under the promise of secrecy.”<sup>64</sup> To the contention that rebates were still legal, Tarbell countered with the questionable theory that they violated the common law. She argued that Rockefeller had succeeded by imbuing subordinates with a ferocious desire to win at all costs, even if that meant trampling upon others. “Mr. Rockefeller has systematically played with loaded dice, and it is doubtful if there has ever been a time since 1872 when he has run a race with a competitor and started fair.”<sup>65</sup> Tarbell rightly surmised that Standard Oil received secret kickbacks from the railroads on a more elaborate scale than its rivals did. This is abundantly borne out by Rockefeller’s private papers, which show that the practice was even more pervasive than Tarbell realized.

Beginning with the Cleveland Massacre of 1872, Tarbell showed that Rockefeller had taken over rival refineries in an orchestrated atmosphere of intimidation. She exposed the deceit of an organization that operated through a maze of secret subsidiaries in which the Standard Oil connection was kept secret from all but the highest-ranking employees. She sketched out many abuses of power by the Standard Oil pipelines, which used their monopoly position to keep refractory producers in line while favoring Standard’s own refineries. And she chronicled the terror tactics by which the trust’s marketing subsidiaries got retailers to stock their product exclusively. Like Lloyd, she also decried the trust’s threat to democracy and the subordination of state legislators, although she never guessed the depths of corruption revealed by Rockefeller’s papers.

Nevertheless, as Allan Nevins and other defenders of Rockefeller pointed out, Tarbell committed numerous errors, and her work must be cited with caution. To begin with, the SIC was initiated by the railroads, not Rockefeller, who doubted the plan’s efficacy. And for all its notoriety, the SIC did not cause the oil crisis of the early 1870s but was itself a response to the glut that forced almost everybody to operate at a loss. It is also true that, swayed by childhood memories, Tarbell ennobled the Oil Creek drillers, portraying them as exemplars of a superior morality. As she wrote: “They believed in independent effort—every man for himself and fair play for all. They wanted competition, loved open fight.”<sup>66</sup> To support this statement, she had to overlook the baldly anticompetitive agreements proposed by the producers themselves. Far from being free-marketeers, they repeatedly tried to form their own cartel to restrict output and boost prices. And, as Rockefeller pointed out, they happily took rebates whenever they could. The world of the early oil industry was not, as Tarbell implied, a morality play of the evil Standard Oil versus the brave, noble independents of western Pennsylvania, but a harsh dog-eat-dog world.

Though billed as a history of Standard Oil, the Tarbell series presented Rockefeller as the protagonist and center of attention. Tarbell made Standard Oil and Rockefeller interchangeable, even when covering the period after Rockefeller retired. Sometimes it is hard to tell whether Rockefeller is a real person or a personification of the trust. Significantly, Tarbell chose for her epigraph the famous line from Emerson’s essay on self-reliance, “An Institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.” When Henry Rogers questioned this approach, Tarbell noted the dramatic effect of focusing on one

individual, writing in her notes after the meeting, “Illustrate it by Napoleon work and the effort to keep the attention centered on Napoleon, never mentioning anybody if I could help it.”<sup>67</sup> This great-man approach to history gave a human face to the gigantic, amorphous entity known as Standard Oil but also turned the full force of public fury on Rockefeller. It did not acknowledge the bureaucratic reality of Standard Oil, with its labyrinthine committee system, and stigmatized Rockefeller to the exclusion of his associates. So Flagler came off relatively unscathed, even though he had negotiated the secret freight contracts that bulk so large in the *McClure’s* exposé.

However pathbreaking in its time and richly deserving of its accolades, the Tarbell series does not, finally, stand up as an enduring piece of history. The more closely one examines it, the more it seems a superior screed masquerading as sober history. In the end, Tarbell could not conquer her nostalgia for the Titusville of her girlhood, that lost paradise of heroic friends and neighbors who went forth doughtily to do battle with the all-devouring Standard Oil dragon.

The most celebrated and widely quoted charge that Tarbell made against Rockefeller was the least deserved: that he had robbed Mrs. Fred M. Backus—forever known to history as “the Widow Backus”—blind when buying her Cleveland lubricating plant in 1878. If every melodrama needs a poor, lorn widow, cheated by a scheming cad, then Mrs. Backus perfectly fitted Tarbell’s portrait of Rockefeller. “If it were true,” Rockefeller later conceded, it “would represent a shocking instance of cruelty in crushing a defenceless woman. It is probable that its wide circulation and its acceptance as true by those who know nothing of the facts has awakened more hostility against the Standard Oil Company and against me personally than any charge which has been made.”<sup>68</sup>

The background of the story is simple. In his early Cleveland days, Rockefeller had befriended Fred M. Backus, who worked as a bookkeeper in his office and taught in the Sunday school of their church. In time, Backus married, had three children, and started a small lubricating company. In 1874, the forty-year-old Backus died, likely from consumption, and his widow inherited an obsolete plant that consisted of little more than a primitive cluster of sheds, stills, and tanks. Its hilltop site meant that raw materials had to be hauled up the slope at great expense, and then the lubricating oils had to be carted down the same steep path—not the most efficient of venues. Before it entered the lubricating business, Standard Oil had tolerated this marginal operation. When it branched out into lubricating oils and greases in the late 1870s, it absorbed three small lubricating companies, of which Backus Oil was probably the most backward. In fact, the Backus operation was so outmoded that Standard Oil eventually shut it down. This did not prevent the Widow Backus from stirring up a rabid national controversy about Rockefeller’s supposed theft of her priceless plant.

When Standard Oil first approached her about the purchase, she insisted upon dealing with Rockefeller who, for old time’s sake, agreed to meet her in her house. Appealing to her status as a widow and trusting to his gentlemanly honor, she pleaded for a fair price for her property. As she recalled, “he promised, with tears in his eyes, that he would stand by me in this transaction, and that I should not be wronged. . . . I thought that his feelings were such on the subject that I could trust him and that he would deal honourably by me.”<sup>69</sup> Backus told a friend that Rockefeller suggested that they kneel together in prayer. Up until this point, her story tallied closely with Rockefeller’s, who said that he had been “moved by kindly consideration to an old employee.”<sup>70</sup>

While Backus wanted Rockefeller to conduct the negotiations for her plant, he knew nothing about lubricants and sent his associates instead. According to Backus, Rockefeller’s hirelings bilked her unmercifully. She valued her operation between \$150,000 and \$200,000, whereas the Standard Oil people refused to pay more than \$79,000—\$19,000 for the oil on hand, plus \$60,000 for the factory and goodwill. (Out of regard for Backus, Rockefeller had had his appraisers bump up this last figure by \$10,000.) Backus’s negotiator, Charles H. Marr, later swore that his client, in an estimated inventory of her assets, had written down \$71,000 for plant and goodwill—not much more than Rockefeller finally paid. Yet she grew incensed over the purchase price and drafted a savage letter to Rockefeller, accusing him of double-dealing, to which he made the following reply:

*In regard to the reference that you make as to my permitting the business of the Backus Oil Company to be taken from you, I say that in this, as in all else that you have written . . . you do me most grievous wrong. It was of but little moment to the interests represented by me whether the business of the Backus Oil Company was purchased or not. I believe that it was for your interest to make the sale, and am entirely candid in this statement, and beg to call your attention to the time, some two years ago, when you consulted Mr. Flagler and myself as to selling out your interests to Mr. Rose, at which time you were desirous of selling at considerably less price, and upon time, than you have now received in cash, and which sale you would have been glad to have closed if you could have obtained satisfactory security for the deferred payments.*

He then pointed out that the \$60,000 paid for the property was two or three times the cost of constructing equal or better facilities—a statement corroborated by a Mr. Maloney, superintendent of the Backus plant. “I believe that if you would reconsider what you have written in your letter . . . you must admit having done me great injustice, and I am satisfied to await upon [your] innate sense of right for such admission.”<sup>71</sup> In closing, Rockefeller offered to restore her business in return for the money or give her stock in the company at the same price paid by Standard Oil. It was an eminently fair offer, and yet the histrionic Backus flung the letter in the fire.

Because Ida Tarbell insisted upon reviving this hoary story—Henry Demarest Lloyd had already wrung tears from readers with it—in 1905 Rockefeller’s attorneys leaked to the press a letter written by H. M. Backus, the widow’s brother-in-law. Having lived with his sister-in-law during the period in question, he was present the day Rockefeller paid his visit. As he told Rockefeller, “I know of the ten thousand dollars that was added to the purchase price of the property at your request, and I know that you paid 3 times the value of the property, and I know that all that ever saved our company from ruin was the sale of its property to you, and I simply want to ease my mind by doing justice to you by saying so.”<sup>72</sup> It was exceedingly lucky for Backus that she bowed out of business, for Standard Oil built more modern lubricating plants, marketed 150 different lubricants, and drove prices far below the price at which she could have operated profitably. Had she stayed in business, she would have been bankrupt within a few years.

By investing her proceeds in Cleveland real estate instead, Backus, far from being reduced to filth and misery, became an extremely rich woman. According to Allan Nevins, she was worth approximately \$300,000 at her death.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the supposed theft of Backus Oil became an *idée fixe*, and she dredged up the story for anyone who cared to listen. The notion of Rockefeller gleefully ruining a poor widow was such a good story, with so fine a Dickensian ring, that gullible reporters gave it fresh circulation for many years.

If Tarbell perpetuated one myth about Rockefeller, she also had the honesty to debunk another: that Rockefeller had blown up a competing refinery in Buffalo. It was this allegation that so upset Henry Rogers that he cooperated with Tarbell to clear his name. Swallowed whole by Lloyd and constantly brandished by the *World*, the tale was a hardy perennial of the anti-Standard Oil literature.

Like the Backus case, the incident dated back to the period when Standard Oil entered the lubricating business in the late 1870s. The trust had coveted the Vacuum Oil Works in Rochester, New York, owned by a father-and-son team, Hiram and Charles Everest. One day, John Archbold shepherded Hiram Everest into Rockefeller's office and asked him point-blank to name a price for his firm. When Everest obliged, Archbold threw back his head and roared with laughter, dismissing the figure as absurd. Taking a suaver approach, Rockefeller leaned forward, touched Everest on the knee, and said, "Mr. Everest, don't you think you would be making a mistake to go into a fight with young, active men, who mean to develop the entire petroleum industry?" When Everest shot back that he was a fighter, Rockefeller just smiled.

Everest eventually realized he was dealing with an immovable force and sold a three-fourths interest in his firm to Henry Rogers, John Archbold, and Ambrose McGregor, acting as agents for Standard Oil. Because the Everests remained the managers, the Standard executives were involved only tangentially. In 1881, a trio of Vacuum employees—J. Scott Wilson, Charles B. Matthews, and Albert Miller—defected to start a rival refinery, the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company. They brazenly planned to re-create their old firm by transferring technology, poaching clients, and copying processes patented by Vacuum. When the Everests learned of this, they threatened legal action. Albert Miller repented and sought help from Hiram Everest. Together, they consulted a Rochester lawyer, and at this meeting Everest allegedly floated the idea of Miller sabotaging the new plant: "Suppose he should arrange the machinery so it would bust up, or smash up, what would the consequences be?"<sup>74</sup> A tall edifice of speculation would be erected on this query.

According to a later conspiracy charge, on June 15, 1881, Miller ordered the fireman at the Buffalo plant to heat the still to such explosive temperatures that the heavy crude oil began to stir and boil. Pretty soon, the brickwork cracked, the safety valve blew off, and a large volume of gas hissed out—without kindling a fire. A week later, Miller met in New York with Hiram Everest and Henry Rogers, who packed him off to work at a California cannery. When the Everests filed patent-infringement suits against the Buffalo refinery, Charles Matthews, ringleader of the renegades, retaliated with his own civil suit, charging a conspiracy to blow up his Buffalo works and seeking \$250,000 in damages. The three Standard Oil worthies on the Vacuum board—Rogers, Archbold, and McGregor—despite the distant nature of their involvement in Rochester, were indicted along with the Everests. Only vaguely aware of the brouhaha, never having met Miller, Rockefeller was roped into the case for publicity purposes and subpoenaed as a prosecution witness. The case always struck him as a petty irritant, distracting him from more pressing matters. Nothing in Rockefeller's papers suggests that he regarded the suit as anything other than outright extortion.<sup>75</sup>

In May 1887, Rockefeller sat captive in a packed Buffalo courtroom for eight days. Resentful of being turned into a public spectacle, he felt he was being served up as a sideshow freak to "this curious class of wonder-worshippers, the class whom P. T. Barnum capitalized [on] and made his fortune out of."<sup>76</sup> When Rockefeller testified, he displayed, as always, total forgetfulness, but in this instance he really knew little about the case. At the end of eight days, the judge dropped charges against Rogers, Archbold, and McGregor. While Rogers hugged a bunch of pansies given by a well-wisher, Rockefeller, in a rare display of public fury, rose from his seat, jaw clenched, and said, "I have no congratulations to offer you, Rogers. What should be done with people who bring an action against men in this way—what?" Wheeling about, he shook his fist at Charles Matthews. Then, muttering "what an unheard-of-thing," he strode briskly from the courtroom, his retinue in tow. In later years, he fulminated against Matthews as a "scheming, trouble-making blackmailer" who offered to sell his refinery to Standard Oil for \$100,000 and only initiated his nuisance suit after being rebuffed.<sup>77</sup>

The Buffalo suit, in truth, had scant merit. The prosecution never established that an explosion had taken place or even that a high flame was necessarily hazardous when starting up the still. Though the Everests were convicted and fined \$250 apiece, this small figure mirrored the jurors' belief that the Everests did not conspire to blow up the refinery and were guilty only of luring away Albert Miller. If Henry Rogers cooperated with Ida Tarbell for the sake of vindication in the Buffalo case, he was amply rewarded. She stated categorically: "As a matter of fact, no refinery was burned in Buffalo, nor was it ever proved that Mr. Rogers knew anything of the attempts the Everests made to destroy Matthews' business."<sup>78</sup> Yet the notion that Rockefeller enjoyed blowing up rival plants so tickled the popular fancy that it remained enshrined as a story much too good to retire, and it was duly revived, along with the musty canard about the Widow Backus, by Matthew Josephson in his 1934 book *The Robber Barons*.

By the third installment in January 1903, President Roosevelt himself was voraciously reading Tarbell's articles and even sent her a flattering note. Her celebrity spread with each issue, and her level gaze stared out from countless newspaper profiles. "The way you are generally esteemed and revered pleases me tremendously," McClure told her. "You are today the most generally famous woman in America."<sup>79</sup> That she had succeeded in a traditionally masculine field only added to her mystique.

Samuel McClure would let a series run as long as the public kept snatching up copies. As Tarbell summarized this policy, "No response—no more chapters. A healthy response—as many chapters as the material justified."<sup>80</sup> Hence, her series was open-ended and profited from the tremendous crescendo of attention, which drew more and more Rockefeller critics from the woodwork. The circulation of *McClure's* had risen to 375,000 by the time Tarbell's series was finished. Though the series was published as a two-volume book in November 1904, she then capped it with a scathing two-part character study of Rockefeller in *McClure's* in July and August of 1905.

It does not detract from her achievement to state that she enjoyed the services of a first-rate research assistant, John M. Siddall. Short, pudgy, and bespectacled, the young Siddall was an experienced hand, having been a cub reporter at the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and secretary to the Cleveland Board of Education during Mayor Tom Johnson's reform administration. Based in Cleveland, he not only supplied Tarbell with numberless facts but charged her imagination. "I tell you this John D. Rockefeller is the strangest, most silent, most mysterious, and most interesting figure in America," he wrote to her. "The people of this country know nothing about him. A brilliant character study of him would make a tremendous trump card for McClure's."<sup>81</sup> At first, Siddall thought Rockefeller cold and humorless but had to modify the caricature. "My informant states that John has a real delightful way of cultivating the speaking acquaintance of all sorts of people—rich and poor, black and white. That only illustrates again the marvelous

complexity of Rockefeller's character."<sup>82</sup>

One of the first and most shocking revelations dug up by Tarbell and Siddall came from a teenage boy who had been assigned to burn records at a Standard Oil plant each month. He was about to incinerate some forms one night when he noticed the name of a former Sunday-school teacher who was an independent refiner and Standard Oil rival. Leafing through the documents sent for burning, he realized that they were secret records, obtained from the railroads, documenting the shipments of rival refiners. Tarbell knew Standard Oil was ruthless, but she was shocked by this outright criminal activity. "There was a littleness about it that seemed utterly contemptible compared to the immense genius and ability that had gone into the organization," she said.<sup>83</sup> At this point, she realized she was being snookered by Henry Rogers.

Tarbell and Siddall were willing to take their own moral shortcuts to expose Rockefeller. To spy on him, Siddall had a friend from the *Plain Dealer* impersonate a Sunday-school teacher to sneak into the annual church picnic at Forest Hill. At Siddall's behest, an old Rockefeller friend, Hiram Brown, pumped the mogul on several matters, including his reaction to the *McClure's* series. At the mention of Tarbell's name, Rockefeller steadied himself with a long breath. "I tell you, Hiram, things have changed since you and I were boys. The world is full of socialists and anarchists. Whenever a man succeeds remarkably in any particular line of business, they jump on him and cry him down."<sup>84</sup> To secure photos, Siddall had a friend pose as an agent of some distant Rockefeller relatives to obtain snapshots of the magnate from Cleveland photo studios. "Now of course these pictures were got under false pretenses," Siddall reminded Tarbell, "and we must protect our over-zealous friend."<sup>85</sup>

Since Rockefeller banned Tarbell from his presence, Siddall searched for a way that she could obtain a firsthand glimpse. During summers at Forest Hill, Rockefeller appeared in public only for Sunday services at the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church. By the early 1900s, this event had taken on the air of a circus spectacle as hundreds of people massed outside the church to view him. As the Tarbell series swelled the gaping throngs, Rockefeller would gingerly approach his church bodyguard before the service and ask, "Are there any of our friends, the reporters, here?"<sup>86</sup> Even though Pinkerton detectives mingled with the crowd, Rockefeller now felt anxious about public exposure. Sometimes, he confessed, he wanted to bolt from the service, but he feared that people would brand him a coward.<sup>87</sup> At one Friday-evening prayer service, when a radical agitator sat opposite him all evening, his hand stuffed menacingly in his pocket, Rockefeller grew so rattled that he put away his planned speech on socialism.

It probably hurt his image that he appeared in public only at church, for it played to the stereotype of a hypocrite cloaking himself in sanctity. In fact, his motivation for churchgoing was quite simple: Aside from the spiritual pleasure of prayer, he was loath to give up contact with ordinary people, many of them old friends. The church retained many blue-collar members, enabling Rockefeller to chat amiably with a blacksmith or mechanic. Such everyday experiences increasingly eluded him as he withdrew behind the high gates of his estates.

On Sunday, June 14, 1903, John Siddall got a windfall beyond his most feverish hopes when Rockefeller not only appeared but delivered a short "Children's Day" talk at the Sunday school. "If I had been able to foretell what happened yesterday I should have advised you to come from Titusville to spend Sunday in Cleveland," Siddall told Tarbell.<sup>88</sup> He described Rockefeller, in ministerial coat and silk hat, sitting before the pulpit and surveying the crowd apprehensively, as if fearful for his safety. "He bows his head and mutters his prayer, and sings the hymns, and nods his head, and claps his hands in a sort of a mechanical way. It's all work to him—a part of his business. He thinks that after he has done this for an hour or two he has warded off the devil for another week."<sup>89</sup> Only months later did Siddall learn of the anonymous charity Rockefeller practiced each Sunday morning, handing out money in small envelopes to needy congregants. "Doesn't this shake your belief in the theory of pure hypocrisy?" Siddall then asked Tarbell, noting the curiously compartmentalized nature of Rockefeller's mind. "In one part is legitimate business, in another corrupt business, in another political depravity, in another—somewhere in his being—religious experience and life."<sup>90</sup> This was a richer, more accurate appraisal of Rockefeller than that contained in his earlier, reductive gibe.

In the early fall, Siddall found out that Rockefeller, before returning to New York, would deliver a short farewell address at the Sunday school, and he begged Ida Tarbell to attend. "I will see that we have seats where we will have a full view of the man," he promised her. "You will get him in action."<sup>91</sup> They planned to squeeze between them an illustrator, George Varian, who would execute rapid sketches of Rockefeller. Tarbell felt "a little mean" about secretly ambushing Rockefeller in church, and she dreaded that they would be caught. To prevent this, she asked Siddall to pack the pew with three or four tall confederates who would shield Varian and his notebook.

When Tarbell and Siddall arrived at the Sunday-school room that morning, she wrinkled her nose at the shabby surroundings, "a dismal room with barbaric dark green paper with big gold designs, cheap stained-glass windows, awkward gas fixtures."<sup>92</sup> Suddenly, Siddall gave her a violent dig in the ribs. "There he is," he breathed. The hairless figure in the doorway did not disappoint Tarbell. As she wrote, "There was an awful age in his face—the oldest man I had ever seen, I thought, but what power!"<sup>93</sup> He slowly doffed his coat and hat, slid a black skullcap over his bald head, and sat flush against the wall, giving him an unobstructed view of the room—which Tarbell thought a security precaution. During his brief talk to the children, she was impressed by the clear strength of his voice. After the Sunday-school speech, the *McClure's* contingent packed a church pew in the auditorium for the service. Self-conscious about being there, Tarbell was convinced that Rockefeller would pick her out of the crowd, but he apparently did not.

In her 1905 character study, Tarbell stressed Rockefeller's fidgety behavior, the way he craned his neck and scanned the room, as if searching for assassins. "My two hours study of Mr. Rockefeller aroused a feeling I had not expected, which time has intensified. I was sorry for him. I know no companion so terrible as fear. Mr. Rockefeller, for all the conscious power written in face and voice and figure, was afraid, I told myself, afraid of his own kind."<sup>94</sup> It did not occur to her that she had contributed to that fear. This edgy behavior was vitally important for Tarbell because it suggested that Rockefeller had a guilt-ridden conscience, that God was torturing him, that he could not enjoy his ill-gotten wealth; the ordinary reader could find no more satisfying fantasy. "For what good this undoubted power of achievement, for what good this towering wealth, if one must be forever peering to see what is behind!"<sup>95</sup> It certainly never occurred to Tarbell that Rockefeller might be searching the congregation for charity recipients.

Despite her fears, Tarbell and her associates evaded detection at the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church that Sunday morning. It was the only time that Tarbell ever actually stood in Rockefeller's presence. Ironically, he never knowingly set eyes on the woman who did more than any other person to

transmogrify his image.

By the end of her nineteen-part series, Tarbell had come to regard Rockefeller as the embodiment of evil. She had largely maintained a clinical tone, despite many shrill digressions, but in the poisonous two-part character study of July and August 1905, she allowed her vengeful feelings to blossom. Throwing off any pose of objectivity, she found in Rockefeller “concentration, craftiness, cruelty, and something indefinably repulsive.” She described him as a “living mummy,” hideous and diseased, leprous and reptilian, his physiognomy blighted by moral degeneracy. The pious, churchgoing image that Rockefeller projected was only a “hypocritical facade brilliantly created by the predatory businessman.”

*The disease which in the last three or four years has swept Mr. Rockefeller's head bare of hair, stripped away even eyelashes and eyebrows, has revealed all the strength of his great head. . . . The big cheeks are puffy, bulging unpleasantly under the eyes, and the skin which covers them has a curiously unhealthy pallor. It is this puffiness, this unclean flesh, which repels, as the thin slit of a mouth terrifies. . . . Mr. Rockefeller may have made himself the richest man in the world, but he has paid. Nothing but paying ever ploughs such lines in a man's face, ever sets his lips to such a melancholy angle.*<sup>96</sup>

Rockefeller could brush off Tarbell's critique of his business methods as biased, but he was deeply pained by the character study. He was furious that Tarbell converted his alopecia, which had produced so much suffering, into a sign of moral turpitude. He was no less upset by her charge that he was ill at ease in his church, for this struck at the heart of his lifelong faith. As he said later, he was not fearful in church “because there was no place where I felt more at home in a public assembly than in this old church, where I had been since a boy of fourteen years of age and my friends were all about me.”<sup>97</sup> The patent cruelty of the character study steeled Rockefeller against Tarbell's valid strictures about his business methods. For Rockefeller, this malice was the final proof he needed of Ida Tarbell's bias against him.

As legions of Rockefeller enemies sought interviews with Tarbell, she was bound to encounter the most vituperative foe, his brother Frank. Refusing to forgive John after the Corrigan affair, Frank still popped up in the press from time to time to deliver flaming imprecations against John. During the *McClure's* series, he was quoted by a Washington paper as saying that “the fear of kidnapping [had] become a mania” with his brother and that “armed men accompany him everywhere ready to repel any effort to capture him.”<sup>98</sup> In fact, Frank had not set eyes on his brother in years and could only parrot gossip.

Tarbell was always coy about how she met Frank Rockefeller, but her papers tell a startling tale. Although Siddall's brother had been one of Frank's attorneys, this had not helped him to line up an interview. Then a breakthrough occurred in January 1904, when Siddall learned that the Tarbell series had won two unexpected admirers: Frank's daughter and son-in-law, Helen and Walter Bowler. Using Mr. Bowler as a go-between, Frank stipulated his conditions for a tête-à-tête with Tarbell: “I want no member of my family to know of this interview. Nobody is ever to know of it. I shall see Miss Tarbell in my Garfield Building office. No one is to be present. No clerk is to know who Miss T is.”<sup>99</sup>

Following instructions, Tarbell even donned a disguise. It would be one of the most disturbing interviews of her long career. Though Frank seemed candid, he chewed tobacco and talked incontinently, spewing forth bile against his brother. At moments, his self-pitying harangues suggested a deranged man. Afterward, Tarbell jotted down impressions, including his off-the-record statements, for her files:

He seemed dimly conscious that it was unnatural and monstrous to talk to me, and yet to be so bitter that he could not restrain himself. He began to talk of his brother by referring to him as “that individual.” “I have nothing to do with that individual,” he said. “I never want to see him. I have not seen him but once for eight years, and that was by accident. He has ruined my life. Nearly drove my wife insane. Two years ago I had to put her in a sanitarium, where she stayed for nearly a year, and this entirely came of this man's vindictive feeling of me.” He says, “I have read every one of your articles. Some of them I have read two or three times. I have never known of any literary subject which interested me so much, or interested the people with whom I came in contact so much.”<sup>100</sup>

Unaware of the stormy history between the two brothers, Tarbell confessed that Frank was the last person she had expected to volunteer as a source. A brisk, businesslike journalist, she was appalled by the ugly emotions he betrayed, however much she welcomed his information. Predictably, Frank dragged out his self-serving version of the Corrigan case. He portrayed John as a sadist who took pleasure in lending people money then seizing their collateral and destroying them when they did not repay: “Cleveland could be paved with the mortgages that he has foreclosed on people who were in a tight place.”<sup>101</sup> Though Tarbell came to believe that John D. had acted in an ethical manner with Corrigan, she quoted so freely from the original lawsuit against Rockefeller as to obscure that she was siding with him.

Aside from the Corrigan case, Frank contributed few facts and preferred to vent his spleen. He told Tarbell that John had only two ambitions, to be very rich and very old, and he even chastised Cettie, calling her a “narrow-minded, stingy and pious” woman, whose greatest goal was “to be known as a good Christian, and to impress the world with the piety and domestic harmony of the family.”<sup>102</sup> According to Frank, Cettie was a crafty, avaricious hypocrite who ensured that John's charities were widely publicized and tinged with the proper religious coloring. Touching up this gruesome portrait, Frank later told one of Tarbell's assistants: “[John] has the delusion that God has appointed him to administer all the wealth in the world, and in his efforts to do this he has destroyed men right and left. I tell you that when you publish this story the people will arise and stone him out of the community. . . . He is a monster.”<sup>103</sup>

Frank had two other shockers for Tarbell. First, he told her that “the real reason that I have sent for you is that I want some day to write the life of my brother. I cannot write. You can do the kind of thing I want, and I want to know if you will do it using my material.”<sup>104</sup> Tarbell did not quite picture herself as Frank Rockefeller's ghostwriter. On the other hand, she did not wish to alienate him and mumbled something about helping him if her editorial work allowed the time. Then Frank came up with a remarkable finale to his ravings about his brother: “I know you think I am bitter and that it is unnatural, but this man has ruined my life. Why I have not killed him I do not understand. It must be that there is a God who prevented me doing such a thing, for there have been a hundred times when, if I had met him on the street, I know that I should have shot him.”<sup>105</sup>



Tarbell did not quote these background statements and preserved Frank’s anonymity. But such lunacy should have told her to exercise extreme care in dealing with the Corrigan case. Instead, in a lapse in judgment, she used Frank’s material in such a slipshod, misleading manner that Rockefeller justly accused her of slanting the story.

Perhaps the main reason that Frank did not blow out his brother’s brains was that he did not want to murder one of his main bankers. Unable to curb his speculative appetite, Frank took another emergency loan of \$184,000 from William during the 1907 panic. What Frank did not know—but surely must have suspected—was that John had guaranteed half the loan, secured by eight hundred head of cattle and one hundred mules on Frank’s Kansas ranch. In fact, John D. carried this debt until Frank died, though a moment came in early 1912 when Frank again sounded off about his brother to reporters and John dispatched a lawyer to inform his ungrateful brother about the true source of the money that had so long sustained him.

For nearly three years, from November 1902 to August 1905, Ida Tarbell fired projectiles at Rockefeller and Standard Oil without taking fire in return. As one newspaper wondered aloud, “Is the Pen Mightier than the Money-Bag. . . . Is Ida M. Tarbell, weak woman, more potent than John D. Rockefeller millionaire?”<sup>106</sup> As the Tarbell series demonstrated, the new media possessed a power that rivaled that of the business institutions they covered. Paradoxically, the more Tarbell invoked the malevolent power of Standard Oil, the more she proved the reverse. At moments, Tarbell herself was startled by the kid-glove treatment. She wrote to Siddall in February 1903, “It is very interesting to note now, that the thing is well under way, and I have not been kidnapped or sued for libel as some of my friends prophesied, people are willing to talk freely to me.”<sup>107</sup>

From today’s perspective, when corporations have teams of publicists who swing into action at the first whiff of trouble, Standard Oil’s muted reaction appears to be a perplexing miscalculation. Tarbell got enough wrong that a modern public-relations expert could have dented her credibility and shaken Samuel McClure with the threat of a libel suit. Rockefeller could, for instance, have exposed the hoax of the Widow Backus story. In the spring of 1905, he contemplated a lawsuit against Tarbell for alleging that he had perjured himself by denying knowledge of a *Southern* Improvement Company when his interrogator had garbled the name of the *South* Improvement Company. After Tarbell published her character study of Rockefeller, he authorized Virgil Kline to contest her treatment of the Corrigan case. Kline pointed out that Tarbell’s fallacious account was drawn largely from the original petition filed against Rockefeller, not the exculpatory testimony that followed in the case. “Mr. Kline says I used charges made in the petition instead of in the testimony,” Tarbell wrote, unfazed, in an internal memo at the time. “I did, and I see no reason why I should not have done so.”<sup>108</sup> Tough challenges from Rockefeller might have blunted Tarbell’s confidence and made readers question her sources.

The *McClure*’s series showed that the public-be-damned attitude that had served industrial barons well in the nineteenth century now made them easy prey for investigative journalists who fed a public famished for revelations of misconduct. The schizoid American worship of millionaires was shot through with envy and a desire to see these demigods punished and desecrated. So why did Rockefeller stick to his self-defeating silence? One side of him simply did not want to be bothered by libel suits. “Life is short,” he wrote to Parmalee Prentice, “and we have not time to heed the reports of foolish and unprincipled men.”<sup>109</sup> He was also afraid that if he sued for libel, it would dignify the charges against him and only prolong the controversy. Strolling about Forest Hill one day, a friend suggested that he respond to the Tarbell slanders. At that moment, he spotted a worm crawling across their path. “If I step on that worm I will call attention to it,” he said. “If I ignore it, it will disappear.”<sup>110</sup> In certain instances, he was muzzled from responding because of his involvement in ongoing court cases.

But the main reason for Rockefeller’s silence was that he couldn’t dispute just a few of Tarbell’s assertions without admitting the truth of many others, and a hard core of truth did lie behind the scattered errors. When Gates urged him to rebut Tarbell on the Backus affair and the SIC perjury charge, Rockefeller agreed he could do so but that “going further than the Backus and the South Improvement Company cases may involve the necessity of going thoroughly into the whole book”—and he did not wish to do that.<sup>111</sup> Two months later, Tarbell herself reached a similar conclusion in *McClure*’s: “His self-control has been masterful—he knows, nobody better, that to answer is to invite discussion, to answer is to call attention to the facts in the case.”<sup>112</sup>

Rockefeller claimed that he had not even deigned to glance at *McClure*’s, a claim inadvertently refuted by Adella Prentiss Hughes, Cettie’s nurse and companion, who traveled with the Rockefellers on a western train trip in the spring of 1903. “He liked to have things read to him, and during these months I read aloud Ida Tarbell’s diatribes,” she recalled. “He listened musingly, with keen interest and no resentment.”<sup>113</sup> He tossed out wisecracks about “his lady friend” or “Miss Tarbarrel” but would not be drawn into serious discussion about her. “Not a word,” he said. “Not a word about that misguided woman.”<sup>114</sup> His office, however, kept him well apprised of her allegations as they appeared.

Nonetheless, it is true that Rockefeller never formally sat down and read her searing indictment. “I don’t think I ever read Ida Tarbell’s book: I may have skimmed it,” he said a decade later. “I wonder what it amounts to, anyway, in the minds of people who have no animus?”<sup>115</sup> When William O. Inglis began to interview Rockefeller in 1917 and read aloud portions of Tarbell’s work, it grew clear that Rockefeller had only a vague familiarity with the series. It was equally clear that beneath his pose of stoic fortitude he was still angry. His private comments about her were marked by a heavy sniggering and dry mockery that he never exhibited in public. “How clever she is, compared with poor Lloyd, who was always hysterical! She makes her picture clear and attractive, no matter how unjust she is. She really could write.”<sup>116</sup> At the same time, he was convinced that this daughter of Oil Creek was “animated more with jealousy begotten by the inability of her father and her brother and some of her neighbors to do as well as the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>117</sup> Far from making him repent and reconsider, the Tarbell series hardened his faith in his career. How dismayed Tarbell would have been to find Rockefeller writing to Archbold in July 1905: “I never appreciated more than at present the importance of our taking care of our business—holding it and increasing it in every part of the world.”<sup>118</sup>

Faced with Tarbell’s invective, Rockefeller was too proud to give the world the satisfaction of knowing that he was wounded. The press was rife with speculation about his reaction. “Mr. Rockefeller’s friends say that it is all cruel punishment for him, and that he writhes under these attacks,” reported one Detroit newspaper.<sup>119</sup> A Philadelphia paper chimed in that “the richest man in the world sits by the hour at Forest Hill, his chin sunk on his breast. . . . He has lost interest in golf; he has become morose; never free in his conversation with his employees, he now speaks only when absolutely necessary, and then gives his directions tersely and absently.”<sup>120</sup> These reports tell more about the popular thirst for revenge than about Rockefeller’s actual response. He was never tormented by guilt and went on playing golf.

Yet he *was* more vulnerable to criticism than he admitted. During this period, he grew closer to his son, who became his confidant just as Cettie's maladies made it more difficult for her to discharge that function. Junior remembered, "He used to talk to me about the criticisms to which he was exposed, and I think it eased his mind to do so, because beneath his apparent insensitiveness, he was a sensitive man, but he always ended up by saying: 'Well, John, we have to be patient. We have been successful and these people haven't.' " <sup>121</sup> Even John D. Rockefeller, Sr., required cathartic chats in time of trouble.

Having been filled to the brim with morality and religion, Rockefeller's children must have been disoriented to see him exposed as a corporate criminal. How did they reconcile the rapacious Rockefeller splashed across *McClure's* pages with the reverent father that they knew? As a rule, they fell back upon an implicit belief in father's integrity, which was more a matter of religious faith than anything grounded in fact.

Senior might talk in general terms about Tarbell's criticisms but refrained from specific rebuttals, an omission that especially tormented his son, who had taken his parents' morality at face value. Junior had always been prey to tension-related symptoms, and they intensified with each new installment of *McClure's*. By late 1904, gripped by migraine headaches and insomnia, he wavered on the edge of a breakdown. Under doctor's orders, he, Abby, and their baby daughter Babs sailed to Cannes in December 1904 for what would extend into a yearlong absence from 26 Broadway. They toured the charming Languedoc country towns, drove through the maritime Alps, and ambled along the Promenade des Anglais. But Junior's troubles were so intransigent that their projected one-month stay lengthened to six. Junior's breakdown has been variously attributed to overwork, exhaustion, or an identity crisis, but he himself privately emphasized the toll of the Tarbell series, as well as two subsequent controversies: the tainted-money affair and his leadership of a Bible class.

While Tarbell's articles were running, Rockefeller, his wife, his son, and two of his three daughters were afflicted by serious medical problems or nervous strain. In 1903, Rockefeller had such severe bronchial troubles that he took a rest cure near San Diego. That spring, Bessie suffered the stroke or heart ailment that left her sadly demented, and the following April Charles Strong took his wife off to Cannes, where she and Junior may have consulted the same nervous-strain specialists. In April 1904, Cettie had the attack that left her semiparalyzed and from which she took two years to recover. Finally, plunged into depression after the birth of her daughter Mathilde in April 1905, Edith fled to Europe. Understandably, the Rockefellers did not wish to broadcast their misfortunes to the world. The price that the series exacted on them, like so much else, was scrupulously hidden from both the public and posterity.

The most stinging personal blow to Rockefeller was not Tarbell's exposé of his chicanery but her defamatory portrait of his father, published in the two-part character study. Rockefeller had never dropped the pretense that his father, like his mother, was a person of sterling virtue. Even in later years, he told one of his grandsons, "I had a rich inheritance in foundation building from both my father and mother, and I reverence them, and often long to see them even though it is so many years since they passed away." <sup>122</sup> Now readers across the country were introduced to the protean Doc Rockefeller, snake-oil salesman, ne'er-do-well, bigamist, and absentee father. Most mortifying of all to Rockefeller, Tarbell disinterred his oldest and deepest shame: Big Bill's rape indictment in Moravia in the late 1840s.

By this point, Rockefeller seldom had dealings with his infirm, elderly father, who was increasingly crotchety, and routed urgent queries to him via brother Frank—to whom he was not speaking either. Tarbell had stumbled upon Doc Rockefeller's existence in serendipitous fashion. One day in April 1903, J. M. Siddall was on the phone with Rockefeller's brother-in-law, the genial William Rudd, when Rudd let slip that William Avery Rockefeller was still alive. Perhaps Rudd did not at first perceive the magnitude of this admission. "Oh yes, the old gentleman is living. He travels about from place to place in the west. The last I knew of him was in Dakota. We don't know where he is now." <sup>123</sup>

Sitting there agape, Siddall could scarcely believe his ears: Scoops did not come any bigger than this. The second he got off the phone, he pounded out a typewritten report to Tarbell.

*I have always supposed that Mr. Rockefeller's father died years and years ago, and I am startled almost beyond expression to learn, as I have through the telephone within the last five minutes, that the old man is living. . . . I never in my life was more surprised. . . . I am under the impression that I have been told over and over that the old man died some years ago, and I am sure from W. C. Rudd's attitude toward me today that there is something secret and mysterious about the thing.* <sup>124</sup>

In his hands Siddall now had a thread that would lead him and then other reporters into a vast investigative maze. Through his brother, Siddall sounded out Frank Rockefeller's secretary, who offered a helpful hint: Doc Rockefeller lived in either North or South Dakota. "He doesn't know where and says frankly—though confidentially—that he *doesn't dare ask Frank or any members* of the family," Siddall informed Tarbell. <sup>125</sup> This only added to the mystery: Why had Rockefeller so thoroughly expunged his father from his life? Siddall next prodded a reporter from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* to ask Dr. Biggar, very casually, whether on a recent trip west with Rockefeller they had detoured to visit Doc Rockefeller. At first Biggar walked straight into the trap. "No, we didn't go through Dakota," he began to blurt out, then, seeing his error, clammed up. <sup>126</sup> Siddall and Tarbell scored their biggest coup with Rockefeller's old friend Hiram Brown, whom Tarbell had met while researching her Lincoln book. During a meandering chat at Forest Hill, Brown sounded out Rockefeller about his father, which produced the following exchange, as recorded in Tarbell's research files:

"Well, sir, the old gentleman is on his last legs I guess. He is absolutely senile. He is living on a farm near Cedar Valley, Cedar County, Iowa. He has lost all his powers. He is ninety-three years old, you know. They say the old gentleman is so deaf that he cannot hear a word. His nieces are taking good care of him. He is living on the farm because he owns it . . . because it is the place that is most pleasing to him."

"Well, John, what a comical, funny old fellow he is," Brown said.

"Yes," John replied. "They say the old gentleman lies on the bed and swears all day. I haven't seen him since he was here three years ago." <sup>127</sup> This last sentence alluded to the party that John had thrown at Forest Hill for Bill and his erstwhile cronies.

When Ida Tarbell interviewed Frank Rockefeller in 1904, he gave his own self-serving account of John and Bill's final break. At age ninety, Bill had decided to bequeath his \$87,000 in property equally among his four living children. According to Frank, John had wanted his one-quarter share *plus* repayment of an outstanding \$35,000 loan; Bill, irate, believed that the gift should cancel out the loan. As Tarbell paraphrased Frank's narration in a memo, "The old man was so furious that now he will not come home. He says he will not live in the same state with his son."<sup>128</sup> As Tarbell peeled away bits and pieces of Bill's clandestine life, she did not know how abominably Bill and Frank had behaved over the years, how much they had borrowed from John, nor how erroneous their tirades against him were. Tarbell was never able to track down Doc Rockefeller or figure out the riddle of his double life, but her revelation that he was still alive somewhere created a national sensation.

Among the intrigued was Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the *World*, who had inveighed against Standard Oil as the most pitiless trust. Pulitzer served his readers an incongruous mix of scabrous stories and lofty crusades against corporate abuse. "Money is the great power of today," he declared. "Men sell their souls for it. Women sell their bodies for it."<sup>129</sup> He wished to purge capitalism of its vulgar excesses so that a more enlightened capitalism might flourish, and he evinced a special animus toward Rockefeller, whom he christened "the father of trusts, the king of monopolists, the czar of the oil business," a man who "relentlessly crushes all competitors."<sup>130</sup> Hence the story of Doc Rockefeller—uniting, as it did, the spice of family scandal with Standard Oil's notoriety—was a godsend. Stirring the pot, Pulitzer offered eight thousand dollars to anyone who could provide information about Rockefeller's father, a reward that set off a nationwide manhunt.

It is a credit to Bill's matchless duplicity that teams of reporters were immediately stymied in this search. There was also a fair bit of luck involved. When *McClure's* printed a picture of Rockefeller's father to accompany the character sketch, many Freeport, Illinois, residents were shocked to see Dr. William Levingston staring out at them. Many traits that Tarbell attributed to Doc Rockefeller sounded oddly reminiscent of their queer local resident. The editor of the *Freeport Daily Bulletin* contacted *McClure's* to inform them that they might have mistakenly printed a picture of Dr. William Levingston. Indignant at this insinuation—and totally oblivious of the revelation implicit in the Freeport editor's query—*McClure's* wrote back and assured the editor that the photo of Rockefeller's father was indeed authentic. Amazingly enough, the national press corps never picked up on all the rumors buzzing around Freeport, Illinois.

An impatient Pulitzer dispatched one of his star reporters, J. W. Slaght, to Cleveland, hoping for a quick solution, but two weeks later Slaght slogged back to New York, weary and dispirited. In a despairing memo to Pulitzer, he stressed the inordinate effort required to track down Rockefeller's father and hinted that it would be thankless drudgery. He hoped that the matter would end there. "In just about time enough for the report to have reached Mr. Pulitzer I was ordered to take up the search and stay on it until I found Mr. Rockefeller, regardless of time or expense," Slaght revealed to William O. Inglis a decade later. "It seems that the story fascinated Mr. Pulitzer—the disappearance of the father of the richest man in the world, a thrilling mystery that would interest people everywhere."<sup>131</sup>

So thoroughly had Doc Rockefeller erased his tracks that Slaght had only one tenuous clue. During the reunion a few years earlier at Forest Hill, Big Bill had slyly told his buddies that he resided somewhere out West and shot "shirt-tail swans" in a nearby lake. Slaght consulted a naturalist who said that a wild goose nicknamed the "shirt-tail swan" abounded in parts of Alaska. Setting forth with this sketchy information and a photo of Doc Rockefeller, the miserable Slaght trekked through Alaska, tramping from lake to lake. Once he had exhausted this terrain, he heard that Bill had been sighted in Indiana and was off on another wild-goose chase. For a time, he peddled razors door-to-door, trying to pry information loose from suspicious German farmers. "I'll bet I shaved myself ten or fifteen times a day, till my face was sore, selling the blamed razors."<sup>132</sup> Even clean shaven, Slaght again came up empty-handed.

Desperate, he turned to Frank Rockefeller, the only person in direct communication with the phantom. Bribing Frank's secretary with candy and theater tickets, Slaght gained access to Frank, who was no less protective of his father than John was. He was quite upset by Slaght's quest and offered a straightforward deal: If Slaght called off the search, Frank would repay him with sensational findings about his brother. To enhance the deal's allure, Frank exhumed from his drawer an impressive manuscript, thick as a telephone directory.

After a flurry of calls to New York, the *World* editors agreed to terminate their search for Doc Rockefeller for sixty days if they could, in return, publish Frank's philippic against John. Having never dealt with Frank, Slaght naively trusted him. But when the time expired, Frank would not return his calls, and Slaght had no choice but to accost him on a Cleveland street and bluntly remind him that the *World* had fulfilled its end of the bargain; in exchange, he demanded the manuscript. "No, sir," Frank snapped, "not one word of it."<sup>133</sup> Aghast, Slaght said the *World* would publish the inflammatory remarks Frank had made about John in his office. "If you publish that," retorted Frank, "I'll kill you."<sup>134</sup> However much he detested John, Frank must have feared that any published comments would dry up the loans from his brothers.

In August 1907, still baffled in its search for Doc Rockefeller, the *World* ran the interview with Frank recorded a year and a half earlier. "My father is alive and well," a defiant Frank was quoted as saying. "He is dependent upon no man. He would scorn the proffer of financial aid from John D. and would not take it from me. He has means of his own, ample for all his needs." Then he openly taunted his brother for his estrangement. "Go ask John D. where our father is: tell him that I sent you and that I dare him to answer."<sup>135</sup> By this point, the Pulitzer reporters labored under insane pressure to come up with fresh leads. When William Randolph Hearst also threw reporters into the search, Pulitzer (who referred to Rockefeller as "Grasping" in internal coded messages) could not bear the thought of being beaten and offered a handsome cash bonus to any reporter who broke the story. To bolster the burned-out Slaght, he assigned another reporter, A. B. Macdonald of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, to the chase.

Before turning to the finale of this cross-country quest, let us fill in a few blanks about Bill's life during these past years. Too old to travel, Bill had renounced his itinerant life and mostly remained in Freeport, Illinois. As garrulous as ever, he spent his days dabbling with his guns, telling hunting stories to whoever would listen, or boasting of his big ranch and fine horses in North Dakota. When he visited Frank's ranch, he sat on the front porch and fired at targets Frank set up for his amusement. One night in 1904, the portly, ailing Bill, then ninety-four, lowered himself into a chair but missed it. As he tried to grab something to break his fall, he broke his arm near the shoulder, an accident so severe that his survival seemed doubtful, and it became necessary to contact his next of kin. Until this time, Margaret Allen Levingston had not known that her husband was a bigamist with five children and that

one of them was among the world's richest men. A proper lady, active in the First Presbyterian Church and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, she must have reeled from this revelation.

There is reason to suspect that John D. met Margaret Levingston at this time. The nurse who treated Bill, Mrs. J. B. Gingrich, told of the arrival of a mysterious visitor from the East who came by private railroad car, slipped into the house discreetly by a side door, and only entered Bill's room after she and the doctor had left. She remembered the sound of this visitor pacing up and down an adjoining room as Bill lay in pain. One suspects that John D. was the spectral figure, since William would not have asked for these special security precautions. If it was John D., it would have been the first time he ever set eyes on the wife whose legitimacy he had never acknowledged.

As he recuperated, Bill was often delirious, though still talkative. "Even as sick as he was he was jovial in his rational moments and in his delirium," said Mrs. Gingrich. "He talked of his vast business interests in the East. He sang often a ditty about a frog in a well, and he sang often a lullaby which he said his mother used to sing to him when he was a baby nearly 100 years before."<sup>136</sup> As if shedding all the accumulated artifice of his double life, Bill's mind frequently reverted to his early days as Doc Rockefeller in upstate New York. In the feverish mental state of his final days in early 1906, he repeatedly babbled the names of the five children from his first marriage—John, William, Frank, Lucy, and Mary Ann. And he would stare at the loyal Margaret and suddenly cry out, "You are not my wife. Where is Eliza?"<sup>137</sup>

It was to be a season full of bitter surprises for Margaret, who had been gulled by Bill's braggadocio into thinking they were supremely wealthy. During his illness, Bill had trouble paying his medical bills and even contemplated pawning the big, gaudy diamond he had always stuck in his shirtfront. The night that Bill died, Margaret was unsure of the Rockefellers' reaction and did not know exactly what to do. She apparently stored the body for several months at the City Cemetery, awaiting a request to have it shipped back to Cleveland. When word never came from the family, she transferred the body to the Oak Knoll section of the Oakland Cemetery. Though Bill is always said to have died on May 11, 1906, references to his estate suddenly appear in John's papers in January 1906, suggesting that the burial may have taken place on that later date, not the death itself. Only Frank and Pierson Briggs attended the belated funeral in which Bill was entombed in a plain, unvarnished box in an unmarked grave. That Margaret was worried about her future financial state is confirmed by the fact that she paid the gravediggers three dollars, but could not afford the extra dollar for a brick vault—standard procedure at the time. It would be another five years, after Margaret's own death, before a granite memorial bearing the Levingston name in raised lettering was finally erected on the site. Few—if any—Rockefeller descendants seem to know that William Avery Rockefeller is buried there under his assumed name.

The tangled skein of Bill's life finally unraveled in early 1908, two years after his death, when a druggist in Madison, Wisconsin, told A. B. Macdonald that for years a friend and fellow druggist in Freeport named George Swartz had sold medical concoctions to a Dr. William Levingston. Swartz had always wondered whether the name was a fabrication, a suspicion confirmed when he saw a picture of Dr. Levingston gazing at him from Tarbell's series. Acting on this tip, Macdonald traveled to Freeport. When he flashed a photo of Bill Rockefeller to neighbors, everybody agreed that it was Dr. Levingston. Then he rang the doorbell of a private home on West Clark Street. A refined, elderly lady in her early seventies answered, her white hair covered by a lace cap. When the reporter disclosed his mission, Margaret Allen Levingston lifted her hands and started to sob. "I have been wondering when one of you would come," she said, sniffing. "And I have been dreading it, for I knew the secret could not be kept forever, now that my husband is dead." When Macdonald asked whether William Avery Rockefeller and Dr. Levingston were the same person, she replied, "Go to the other side if you want the facts." What other side? "To John D. Rockefeller. Let him tell if he will. It is not for me to talk. I lived happily with my husband for fifty years. He was kind and true. It is all I can say or will say. I must be a true woman to the end."<sup>138</sup> She furnished pictures of both herself and her husband—in fact, over the mantel Macdonald saw a crayon version of the photo of Bill he held in his hand—then told her visitor in parting, "I wish it were possible for you to leave me alone with my dead."<sup>139</sup>

To retire any lingering doubt, Macdonald went to the local library and found an obituary notice, dated May 11, 1906, for Dr. William Levingston, who had died at age ninety-six and was listed as the oldest man in Freeport. The death notice listed his birthday as November 13, 1810—the same date as Doc Rockefeller's—settling the great mystery. Greatly relieved, Macdonald was at last liberated from Pulitzer's obsession.

On February 2, 1908, the nightmare that had haunted John D. Rockefeller his whole life suddenly burst forth in bold print. On its front page, the *World* trumpeted the headline "Secret Double Life of Rockefeller's Father Revealed by the *World*." The story received the coverage ordinarily reserved for major elections or great natural disasters, with the single column on the front page followed by an entire page inside. Nothing in the text was quite so cogent as the proof provided by two adjoining, identical photos of William Avery Rockefeller and Dr. William Levingston. The article gave a sketchy picture of his double life, his fifty-one years as a bigamist, his footloose life as a mountebank in the Dakotas, and his burial in an unmarked grave. It was a story more bizarrely implausible than anything ever invented by the tabloid press. For Big Bill, who had always wanted to be somebody important, it was a queer sort of posthumous fulfillment.

Rockefeller's archives do not reveal a single public or private reaction to the *World* article. His friends never dared to elicit his response, while his family pretended that the article did not exist. There were two noteworthy public reactions. First, Frank again decided to make mischief by publicly denying that his father had been a bigamist or even that he was dead. "Like others which have preceded it, the story is an unqualified lie. The whereabouts of my father concerns no one but his immediate family and it is precisely to protect himself from being hounded by cranks and others who would break in upon the peace and quiet of his retired life that he prefers to live in such seclusion as suits his convenience."<sup>140</sup>

Second, the article brought an emotional response from Dr. Charles Johnston, Bill's handsome, dark-skinned young disciple and traveling companion in the Dakota years. When he read the *World* exposé, Johnston was petrified that he would lose his license to practice medicine if it was shown that he and Bill had sold patent medicines illegally. Released from his pledge of secrecy by Bill's death, he told the *World*, "For years I have wondered why the secret was kept so safely. For twenty-five years the secret has been locked in my breast, but it was well known to others, and I have wondered when it would become known."<sup>141</sup> To protect his professional status, he portrayed Bill sympathetically as a "natural healer," not as a cunning mountebank. Years later, when he no longer feared legal reprisals, he gave a less sanitized history of their scams. Perhaps more than Bill's real children, Charles Johnston retained a tender spot for him, telling the *World* that he still cherished the violin that Bill had given him when he was too old and gouty to play.

And he made a public plea that the Rockefeller family should posthumously forgive this fallible man. “I think it’s time that John D. Rockefeller and his brother should acknowledge him as their father, because all the world knows it now.”<sup>142</sup>

Deaf to Johnston’s plea, Rockefeller probably never forgave the father whose erratic ways had likely set him off on his exaggerated quest for money, power, and respectability. Bill’s body was never brought back to Cleveland and his granite tombstone was paid for from Margaret Levingston’s meager estate.



*Frederick T. Gates, seated, with Dr. Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Faith of Fools

Had John D. Rockefeller died in 1902, at the outset of the Tarbell series, he would be known today almost exclusively as a narrow man of swashbuckling brilliance in business, a man who personified the acquisitive spirit of late-nineteenth-century American industry. But just as the muckrakers were teaching the public that Rockefeller was the devil incarnate, he was turning increasingly to philanthropy. What makes him so problematic—and why he continues to inspire such ambivalent reactions—is that his good side was every bit as good as his bad side was bad. Seldom has history produced such a contradictory figure. We are almost forced to posit, in helpless confusion, at least two Rockefellers: the good, religious man and the renegade businessman, driven by baser motives. Complicating this puzzle is the fact that Rockefeller experienced no sense of discontinuity as he passed from being the brains of Standard Oil to being the monarch of a charitable empire. He did not see himself in retirement as atoning for his sins, and he would have agreed emphatically with Winston Churchill's later judgment: "The founder of the Standard Oil Company would not have felt the need of paying hush money to heaven."<sup>1</sup> He was also insistent that his massive philanthropy paled in importance beside the good he had done in creating jobs and furnishing affordable kerosene at Standard Oil.

As his fortune grew big enough to beggar the imagination, John D. retained his mystic faith that God had given him money for mankind's benefit. Obviously, God disagreed with Miss Tarbell, or else why had He lavished such bounty on him? Rockefeller regarded his fortune as a public trust, not as a private indulgence, and the pressure to dispose of it grew imperative in the early 1900s as his Standard Oil stock and other investments appreciated fantastically. In the pre-Gates era, Rockefeller had found it difficult to expand his giving in proportion to his wealth—a strain that had pushed him steadily toward a psychic precipice. Tarbell stressed that Rockefeller had given away only a small fraction of his total wealth: between thirty-five and forty million dollars, or the equivalent of three years of Standard Oil dividends. (In fact, he had already given away several times that amount.) To parry the political attacks against him and mollify public opinion, he now had to disburse money on a much larger scale. For purely selfish reasons, he had to show that as a philanthropist he could act in a disinterested, public-spirited manner. Those commentators who see his charity as crudely furthering his economic interests miss a far more important goal: his need to prove that rich businessmen could honorably discharge the burden of wealth. The judicious disposal of his fortune might also blunt further inquiry into its origins.

It was thus from political necessity that Rockefeller distanced himself from his philanthropies, which would be marked by a low-profile style. The muckrakers had fostered such distrust of Rockefeller that he needed to counter suspicions that his charity was just another trick, a way to burnish his public image in the wake of investigations. The Rockefeller philanthropies would be constrained by a fundamental paradox: While extremely powerful, they were also inhibited in exercising that power. In explaining why members of the Rockefeller boards never gave interviews, Gates once said that if they extolled their benefactions, it would "inevitably lend color to the suspicion that [Rockefeller's] gifts are not free from the taint of self-seeking."<sup>2</sup>

Gates helped Rockefeller to define his priorities so as to forestall political criticism. Rockefeller began to assign a lesser place to partisan or parochial concerns, such as the Anti-Saloon League or Anthony Comstock and his New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, in favor of programs with broad appeal and universal support—things unarguably good that helped all classes of people and lacked any tincture of self-interest. Groups that did not meet these criteria were either relegated to Rockefeller's small, private gifts or discarded altogether. In his memoirs, Rockefeller said that he had sought progress in six areas of life, and the choices are notable for their general, noncontroversial nature: "(1) material comforts (2) government and law (3) language and literature (4) science and philosophy (5) art and refinement (6) morality and religion."<sup>3</sup> Who could protest such emphases?

The most perplexing issue for Rockefeller was how to square philanthropy with self-reliance. His constant nightmare was that he would promote dependence, sapping the Protestant work ethic. "It is a great problem," he acknowledged, "to learn how to give without weakening the moral backbone of the beneficiary."<sup>4</sup> He dreaded the thought of armies of beggars addicted to his handouts. Back in the 1880s, when considering support for a veterans' organization in Cleveland, he warned brother Frank that he did "not want to encourage a horde of irresponsible, adventuresome fellows to call on me at sight for money every time fancy seizes them."<sup>5</sup> He constantly reminded his son that it was easier to launch a charitable commitment than to end it.

He was also wary of upsetting the existing social hierarchy. Staunchly convinced that society meted out just deserts, he believed that the rich had been recompensed for superior intelligence and enterprise. Conversely, *the failures that a man makes in his life are due almost always to some defect in his personality, some weakness of body, mind or character, will or temperament. . . . It is my personal belief that the principal cause for the economic differences between people is their difference in personality, and that it is only as we can assist in the wider distribution of those qualities that go to make up a strong personality that we can assist in the wider distribution of wealth.*<sup>6</sup>

He contributed to education and medical research, for they strengthened recipients and better prepared them for the evolutionary struggle—that is, he equipped them to compete but did not tamper with outcomes. For this reason, he never used his wealth to alleviate poverty directly and scorned any charity that smacked of social welfare. "Instead of giving alms to beggars," Rockefeller said, "if anything can be done to remove the causes which lead to the existence of beggars, then something deeper and broader and more worthwhile will have been accomplished."<sup>7</sup> Unlike Carnegie, he did not build libraries, athletic facilities, or music halls for the recreation of ordinary people but promoted pure research that would lead to more generalized benefits.

In focusing on prevention rather than relief, Rockefeller was influenced by two contemporary reform movements. By 1900, many progressives had tired of dealing with the symptoms of social ills and began to search for fundamental causes. Instead of falling back on isolated good deeds, they aspired to a systematic attack on the underpinnings of poverty. Backed by a new faith in scientific method, they drew on a burgeoning new middle class, educated by an expanding university system, and enlisted the knowledge of experts in business, labor, agriculture, and other areas. This new technical class provided a ready-made population to staff the Rockefeller philanthropies. Such "scientific reform" appealed to Rockefeller, who liked to analyze systems and probe underlying causes. After all, he himself had profited from scientific breakthroughs at Standard Oil, such as the Frasch process.

Rockefeller's work was also buttressed by the social-gospel movement, which united social reform with moral uplift and religious renewal, reaching its high point between 1900 and 1920. For both Rockefeller senior and junior, this was a perfect synthesis, a way to be politically liberal and modern while clinging to an old-fashioned aversion to gambling, prostitution, alcohol, and other vices traditionally shunned by Baptists. It also guaranteed that reform took place under the safe aegis of religious authority. The social-gospel movement provided a way that the Rockefellers could make a smooth transition from narrow denominational giving to more secular, ecumenical causes.

Frederick T. Gates was the tutelary spirit of the Rockefeller philanthropies. Though nearly invisible to the public at the time, he advanced large claims for his contributions in his posthumously published memoirs. Yet Gates was groomed by Rockefeller, and if he was granted a large measure of freedom, it was partly because Rockefeller had trained him as his proxy. Since he held aloof from his charitable empire, Rockefeller's role has almost invariably been underrated, but Gates allowed that it was Rockefeller himself who furnished the idea for founding a medical-research institute. Around 1894, when William Rainey Harper first proposed a medical school for the University of Chicago, Rockefeller countered with a novel proposal for a medical department devoted mainly or exclusively to research. Gates had the courtier's knack for delivering on his sovereign's wishes with unmatched energy and intelligence, so when he proposed a medical-research institute three years later, he knew his words would find a sympathetic echo in Rockefeller.

On summer vacation with his family in the Catskill Mountains in 1897, Gates tackled a book of door-stopping length: *Principles and Practice of Medicine*, a thousand-page tome by William Osler of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, the most renowned contemporary physician. (Whereas Rockefeller scarcely ever cracked a book, except for slim volumes of sermons, Gates read exhaustively and said he had scoured more than a thousand volumes in steering the Rockefeller philanthropies.) That spring, Gates had survived a serious illness, awakening his curiosity about American medicine. Osler's magnum opus was not light summer fare, but with a medical dictionary at his side Gates waded through its pages with mounting amazement. He confided to William Rainey Harper that he had "scarcely ever read anything more intensely interesting."<sup>8</sup> Gates was appalled by the backward state of medicine unintentionally disclosed by Osler's book: While the author delineated the symptoms of many diseases, he seldom identified the responsible germs and presented cures for only four or five diseases. How could one respect medicine that was so strong on anecdote and description but so weak on diagnosis and treatment? Gates had a sudden, vivid sense of what could be done by a medical-research institution devoted to infectious diseases. His timing was faultless, for major strides were being made in bacteriology. For the first time, specific microorganisms were being isolated as the causes of disease, removing medicine forever from the realm of patent-medicine vendors such as Doc Rockefeller.

With a rush of emotion, Gates drafted a strongly worded memo to Rockefeller, advocating the establishment of such an institute and citing European precedents, including the Pasteur Institute in Paris (founded in 1888) and the Koch Institute for Infectious Diseases in Berlin (1891), both of which greatly elevated the prestige of European medicine. At the time, the concept of a medical-research institute was still alien in America. The country's medical schools were mostly commercial operations, taught by practicing doctors who picked up spare money by lecturing on the side. Standards were so abysmal that many schools did not even require a college degree for entry. Since these medical mills had no incentive to undertake serious research, medicine hovered in a twilight area between science and guesswork. Gates got Rockefeller to hire Starr Murphy to canvass medical opinion about setting up an institute. He found that many physicians were frankly skeptical that the country contained enough scientific talent to staff such an institution, and they recommended the distribution of small grants to individual labs instead.

Rockefeller responded to Gates's memo with prolonged silence and let it marinate for a couple of years. But Rockefeller eventually realized that medical research ideally suited his needs. It would be safe, universally popular, and noncontroversial. While there was no guarantee that Rockefeller scientists would discover anything new, there was equally little chance that they would embarrass the founder. They would pick scientists associated with topflight universities and then set them to work with a free hand. Such an institution would also fill a void in the philanthropic universe. Gates told Osler, "This line of philanthropy, now almost wholly neglected in this country, is the most needed and the most promising of any field of philanthropic endeavor."<sup>9</sup> In fact, the promotion of medical science tallied so perfectly with Rockefeller's needs that it would end up forming the common denominator of his foundations.

The proposal encountered skepticism in the medical community. It seemed quite rash, even quixotic, to pay grown men to daydream and come up with useful discoveries. At the time, institutionalized innovation was no less novel a notion in medicine than in industry. With other Rockefeller ventures, Gates had mostly responded to entreaties, whereas he now had to sell the idea in the teeth of widespread resistance.

Gates had hoped the institute would be associated with the University of Chicago, an opportunity lost when Dr. Harper consummated a merger with the Rush Medical College. Rush was exactly the sort of proprietary medical school that Gates wanted to see abolished. American medicine was then embroiled in open warfare between two schools: the allopaths, who used remedies that produced effects different from the disease in question, and homeopaths, who tried to induce in healthy persons prophylactic symptoms similar to the disease being fought. Rush was strongly biased toward allopathy, while Rockefeller favored homeopathy; Gates dismissed both allopathic *and* homeopathic medicine as scandalous pseudo-science. In 1898, he admonished the University of Chicago, "I have no doubt that Mr. Rockefeller would favor an institution that was neither allopath or homeopath but simply scientific in its investigation of medical science."<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Harper persisted in the Rush merger and forfeited any chance to have a Rockefeller medical-research institute in Chicago. After encountering allopathic sympathizers at Harvard and Columbia, Rockefeller's advisers decided that it would be easier to set up an autonomous institution in New York.

Rockefeller was pleased by the decision to support a modest, freestanding research center. After all the bitter wrangling with Harper, he was doubtless sated with academic politics and administrative dreamers. An independent medical institute would be tightly controlled and minimize the chances of unpleasant fiscal surprises. In endowing the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (RIMR), he rigorously avoided the mistakes he had made with the University of Chicago, which became his cautionary tale of how *not* to build an institution. After the battle royal with Augustus Strong over the site for a Baptist university, Rockefeller must also have been glad to select his adopted town as the site of the research center.

If the University of Chicago seemed to emerge full-blown from the fertile brain of Dr. Harper, then the RIMR, founded in June 1901, was deliberately launched more modestly. It had no initial endowment and was lodged in temporary quarters in a Lexington Avenue loft building. This muted approach was designed to cool off any expectations that sudden miracles would emerge from this first American facility devoted solely to biomedical research.

Deviating from custom, Rockefeller consented to the use of his name. The amount he pledged for this project—\$200,000 over ten years—was considered spectacular at the time. To avoid a reprise of his Chicago problems, Rockefeller promised no additional gifts and deliberately kept administrators in the dark so that they would not feel overly confident of his support.

Rockefeller placed a premium on recruiting the best people for leading positions. “John, we have *money*,” he told his son, “but it will have value for mankind only as we can find able *men* with ideas, imagination and courage to put it into productive use.”<sup>11</sup> That Rockefeller placed scientists, not lay trustees, in charge of expenditures was thought revolutionary. This was the institute’s secret formula: gather great minds, liberate them from petty cares, and let them chase intellectual chimeras without pressure or meddling. If the founders created an atmosphere conducive to creativity, things would, presumably, happen.

A stellar team was soon assembled. The chief adviser in this search was Dr. William H. Welch, professor of pathology and first dean of the Johns Hopkins Medical School. A bald, portly bachelor with a goatee, fondly called “Popsy” by his students, this sociable bear of a man liked everything from food to theater to Shakespeare’s sonnets. Trained in Germany, he had transplanted high German medical standards to America by opening the first pathology lab at Bellevue Hospital Medical College in 1878. When Hopkins inaugurated its medical school fifteen years later, Welch oversaw a faculty trained mostly in Germany and working as full-time teachers and researchers—a milestone in American medicine. Spurred by Rockefeller money, this model would later be copied across America. When in doubt, the Rockefeller lieutenants used the Johns Hopkins Medical School as the benchmark by which they judged progress in medical education.

As president of the RIMR board, Welch wooed as its first director his protégé Simon Flexner, whom he had considered his most gifted pupil and America’s best young pathologist. Of German-Jewish ancestry, raised in Louisville, Kentucky, Flexner neatly fitted into the Rockefeller mold of disciplined, self-made men.

Though highly respected in the medical world, Flexner was not a luminary when Welch approached him in early 1902. At thirty-nine, he faced an excruciating decision: whether to surrender a lifetime appointment as a pathology professor at the University of Pennsylvania to leap into the vortex of “an institution devoted exclusively to discovery of something new,” as he put it.<sup>12</sup> When Flexner asked Gates why he was certain they would find something new, Gates smirked and replied that he had the faith of fools. The whole thing seemed so shadowy and insubstantial that Flexner hesitated for several months to accept the post. He bargained hard for the ability to offer high salaries to prospective researchers as well as for a promise that the institute would have a small, adjoining hospital in which diseases under study could be tracked in a clinical setting.

Flexner—spare, lean, ascetic, bespectacled—had features as sharp and precise as his mind. He was the sort of fair but tough-minded administrator who appealed to Rockefeller. Many people saw warmth beneath his businesslike exterior, but he was not a bluff clubman. “Flexner was competent,” said H. L. Mencken, “but he was a precise and somewhat pompous fellow.”<sup>13</sup> More than one scientist quaked at his exacting expectations and incisive criticisms. Evidently heartened by this perfectionist director, Rockefeller pledged another one million dollars to the RIMR that June. Recalling how quickly Harper had burned up money, he stipulated that Flexner should receive the payments staggered over a ten-year period, slowing the pace of development.

Simon Flexner came to symbolize the institute, and his high-minded tone of scientific rigor established its enduring character. (Sinclair Lewis patterned the character of A. DeWitt Tubbs, the worldly director of the McGurk Institute of Biology in *Arrowsmith*, after him.) He exhibited a shrewd talent for exciting the public about the RIMR’s work. Soon after his appointment, a reporter tracked him down at his Philadelphia lab amid “the gruesome cans and jars of his work, busy as a hornet,” and he conveyed the audacious nature of the nascent institute, which he called “an extensive scheme, embracing the whole field of study of the cause and prevention of disease.”<sup>14</sup> He had a missionary ardor for pure research, then rare in scientific circles. “There is no such thing as useless knowledge in medical research,” he said. “Ideas may come to us out of order in point of time. We may discover a detail of the facade before we know too much about the foundation. But in the end all knowledge has its place.”<sup>15</sup>

With Flexner signed up, a search committee surveyed Manhattan for a permanent home, and in 1903 bought thirteen acres of farmland on a stony bluff overlooking the East River between Sixty-fourth and Sixty-eighth Streets. When Junior first spotted this site, it was a bleak, treeless slope with cows browsing on the grass. The district was still so poor that the steam-heat company had not run lines there, and it attracted unsavory industries, such as breweries and slaughterhouses. For this so-called Schermerhorn tract, the Rockefellers paid \$660,000. After an interim period of eighteen months spent in two brownstone houses at Lexington Avenue and Fiftieth Street, the RIMR moved into its new home on York Avenue in May 1906. Photos show a solid six-story brick building standing on a bare, windswept hill, flanked by a tiny copse of trees and a few sheds, with the Queensborough Bridge being constructed in the background. It is hard to match up this picture with today’s Rockefeller University, the pampered home of Nobel laureates, with its lushly landscaped grounds, screened from the city by magnificent gates and lofty trees.

As at Standard Oil, Rockefeller played the grand ventriloquist, operating at arm’s length. In pithy notes, he transmitted his wishes to subordinates, reserving the right to approve all major commitments of money. Having learned in business to rely on experts, he could seem remote from his own philanthropies. In 1910, Charles W. Eliot, the former Harvard president, lamented to Gates, “Mr. Rockefeller’s method of giving away money impersonally on the basis of investigation by others was careful and conscientious; but it must have cut him off almost completely from the real happiness which good deeds brought to the doer.”<sup>16</sup>

Rockefeller refrained from interfering with the medical institute’s autonomy and for a long time did not even visit it. While appreciating this restraint, Simon Flexner repeatedly invited him to tour the premises. “Very graciously he said that he could not take the valuable time of the workers,” said Flexner, “and when I said we had many visitors he remarked that made it more important that he should not consume my time.”<sup>17</sup> Several years after the main building’s dedication, Rockefeller *père* and *fils* were in the vicinity one day when Junior suggested, “Father, you have never been at the Institute. Let us take a taxi up there and look at it.”<sup>18</sup> Rockefeller agreed reluctantly. When they pulled up outside the institute, he just sat in the car and stared at it. “Father,” Junior gently prodded, “don’t you want to go in and look at it?” “No,” said Rockefeller, “I can see the outside.”<sup>19</sup> After more coaxing, he finally went inside. A staff member gave them a brief tour. Rockefeller expressed his gratitude then left, never to return. His craving for anonymity, such



a controversial feature of his business career, seemed noble in his benefactions, and his respectful diffidence before scientific expertise won him praise as an exemplary donor.

However enlightened, Rockefeller's detachment was also self-protective, for he feared that face-to-face encounters would generate fresh pleas for funds. One reason he did not visit the RIMR sooner was almost certainly that he wished to keep Flexner guessing about his intentions. As late as 1911, he advised his son, "I think it better that no intimation shall reach the Institute representatives of any purpose to increase the endowment in the near future. Let us hold the Institute to the strictest administration and observe for a further time how they get along and delay committal, as long as we can, to be confirmed as to the wisdom of such additional endowment."<sup>20</sup> This slow development of the RIMR was a classic Rockefeller move.

In retirement, he devoted about one hour per day to philanthropy. Yet he managed to preside over this charitable universe in deed as well as name, demanding that his administrators have the exactitude of scientists, the sound economy of businessmen, and the passion of preachers. It was not the case, as Charles Eliot feared, that Rockefeller derived no pleasure from his good works, for he was engrossed in the RIMR. "If in all our giving, we had never done more than has been achieved by the fine, able, honest men of the Medical Institute," he once remarked, "it would have justified all the money and all the effort we have spent."<sup>21</sup> Doc Rockefeller's son took more pride in the RIMR than in any of his creations other than Standard Oil. In response to Eliot's letter, Gates explained that Rockefeller stayed abreast of developments there:

*I make it my business to keep Mr. Rockefeller personally informed of every important thing done and every promising line of inquiry at the Institute. He knows the lines of experiment trembling on the verge of success and their thrilling promise for humanity. I have seen the tears of joy course down his cheeks as he contemplated the past achievement and future possibilities of the Institute. He is a man of very quick and tender sympathies just as he is a man of a keen and lively sense of humor.*<sup>22</sup>

Allowing for a certain hyperbole, the portrait is essentially just.

While Flexner paid social calls on Rockefeller and always found him cordial, he and Welch dealt mostly with the nonmedical trustees—Gates, Junior, and Starr Murphy—on policy matters. They made presentations that evoked the high drama of their medical sleuthing, holding their auditors rapt. As president of the trustees, Gates sat at the head of the table, his tie askew, shaggy hair falling over his forehead, flaming with enthusiasm at each new discovery, while the self-contained Junior posed well-chosen questions. Both Gates and Junior brought an almost mystical intensity to these meetings, as if their spirituality was finding a new home in scientific research. Gates likened the RIMR to a "theological seminary" and described Flexner's work as a kind of prayer. He told Flexner, "To you He is whispering His secrets. To you He is opening up the mysterious depths of His Being. There have been times when, as I looked through your microscopes, I have been stricken with speechless awe. I felt that I was gazing with unhallowed eyes into the secret places of the Most High."<sup>23</sup> For many of the men associated with the early Rockefeller philanthropies, science seemed to beckon as a new secular religion as the old spiritual verities waned.

Since cynics thought the RIMR would be relegated to ivory-tower irrelevance, Gates tried to shelter Flexner from any anxiety about immediate results. Then a sudden opportunity for heroism arose during the winter of 1904–1905, when three thousand New Yorkers died in a cerebrospinal meningitis epidemic. In response, Flexner developed a serum in horses to treat the disease. During monkey trials in 1907, he found that if injected at the proper spot in the spinal canal, the serum would treat the disease effectively. Rockefeller eagerly followed developments, telling a friend on January 17, 1908, "Only two days ago I was called on the telephone to speak with a German doctor, who had given it to a patient, and he reported that in four hours after the first application, the temperature became normal and so continued, and he was very hopeful at that time of the recovery of the patient."<sup>24</sup> Until early 1911, when the New York City Board of Health took up the slack, the RIMR distributed the Flexner serum free as a public service. Later, the disease was treated with sulfa drugs and then antibiotics, but in the meantime Flexner's serum mercifully spared hundreds, perhaps thousands, of lives. The press lionized him as a miracle worker, redounding to the lab's benefit.

In a turbulent season of antitrust suits, Flexner's triumph generated goodwill for Rockefeller, and this loosened the master's purse strings. In early 1907, the institute directors asked Rockefeller for a \$6 million endowment; eager to dampen starry-eyed hopes, he consented to \$2.6 million, or less than half the desired amount. That same year, Junior advised him that the time was ripe to build the small adjoining hospital that had been promised to Flexner; the combined cost of endowment and hospital would be \$8 million. As Rockefeller pondered this, the triumph of Flexner's serum tipped the scales, and in May 1908 Junior notified the board that his father, in homage to this feat, would create a sixty-bed hospital and a nine-bed isolation pavilion. As blueprints were rolled out, Rockefeller tempered his generosity with his usual pinchpenny pleas for economy. "It is easy for these institutions to ask for money," he told his son. "We have not one farthing to expend injudiciously."<sup>25</sup> When it opened in 1910, the hospital treated, free of charge, patients afflicted with any one of five priority diseases under study: polio, lobar pneumonia, syphilis, heart disease, and intestinal infantilism. Four rooms on the top floor were reserved for the Rockefeller family, but Senior never took advantage of this privilege, despite Gates's constant urging: "The physicians are extremely polite, gentle, and courteous, and the nurses the very paragons of their tribe," he assured him.<sup>26</sup> But Rockefeller stubbornly preferred his osteopaths and homeopaths, whom he could also more easily control.

Now an independent foundation established in perpetuity, the RIMR adopted bylaws creating a board of scientific directors with unlimited control over research—a declaration of faith in science unprecedented in American philanthropic annals. (A separate board of trustees saw to fiscal matters.) In the estimation of one periodical, the RIMR was now "probably the best equipped institution for the study of the causes and cure of disease to be found anywhere in the world"—high tribute for an outfit less than ten years old.<sup>27</sup> It was becoming the most richly endowed institute of its kind on earth, cranking out an enduring catalog of medical wonders.

More than a laboratory wizard, Flexner was a master talent scout. He collected brilliant strays, loners, and eccentrics who found the relaxed atmosphere of the institute congenial to their creative work. On his East River bluff, he marshaled an outstanding stable of scientific talent—he proudly dubbed them his prima donnas—including Paul Ehrlich and Jacques Loeb. Another inspired hire was a Japanese lab worker, Hideyo Noguchi, who would perform pathbreaking work in the study of syphilis. Flexner turned the institute into a series of autonomous departments, with each fiefdom shaped around a resident genius, while he kept close tabs on the central budget.

Flexner's most prescient decision was to recruit the French-born surgeon Dr. Alexis Carrel from Chicago. Short and thickset, with an erect, military bearing, Carrel was a Catholic mystic and diehard royalist. His future medical agenda was defined in 1894 when President Sadi Carnot of France was stabbed by an assassin and died from the hemorrhaging of a severed blood vessel. Then only twenty-one, Carrel turned to the puzzle of rejoining severed vessels and devised solutions that would facilitate blood transfusions, organ transplants, and other advanced surgical procedures. Rockefeller frequently told dinner guests the dramatic tale of how Dr. Carrel, in 1909, saved the life of a premature infant who developed *melena neonatorum*, a condition in which blood oozes from the digestive tract. In a wondrous operation, Carrel resuscitated the pallid infant by attaching a vein in its leg to the artery of its father, a New York physician; within minutes, a rosy flush suffused the baby's face. In 1912, Carrel won the Nobel Prize for medicine, the first ever awarded to a researcher in America.

Rockefeller was fortunate to have applied his money at the precise moment that medical research matured as a discipline and offered unbounded opportunities. None of the titan's other philanthropies was perhaps such an unqualified success. Bowing to a serviceable division of labor, Andrew Carnegie ceded medicine to Rockefeller. Once approached about building medical facilities, he smiled shrewdly and said, "That is Mr. Rockefeller's specialty. Go see him."<sup>28</sup>

After decades spent warding off abuse, Rockefeller and his entourage were delighted, perhaps even mildly surprised, by the unalloyed praise heaped upon the RIMR. Gates fairly glowed with pleasure: "The nicest ear can scarcely detect a single discordant note."<sup>29</sup> In pleading for money for the RIMR, Junior observed to his father that "none of the Foundations which you have established are so popular with the public generally or so free from criticism as the Institute. I feel, therefore, that large sums of money are, in a sense, safer there than in other fields."<sup>30</sup> Gates expanded on the theme that through medical research Rockefeller money touched everyone on earth and that "the values of medical research are the most universal values on earth, and they are the most intimate and important values to every human being that lives."<sup>31</sup> How could Rockefeller, long the target of almost universal obloquy, not embrace this new role of benefactor of all humanity? His gifts also reflected his own obsessive concern with longevity. When Carl Jung, the Swiss psychoanalyst, met Rockefeller in 1912, he recorded this impression: "He is almost exclusively preoccupied with his bodily health, thinking of different medicines, new diets and possibly new doctors!"<sup>32</sup>

In his inner circle, Rockefeller faced one boisterous critic of the RIMR: his golfing pal and crony Dr. Hamilton F. Biggar, a champion of homeopathy. A small-town doctor of the old school, Biggar was wont to pontificate: "We have too much laboratory and not enough bedside practice."<sup>33</sup> It was partly at Biggar's behest that Rockefeller had balked at the merger of the University of Chicago with the allopathic Rush Medical College. Under Biggar's influence, Rockefeller nearly refused to provide a \$500,000 check to repair the Johns Hopkins Medical School after it was partially destroyed by fire in 1904—simply because the school refused to recognize homeopathy. Gates dismissed the work of Samuel Hahnemann, the German founder of homeopathy, as "the wild imaginings of a natural fool turned lunatic," and found it hard to endure Rockefeller's vestigial faith in what he saw as outdated medicine.<sup>34</sup> Although he often muzzled his strong views on the subject, Gates's real aim was to deliver a mortal blow to homeopaths—to shut their medical schools, expel them from medical societies, and strip them of hospital privileges—so as to clear the field for scientific medicine. Gates considered Biggar, if not a charlatan, at least a fossil and feared his rearguard attempts to undermine the RIMR.

At one point, antivivisection activists created an uproar about experiments at the RIMR, and Biggar leaped into the fray, complaining to Rockefeller about the cruelty inflicted on the lab animals. At this point, Gates decided to wipe out Biggar's influence forever. In several caustic memos to Rockefeller, he lashed out at the homeopaths: "Neither Dr. Biggar nor any of his Homeopathic friends have told you, so I think it in hand to tell you, this fact—that Homeopathy is rapidly dying out in this country"—ditto for allopathy. "Both are fading away as schools of medicine with the dawn of scientific inquiry. Both were wrong. The theories of both have been completely exploded in the last twenty-five years."<sup>35</sup> In an early version of the letter, never sent, Gates was even more outspoken. "Dr. Biggar has not kept up with the progress of medicine and is still living in the twilight of two or three generations ago."<sup>36</sup> In deference to his golfing partner, Rockefeller did not acknowledge these memos.

It was deeply ironic that Rockefeller retained such residual faith in homeopathy even as he financed the world's most sophisticated medical-research operation. Periodically, he had spasms of irritation, firing off letters on the need to save homeopathy, but these outbursts quickly passed. Through his philanthropies, Rockefeller did more than anyone else to destroy homeopathy in America, and in the end he seemed powerless to stop the scientific revolution that he himself had so largely set in motion.

In all, Rockefeller gave \$61 million to the research institute. By the 1950s, it had bred so many imitators that it needed to change direction and was transformed from a research center into a specialized university offering only Ph.D.s and research fellowships. The name was officially changed to Rockefeller University in 1965. Its faculty roster became heavily laden with Nobel Prize winners, and by the 1970s it had housed sixteen of them. For the son of an itinerant vendor of dubious nostrums, this was a most implausible feat. The loftiest encomium to Rockefeller's impact in this field came from Winston Churchill, who wrote shortly before Rockefeller's death:

*When history passes its final verdict on John D. Rockefeller, it may well be that his endowment of research will be recognized as a milestone in the progress of the race. For the first time, science was given its head; longer term experiment on a large scale has been made practicable, and those who undertake it are freed from the shadow of financial disaster. Science today owes as much to the rich men of generosity and discernment as the art of the Renaissance owes to the patronage of Popes and Princes. Of these rich men, John D. Rockefeller is the supreme type.*<sup>37</sup>



*A documentary photo used by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission in trying to stamp out hookworm in the South. The small boy on the left suffered from the disease, which had stunted his growth. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## The Millionaires' Special

In April 1901, a specially chartered train, jammed with millionaires, pulled out of Manhattan and headed down the eastern seaboard for a ten-day tour of black colleges in the South, many of them financed with northern money, culminating in a conference on southern education in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The train carried so many tony members of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia high society that the press pejoratively tagged it “The Millionaires’ Special.” This swank excursion was the brainchild of department-store magnate Robert C. Ogden, an associate of John Wanamaker. Certain that the “betterment of humanity” was “demanded by Divine authority,” Ogden coupled evangelical faith with a retailer’s flair for publicity.<sup>1</sup> In calling attention to the backward state of southern schools, he hoped to seal an alliance between Yankee philanthropists and southern reformers, healing the sectional strife left over from the Civil War and bringing southern economic development up to parity with the North.

For one passenger, twenty-seven-year-old John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the trip kindled a fuse that would glow brightly for the rest of his life. Struggling with ethical quandaries at Standard Oil, he must have hungered for the purity of social activism. Having led a circumscribed life, bounded by private schools, estates, and 26 Broadway, Junior welcomed this firsthand exposure to urgent social problems. The train rolled through a South pervaded by Jim Crow laws and riled by repeated outbreaks of racial violence. Literacy statistics conveyed a dismal story of derelict schools. While only 4.6 percent of the American population was illiterate, the figure soared to 12 percent for southern whites and 50 percent for southern blacks. Educational reform had scarcely penetrated the rural hinterlands and bayous of black communities, and their impoverished schools scandalized northern educators. Kentucky was the sole southern state with compulsory school-attendance laws, which were then all but universal in the North. Yet as the rich philanthropists alighted at the celebrated showcases of black education—Hampton Institute in Virginia, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama, the Rockefellers’ own Spelman Seminary in Atlanta—the trip had its share of inspirational interludes. “The trip has been a constant revelation to me,” Junior told newspaper reporters upon his return. “Tuskegee was especially interesting. Mr. [Booker T.] Washington is a truly remarkable man. His school is doing a wonderful work for the race. I’m glad I made the trip.”<sup>2</sup> Junior described the journey to Ogden as “the most instructive experience of my life.”<sup>3</sup> In an elated mood, he sat down and wrote an enthusiastic report about it to his father.

Senior’s interest in southern black education antedated this junket by two decades, going back to 1882 when Spelman Seminary was still operating from a leaky church basement. In his own travels through the South, he often attended black Baptist churches on Sunday mornings. Each of his children had been matched to a black scholarship student whose education was paid for by the family, and for several years Junior corresponded with his “adopted” black student at Hampton Institute. In 1900, the Rockefeller family had virtually made over the Spelman campus, paying for a new hospital, two dormitories, a dining hall and kitchen, a power plant, and a residence for the school president. During the 1901 train tour, Junior addressed students in the Spelman chapel and was feted with gospel music. Noting the new buildings bequeathed by the Rockefellers, the school’s annual report that year rang with resounding hosannas for the family: “The Lord gives us all these wonderful blessings through the generous hand of Hon. John D. Rockefeller.”<sup>4</sup>

Before the 1901 trip, Senior had toyed with establishing a trust fund for black education instead of funneling all his money through the American Baptist Education Society—part of his evolution away from the limitations of sectarian giving. That the 1901 trip might be the prelude to some big benefaction was hinted at when Junior told Ogden, “For several years the question of colored education has been much in our minds and in our thoughts. We have endeavored to arrive at some plan which might help in working out this great question.”<sup>5</sup> For all the noble sentiments behind the Millionaires’ Special, black education remained an inflammatory issue among southern whites, who feared it might weaken segregation. As the chartered train circled back toward New York, the missionary spirit of the passengers suffered a jarring clash with political realities when Henry St. George Tucker, the president of Washington and Lee University, boarded the train in Virginia to deliver a rebuke to the prevailing euphoria:

*If it is your idea to educate the Negro you must have the white of the South with you. If the poor white sees the son of a Negro neighbor enjoying through your munificence benefits denied to his boy, it raises in him a feeling that will render futile all your work. You must lift up the “poor white” and the Negro together if you would ever approach success.*<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps because his auditors did not fully fathom the implications of this admonition, it was lustily applauded. If it tempered naive talk with a gritty touch of political realism, it also opened the way for some egregious concessions to the more bigoted southern whites.

As well-meaning, paternalistic men eager to alleviate the suffering of blacks but not wanting to threaten the established order, these rich northern reformers typified their time and were perhaps unusual only in having any concern for black welfare at all. Nevertheless, their political compromises rendered them vulnerable to charges of racism, especially among purists champing at piecemeal reform. One is frankly taken aback by the views of some of these men committed to bettering black education—views often indistinguishable from those of the southern whites they criticized. When Ogden convened a group called the Southern Education Board, its executive secretary, Edgar G. Murphy, declared that the two races “must dwell apart,” “must live apart,” and “must be schooled apart.”<sup>7</sup> Even Frederick T. Gates yanked his children from the Montclair, New Jersey, public schools because “some of the colored and of the foreign-born children were ill mannered, filthy, and unsanitary.”<sup>8</sup> He favored vocational training for blacks, not intellectual equality with whites. “Latin, Greek and metaphysics form a kind of knowledge that I fear with our colored brethren tend even more than with us to puff up rather than to build up,” he had written ten years earlier. “The colored race is not ready it seems to me for high culture.”<sup>9</sup> Such attitudes gave a foretaste of the way that the Rockefeller philanthropies would accommodate southern segregationists.

In the aftermath of the Millionaires’ Special, Junior and Senior consulted many experts on southern education, including Booker T. Washington, who joined them one Sunday night for tea on West Fifty-fourth Street. Washington, too, endorsed practical, vocational training for blacks, not exposure to abstract subjects. On February 27, 1902, flanked by Abby in an oak-paneled study of their house, Junior chaired a meeting of ten men to consider southern education. Swirling brandy snifters and warmed by a blazing fire, they talked until well after midnight, hatching plans for a new philanthropy to

be launched with a one-million-dollar gift from Senior. Junior hoped to name it the Negro Education Board, but it was, tellingly, given the neutral name of the General Education Board (GEB) instead. On the same colossal scale as everything else attached to Rockefeller, it would turn into the world's foremost educational foundation. It was an extension of the ABES with the Baptist trappings pared away.

With crisp efficiency, Senator Aldrich shepherded an incorporation bill through Congress in January 1903, making it the only Rockefeller philanthropy to enjoy the public endorsement of a perpetual, federal charter.<sup>10</sup> Banishing the former accent on black education, the elastic charter delineated the group's aim as "the promotion of education within the United States without distinction of race, sex or creed." With the Tarbell series under way, Rockefeller kept a salutary distance from his new foundation. Where he hovered over the RIMR at one remove, he delegated more power in the GEB to his son and never met with its board. As Abraham Flexner later wrote of Senior's detachment, "I recall that when in 1914 I wrote a history of the General Education Board from 1902 to 1914 we searched the files of the General Education Board in vain in order to obtain a facsimile of his signature to be placed beneath the lithograph prefaced to the text. There was not a single letter in the files of the Board which bore his signature."<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, Junior and Gates reported regularly to Rockefeller, who, along with his son, reserved the right to designate the use of two-thirds of the money given. Rockefeller believed that certain universal principles of businesslike efficiency should apply to nonprofit ventures no less than to profit-making ones. In making his first million-dollar appropriation to the GEB, he stipulated that the money should be ladled out over ten years. He tried to influence the pace and scope of his philanthropies, not their contents, and ensure measured, fiscally responsible growth.

For executive secretary, Gates shrewdly chose Dr. Wallace Buttrick, a fellow graduate of the Rochester Theological Seminary and an ex-Baptist preacher. Like Gates, Buttrick renounced the pulpit for philanthropy and more worldly satisfactions. It was no accident that so many ex-ministers flocked to the sanctuary of the Rockefeller philanthropies, which advanced secular causes with an evangelical spirit. An amiable, roly-poly man, blessed with an easy laugh, Buttrick brought consuming dedication to his work. When a minister inquired, "What is your idea of Heaven?" he rejoined, "My office."<sup>12</sup>

As a former board member of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Buttrick had studied black mission schools in the South exhaustively. On his office wall, he had a large map, sprinkled with colored pins, showing the major American educational facilities. Where Gates was an uncompromising, table-thumping orator, Buttrick brought a statesman's tact to the job, defusing tense situations with humor. Without offending applicants, he could deftly expose weaknesses in their projects. His intuitions were so exact that Gates said Buttrick had "cat's whiskers; he feels objects before he gets to them."<sup>13</sup> His greatest drawback—and a real one—was that he thought it expedient to truckle to white supremacists to maintain GEB operations in the South. He told an audience of Tennessee school superintendents, "The Negro is an inferior race—the Anglo-Saxon is superior. There cannot be any question about that."<sup>14</sup>

To endow the board with a safely conservative cast, Gates preferred "successful business men who would steer the ship along traditional lines and would not be carried out of their course by any temporary breeze or even by hurricanes of sentiment."<sup>15</sup> The first chairman was William H. Baldwin, president of the Long Island Railroad, a vocal apostle for black education—so long as white people stayed on top. Of the southern black, Baldwin observed, "He will willingly fill the more menial positions, and do the heavy work, at less wages, than the American white man or any foreign race which has yet come to our shores. This will permit the Southern white laborer to perform the more expert labor, and to leave the fields, the mines, and the simpler trades for the Negro."<sup>16</sup> With such men at the helm, the GEB, for all its good works, would fall considerably short of heaven. Neither Junior nor Senior held such baldly racist sentiments, but they agreed that the board had to accommodate retrograde southern views in order to function. It is interesting to note in this context that Standard Oil of Ohio did not hire its first permanent black employee until 1906.

At the beginning, the well-heeled GEB grafted its work onto that of the Southern Education Board, the shoestring operation started by Robert Ogden. Taking up its cause, the GEB campaigned in the South to improve educational standards, taking as its first major mission the creation of high schools. Before Reconstruction, no southern state except for Tennessee had tax-supported educational systems. As a legacy of this history, the four-year high school was practically nonexistent in the region, and there was not a single such school for blacks; many high schools were really extra rooms crudely tacked on to elementary schools. The GEB identified the creation of new high schools as a top priority, since their graduates would furnish teachers for lower-grade schools and also provide a bumper crop of college students, magnifying reform efforts up and down the educational ladder.

Lacking the resources to create a complete high-school system, the GEB established a pattern mimicked by future Rockefeller philanthropies. Rather than trying to accomplish everything through its own budget, it would awaken public opinion and stimulate government action. It took on a crusading spirit, borrowed from the Baptists, and sent forth circuit riders to proselytize for the cause. Ironically, as Standard Oil took a hostile attitude toward state and federal antitrust suits, Rockefeller was forging extensive public-private partnerships for social change. The GEB paid the salaries of special professors at state universities who would roam the state, pinpoint sites for high schools, then drum up political support from local taxpayers. These professors were also affiliated with state education departments, giving a necessary political camouflage at a time when Rockefeller's name was still anathema across America. So revolutionary was the impact of GEB money that by 1910 it had helped bring into being eight hundred southern high schools.

The GEB was repeatedly blocked in its original ambition to foster black education. Submitting to racism, the foundation limited its support to a "very few" counties that could yield "the largest permanent results," in Buttrick's words.<sup>17</sup> Only in 1914 did the organization hire rural school agents for *both* races in the South, and even then it tended to hire white agents for black schools and continued to encourage schools to teach blacks useful trades and ignore their minds. In the end, it came in for biting criticism from blacks such as W.E.B. Du Bois who did not want to see the school system slot blacks into menial jobs. Du Bois later excoriated the GEB in his autobiography for supporting the idea "that the races in the schools should be separated socially; that colored schools should be chiefly industrial; and that every effort should be made to conciliate southern white opinion."<sup>18</sup> While the GEB achieved remarkable things in upgrading southern education, it failed to deliver major results where it had originally wanted them most: in black education. In the end, nine-tenths of the GEB's money went to white schools or to promote medical education—a sorry sequel for a foundation that was supposed to be called the Negro Education Board.

In 1905, the GEB extended its purview to higher education with a \$10 million gift from Rockefeller, followed by another \$32 million in 1907—hailed

by the board as “the largest sum ever given by a man in the history of the race for any social or philanthropic purposes.”<sup>19</sup> (It would be equivalent to \$500 million today.) Much of this last gift was routed to the University of Chicago. As the GEB bolstered college and university endowments, it applied the rules that Rockefeller had insisted upon, often futilely, with William Rainey Harper: that gifts should stimulate matching grants; that local communities should help to take up the financial burden of their schools; that universities should be founded in population centers with thriving economic bases; and that endowment income should not cover more than half the operating expenses.

Not long after the GEB was started, it became woefully evident that the defects of southern education could not be remedied without stronger local economies. Gates was struck by this revelation as he and Buttrick took a train excursion through the South. He was staring out the window and ruminating when he suddenly exclaimed: “This is a favored section of the world. It has a superb climate, an abundance of fertile soil, and no end of labor. It must be enriched so that it can properly tax itself if it is to support education and public health. It is your job, Buttrick, to find out how.”<sup>20</sup>

Nobody ever accused Gates of thinking small. If education depended upon healthy tax rolls, then they would lift the entire tax base of the South. And if that meant enhancing the productivity of southern agriculture, well, so be it. Such was the godlike perspective, if not the mortal hubris, made possible by great wealth. Where other philanthropic executives could only tinker, the Rockefeller proconsuls were urged to indulge more spacious fantasies.

In the spring of 1906, Gates and Buttrick traveled to Washington to meet with a pioneering scientist at the Department of Agriculture, Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, a former teacher, editor, and gospel preacher. In his experimental farmwork, Knapp had striven toward something analogous to Rockefeller’s work in medicine: He tried to bring a scientific spirit to a business bogged down in ancient folklore. Three years earlier, Knapp had gained legendary status when he saved Texas from a boll-weevil infestation that threatened to destroy its cotton industry; farms were deserted and counties depopulated as panicky people despaired of ever again profiting from the crop. If this situation was duplicated in the cotton-dependent South, it would presage disaster. By establishing a demonstration farm in Terrell, Texas, Knapp showed how the boll-weevil plague could be contained through the careful selection of seeds accompanied by intensive farming. From that time, Knapp kept an eye out for private money to enlarge his project. Now, the seventy-three-year-old Knapp and Agriculture Secretary James Wilson met with Gates and Buttrick, who gratified Knapp’s dreams by calling for the sort of public-private partnership that was fast becoming a GEB trademark. If the Agriculture Department drew up plans and supervised the farm-demonstration projects, the project would be greased with monthly checks from the GEB.

In the following years, Rockefeller money helped stamp out boll weevils and improve the yield of southern crops and livestock, swelling the tax base to support public schools. By 1912, more than 100,000 farms had altered the way they cultivated cotton and other crops as a direct result of demonstration work done jointly by the GEB and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Emboldened by such feats, the Rockefeller philanthropies steadily expanded their southern programs, among which the most successful was the campaign to eradicate hookworm. As had happened with Dr. Knapp, this odyssey started out with the dispiriting quest of a frustrated dreamer on the federal payroll, Dr. Charles Wardell Stiles.

When the United States acquired Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War, an army surgeon named Dr. Ashford made a startling discovery: Many poor islanders thought to suffer from malaria were actually infected with hookworm. The son of a Methodist minister, Stiles had crisscrossed the South for years for the U.S. Public Health Service. Based on Ashford’s work, he was seized by the wild surmise that the poor whites of the South—infamous in popular myth for their indolent, sluggish lives—might be suffering from hookworm. In September 1902, outfitted with just a microscope, Dr. Stiles journeyed through the South examining human feces, and, sure enough, he found hookworm eggs everywhere. It was an exhilarating discovery, since hookworm could be cured with fifty cents’ worth of salts and thymol.

When Dr. Stiles reported these results at a Washington, D.C., medical convention that December, he stated that southerners long considered lazy were simply enervated by hookworm. His remarks were greeted with both profound outrage and mocking amusement. The next day, the *New York Sun* published the lecture under the whimsical headline, “Germ of Laziness Found?” Stiles was aghast: He was being turned into a figure of fun, his great finding trivialized by interminable hookworm jokes. As a zoologist—and therefore presumed ignorant of the human body—he fared no better among physicians: Dr. William Osler went so far as to deny hookworm’s existence in America. Few doctors were prepared to accept that the chronic anemia or continuous malaria commonly attributed to poor whites was, in fact, caused by hookworm, contracted by barefoot people through their soles.

For several years, Dr. Stiles persevered in his crusade to locate private money to apply his theory, and he found an unexpected champion in 1908 when President Roosevelt appointed him to a commission on country life. While touring the South that November, he told another member of the commission, Walter Hines Page, a North Carolina native, that a shuffling, misshapen man on a train platform was suffering from hookworm, not laziness or congenital idiocy. “Fifty cents worth of drugs would make that man a useful citizen in a few weeks,” he said flatly.<sup>21</sup> He explained to Page that thymol pried the hookworms loose from the intestine walls—some victims harbored up to five thousand in their systems—and then epsom salts flushed them from the body. As a board member of the Rockefeller Institute, Page was the perfect ambassador to bring Stiles to Rockefeller’s attention.

At the end of their tour, Stiles and Page stopped at Cornell University for a reception, where Stiles met a round, jovial man who had already been briefed by Page: Wallace Buttrick. The two men went back to Buttrick’s hotel room and “talked hookworm almost all night.”<sup>22</sup> After years of useless speeches, Stiles was now dazed by the dreamlike speed of events. Back in Washington, he got a telegram summoning him to a New York meeting with Gates and Simon Flexner of the RIMR. After delivering a monologue and showing slides for forty minutes, Gates interrupted him to bring Starr Murphy into the meeting. “This is the biggest proposition ever put up to the Rockefeller office,” Gates told Murphy. “Listen to what Dr. Stiles has to say. Now, Doctor, start from the beginning again and tell Mr. Murphy what you have told me.”<sup>23</sup> These sessions lasted for two days, and by the end Gates and his fellows were sold on a mass-mobilization program to eradicate hookworm from the South. It was an ideal opportunity for large-scale philanthropy: Here was a condition that could be easily diagnosed and cheaply cured, with an estimated two million victims in the South. The results would be rapid and visible, giving the program more populist appeal than the rarefied work of the medical-research institute. It would, in short, simultaneously serve the overlapping objectives of science, philanthropy, and Rockefeller public relations.

Junior was deputed, as was so often the case, to sell his father on the need for a commission to fight hookworm. Although Stiles had modestly suggested a half-million dollars, Gates fixed on one million dollars as a nice round sum that would capture the South's attention. Since the region remained touchy about any assumption that it was riddled with listless imbeciles, Junior reassured his father that the board would recruit a southern contingent. On October 20, 1909, Junior implored him to act fast and stake out a leadership role in the hookworm fight. Two days later, Rockefeller replied: "Answering your letter 20th with reference to hook worm, it seems to me that \$1,000,000 is a very large amount to promise, but I will consent to this sum, with the understanding that I shall be conferred with step by step and consent to whatever appropriations are made from time to time. This, however, need only be known to such as you choose to have know it."<sup>24</sup> Since Rockefeller had started to take winter golfing vacations at the Hotel Bon Air in Augusta, Georgia, he derived special pleasure from the gift. As he said, "It has been my pleasure of late to spend a portion of each year in the South and I have come to know and to respect greatly that part of the country and to enjoy the society and friendship of many of its warm-hearted people."<sup>25</sup>

As expected, many southern editors reacted to the hookworm campaign as a calculated affront to their honor and dignity. Originally, the effort was to be known as the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm in the South. To avoid stigmatizing the South, it was shortened to the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission or even the U.S. Sanitary Commission. Instead of being based in New York, like other Rockefeller programs, it opened in 1910 in Washington, D.C., diplomatically south of the Mason-Dixon line.

The executive secretary was a Tennessee native, Dr. Wickliffe Rose. Another clergyman's son, Rose, forty-seven, was a shy, immaculate man who often wore bow ties and stared primly through wire-rimmed spectacles or pince-nez. Steeped in the writings of Kant and Hegel, grounded in the Latin and Greek classics, and fond of writing poetry in French, he had been dean of Peabody College and the University of Nashville before becoming general agent of the Peabody Education Fund, where he came to the GEB's attention. The courtly Rose, modest and painstakingly thorough, supplied both the tact and determination that made the hookworm campaign a smashing success.

In mapping out his strategy, Rose adopted the GEB model of using Rockefeller money as a catalyst for government cooperation. The first order of business was a detailed survey to identify the centers of hookworm infestation. Once again, the states were urged to hire sanitation directors to educate the public about the menace. State medical boards sent young doctors into rural areas, their salaries paid by Rockefeller money. These campaigns were often carried out under the auspices of state health boards, thus providing political protection. As Gates privately explained this decision, "To put Mr. Rockefeller's name prominently forward . . . would impair the usefulness of the work."<sup>26</sup> This was doubly necessary since many southern communities saw the Sanitary Commission's work as a degrading new form of northern carpetbagging. Yet for all the efforts to shroud Rockefeller's involvement, many southerners knew the program's real sponsorship and devised preposterous theories to explain it. One was that Rockefeller was entering the shoe business and financed the hookworm campaign to accustom southerners to wearing shoes year-round, instead of only during the winter months.

The campaign relied on extensive publicity and showy gimmicks, and it sent out "health trains" with traveling exhibitions on modern sanitation. Perhaps the single most important factor in its success was the introduction of dispensaries for public-health work. In 1910, only two southern counties had such dispensaries. That number burgeoned to 208 counties within three years, thanks to Rockefeller money. To coax crowds into these dispensaries, the field workers (in a manner oddly reminiscent of Doc Rockefeller) distributed handbills saying, "See the hookworms and the various intestinal parasites that man is heir to."<sup>27</sup> In the rousing spirit of tent revival meetings, rural people formed long lines and gaped at hookworm eggs through microscopes or examined them squirming in bottles. Because infected people were cured swiftly, it seemed no less miraculous than faith healing to many people, and the throngs often erupted into singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." In a single day in 1911, 454 people were cured of the disease. One field director in Kentucky wrote, "I have never seen the people at any place so wrought up and so full of interest and enthusiasm."<sup>28</sup> Except for Florida, every southern state joined in the program.

Pretty soon, the gentle, decorous Wickliffe Rose ran an operation of military scope. During the first year of work, 102,000 people were examined in nine southern states, and 43,000 were identified with hookworm. At the end of five years, Gates reported to Rockefeller that nearly half a million people had been cured. While the disease had not been extirpated completely, it had been reduced drastically. "Hookworm disease has not only been recognized, bounded and limited," Gates boasted to Rockefeller, "it has been reduced to one of the minor infections of the south, perhaps the most easily and universally recognized and cured of all."<sup>29</sup> Most important, the states had set up machinery to perpetuate the work and avert backsliding. Lauding the campaign as "well planned and well executed," Rockefeller especially praised its deft diplomatic touch in dealing with a politically charged situation. The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission was a landmark in epidemiology and preventive medicine, as Charles W. Eliot recognized when he called it "the most effective campaign against a widespread disabling disease which medical science and philanthropy have ever combined to conduct."<sup>30</sup> In 1913, the newly formed Rockefeller Foundation asked Wickliffe Rose to take the hookworm campaign abroad, extending the fight to fifty-two countries on six continents and freeing millions of people from this worldwide scourge.

By 1910, medicine and education had emerged as the top priorities of the Rockefeller philanthropies, and that year the two trends fruitfully dovetailed. The stimulus was a report with the deceptively bland title *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*. Its author, Abraham Flexner, was the brother of RIMR director Simon. Where Simon was precise and conciliatory, Abe was a combative iconoclast who relished a good intellectual brawl. After graduating from Johns Hopkins, he started a small, innovative private school in Louisville that won a fine reputation among Ivy League colleges. He had the maverick's talent for casting a fresh, critical eye on practices sanctified by custom, and he provoked a national debate when he proposed that students should graduate college in three years.

When the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching invited him to survey American and Canadian medical schools, Abe pleaded ignorance, but with typical zealously he visited all 155 schools and came away appalled by the experience. Like his brother, he took the Johns Hopkins Medical School as his model of a competent school. "Without this pattern in the back of my head," he admitted later, "I could have accomplished little."<sup>31</sup> By contrast, the majority of schools he visited seemed to be dreary, haphazard affairs, run negligently by local doctors to supplement their income from private practice.

As Flexner doggedly made the rounds, nobody realized that he was the exterminating angel who would snuff out many fly-by-night institutions. The tableaux he described would have been richly satirical had they not been strictly accurate reportage. Since most medical schools relied solely upon tuition fees and could not afford modern equipment, they still languished in the dark ages of medicine. In Washington State, Flexner asked the dean of one school whether they had a physiology lab. “Surely,” said the dean. “I have it upstairs. I will bring it to you.” And he proudly produced a little pulse-taking device. One osteopathic school in Iowa had desks, blackboards, and chairs but could not muster any charts or scientific apparatus. Of the 155 schools, only 23 required more than a high-school education. Since some schools did not even demand that, they were not exactly bursting with brainpower.

In 1910, Flexner published his polemic, known as the Flexner Report—the most pitiless and influential indictment of medical education ever printed. Naming the most notorious diploma mills, the report sparked furious debate, and more than one hundred schools either perished in the ensuing controversy or were absorbed by universities. Among the major casualties were the quaint homeopathic schools so dear to John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Already in decline, the schools were dealt a lethal blow by the Flexner Report.

Gates devoured the report. Disgusted with medical practice, he believed that young doctors ended up either as “confirmed pessimists, disappointed and chagrined, or else mere reckless ‘pill-slingers’ for money.”<sup>32</sup> With a big pile of cash at his disposal, Gates would not let the Flexner Report gather dust. When he invited the author to lunch, Flexner pointed to two maps in his book—one showing the locations of the medical schools he visited, the other showing what the country needed. “How much would it cost to convert the first map into the second?” Gates asked, and Flexner replied, “It might cost a billion dollars.” “All right,” Gates announced, “we’ve got the money. Come down here and we’ll give it to you.”<sup>33</sup> When Gates asked Flexner how he would spend the first million to overhaul medical research, he said, “I should give it to Dr. Welch.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, Welch’s Johns Hopkins Medical School was consecrated as the prototype to be emulated by recipients of Rockefeller money. Hopkins ran its lab departments on a full-time basis, with many faculty members applying themselves solely to teaching and research, a pattern that Gates wished to see duplicated everywhere. Never before had a rich benefactor spent his money in this area. As Dr. Welch said, “It marked . . . the first large public recognition of medical education and medical research as a rewarding subject of philanthropy.”<sup>35</sup>

In 1913, Flexner formalized his ties with Rockefeller and joined the GEB staff. Flexner and his cohorts singled out well-regarded institutions—Vanderbilt University in the South, the University of Chicago in the Midwest—to serve as regional models. Medical schools that wanted Rockefeller grants had to upgrade entrance standards, institute four-year programs, and adopt the full-time teaching approach. This movement to universalize the Johns Hopkins model proceeded even though it had one highly disgruntled critic: John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who still waged a lonely battle for an alternate form of medicine. “I am a homeopathist,” he complained to Starr Murphy in 1916. “I desire that homeopaths should have fair, courteous and liberal treatment extended to them from all medical institutions to which we contribute.” To Rockefeller’s credit, he did not pull rank on his advisers and often yielded to their judgments, even when they ran counter to his personal wishes. “I am glad to have the aid of experienced men who are able to sift out the applications and give to the deserving,” he once said. “I am not a good one to judge such things: I am too soft-hearted.”<sup>36</sup>

In the spring of 1919, the GEB asked its founder for fifty million dollars to extend scientific medical education across the country, the world war having exposed the poor health of many soldiers and the inadequacy of base hospitals. For months, Rockefeller retreated into one of his baffling silences. Just when his lieutenants despaired of a response, he sent a letter pledging about \$20 million for the project—a bonanza soon expanded to \$50 million. By the time Flexner left the GEB in 1928, it had distributed more than \$78 million to propagate the scientific approach to medical education. The sum total of these developments resulted in nothing less than a revolution in medical education. Doc Rockefeller’s son had banished laggards from the profession and introduced a new era of enlightenment in American medicine. In its thirty-year existence, the GEB dispensed \$130 million, equal to more than \$1 billion today.

While keeping apart from the management of the RIMR and the GEB, Rockefeller remained more involved with the University of Chicago. Paradoxically, it was the philanthropic effort that most frustrated him and most frequently violated his charitable principles. Meant as an incentive to lure money from Chicago businessmen, his initial endowment had, perversely, deterred people from giving. Reams of press coverage presented the university as Rockefeller’s hobbyhorse. In 1903, *Life* magazine ran a cartoon of Ye Rich Rockefeller University, showing a lady holding aloft a lamp marked Standard Oil, her robes checkered with dollar signs. Though Rockefeller studiously avoided the campus and visited only three times (1897, 1901, and 1903), he got little credit for this self-abnegation. The public was quick to pounce on his every move as yet another ruse. As Gates wearily recalled:

*The people of Chicago had ceased to give except in dribblets. A hostile press often spoke of the University as if it were Standard Oil propaganda, its policies always dictated by the Founder, its professors subject to dismissal if they were other than mouthpieces of him, the splendid architectural creation of the Midway Plaisance was a monument to the glory of John D. Rockefeller, erected and maintained in his personal interest.*<sup>37</sup>

This myth inverted the truth, as Ida Tarbell’s spy Hiram Brown reported to J. M. Siddall. “Hiram says that John D. talks about Chicago University a good deal, but that he never brags about the money that he has given it, and that he never indicates that it is his private property,” Siddall reported. “He says that John D. talks about the men who teach in the University a great deal, and that he is constantly bragging about their ability and the great things they are doing.”<sup>38</sup> In the one area in which Rockefeller did openly intervene—university finances—he was powerless to brake the spendthrift Dr. William Rainey Harper. Each year, Rockefeller reluctantly gave another million dollars to bolster the permanent endowment to keep pace with his free-spending president. Though Rockefeller kept complaining about the chronic deficits, Harper ignored the founder’s warnings, and relations grew very strained between him and Gates. Rockefeller hated being pressured, and Gates always believed that had Harper asked for less, Rockefeller would have willingly given much more. Then, in December 1903, Harper and the trustees were called to New York for a special session in Rockefeller’s private office. In a dreadful miscalculation, Harper made an appeal for *more* money, despite the previous year’s shortfall. When polled in Harper’s presence, not a single trustee endorsed his position—a humiliating blow. That night, Senior and Junior huddled, and the next day Junior informed the board that his father would not add a penny to the endowment until the budget gap was plugged. Harper was strictly forbidden from enlarging existing departments or adding new ones. If harrowing for Harper, the episode was also distressing for Rockefeller, who had a fatherly feeling toward him.



Harper’s health, meanwhile, was being undermined by his perpetual exertions. In 1903, he kept complaining of fatigue, yet he was congenitally incapable of moderation. As his son said, “He had frequently told the family that he knew he was shortening his life by the way he was doing his work, but explained to the family that he felt the work could be done better by this method.” Three months after his showdown with Rockefeller, Harper underwent an appendectomy. The doctors found evidence of cancer but were unsure of their diagnosis and delayed telling him until February 1905. By then, the malignancy had grown incurable and Harper minced no words with Gates: “It is as clearly a case of execution announced beforehand as it could possibly be.”<sup>39</sup>

When Rockefeller heard the news, he was distraught. “He cannot bring himself yet even to attempt to express his feelings,” Gates told Harper.<sup>40</sup> On February 16, 1905, he wrote Harper a letter whose laconic eloquence says much about the affection he felt for this flawed but deeply inspiring educator:

*You are constantly in my thoughts. The feelings which I have always cherished toward you are intensified at this time. I glory in your marvelous courage and strength, and confidently hope for the best. I have the greatest satisfaction and pleasure in our united efforts for the university and I am full of hope for its future. No man could have filled your place. With highest esteem and tenderest affection.*<sup>41</sup>

A few days later, about to undergo surgery, Harper repaid the tribute: “You have stood by me loyally; I can ask nothing more. The enterprise has proven to be larger and greater than we could have anticipated, but here it is—a splendid institution, and I know that you and your family will stand by it to the end.”<sup>42</sup>

Harper continued to write and teach, even though he was wasting away from cancer. In August 1905, he made a final visit to his patron at Forest Hill. Though Ida Tarbell had just published her acid character portrait of Rockefeller, he seemed philosophic. As Harper said, “He believes that this is all providential, and that he is to be thoroughly vindicated. It is a subject, however, which still occupies a large part of his mind. . . . I have never known him to be more genial or communicative.”<sup>43</sup> The two men spent bittersweet hours repairing the damage done to their friendship in recent years.

In January 1906, lying on his deathbed, William Rainey Harper, who had always had one eye fixed on heaven, the other on earthly prospects, called in two close friends, Ernest D. Burton and Albion W. Small. He had courted Rockefeller and his fortune during a period of extraordinary public outrage against Standard Oil, and now he seemed haunted, restless, his mind darkened by doubt. “I have not followed Jesus Christ as closely as I ought to have done,” he confessed to his friends. “I have come down from the plane on which I ought to have lived. I have justified it to myself at times as necessary because I was carrying so heavy loads. But I see now that it was all wrong.”<sup>44</sup> On January 10, 1906, he died at age fifty.

In the following days, Rockefeller’s mind returned to the exuberant period of his and Harper’s early planning for the university. Harper’s death perhaps affected him more than that of any colleague or friend. As he wrote the new university president, Harry Pratt Judson, “I am personally conscious of having met with an irreparable loss in his death. It seems a mysterious providence that he should have been cut off in the prime of his life and the height of his usefulness. I mourn him as though a member of my own family had been taken, and the sense of loss increases as the days go by.”<sup>45</sup> Seldom did Rockefeller strike such a poignant note. For all his criticism of Harper’s improvidence, he recognized his supreme achievement in creating a school equivalent to an Ivy League college in little more than a decade. Soon after Harper’s death, he announced plans to build a campus library in Harper’s memory and provided a \$100,000 endowment to support his widow. In a no-less-fitting memorial, he agreed to close the budget deficit for 1906–1907. If Judson lacked Harper’s vision and eloquence, he was a cautious administrator and sound budget planner—exactly the custodial figure the institution needed.

In 1907, Gates and Junior quietly began to lobby Senior to drop the requirement that the university and a majority of the trustees be Baptists. The school’s fund-raising was hampered by its denominational character. Rockefeller was always of two minds on the matter, wanting the institution to remain under Baptist auspices while also arguing that it should be “conducted in a spirit of the widest liberality” with students drawn from every class of society.<sup>46</sup> For two years, Rockefeller deliberated before consenting to abolish the university’s denominational link. Yet this bold step was easy compared to the next one contemplated by his advisers. By 1908, Rockefeller had spent \$24 million on the university, but the Chicago citizenry had not lifted the burden from his shoulders. One evening in late 1908, Gates held a conference in his Montclair home with Harry Pratt Judson and Starr Murphy. “What would be the greatest service Mr. Rockefeller could now render the University?” Gates asked Judson and then promptly answered his own question: “Dr. Judson, the greatest possible service Mr. Rockefeller could now render to the University would be to separate himself from it altogether, withdraw his representatives, and turn it absolutely over to the public forever.”<sup>47</sup> When Judson protested that the university was still incomplete and sorely in need of funds, Gates said that Rockefeller might make one final large gift before departing.

Bent upon this plan, Gates managed to convince Junior who, in turn, tried to win over his father, who was flabbergasted by the suggestion and silently tabled it. When Junior renewed the subject in early 1909, his father rejected it categorically. “I confess the thought rather staggers me. . . . The institution is so large and far reaching in its influence and we have been such a potent factor in its upbuilding that I tremble at the possibility of cutting loose from our relation and leaving it a great craft in the middle of the ocean.”<sup>48</sup> Though the campaign started out less than promisingly, Gates and Junior knew that major decisions were often protracted with Rockefeller. In November 1909, Junior suggested that his father make a last ten-million-dollar contribution to the school then cut loose forever. “Few men have founded great institutions and have had the courage to wean them,” he said.<sup>49</sup>

A few weeks later, Gates weighed in with a letter that must rank as a seminal document in American philanthropy. It argued that a donor’s highest ideal should be to give birth to an institution that would then enjoy a life totally independent of him. Gates noted that many schools—technology, agriculture, forestry, and others—were still needed to complete the university but that the money for them would not issue from other sources so long as Rockefeller was the university’s patron. During the previous seven years, he had given nearly \$12 million, while the midwestern public had given only \$931,000—a pittance. Rockefeller’s withdrawal was imperative on political grounds as well:

*It will conclusively demonstrate the fact which the public has not been able to grasp—the fact of your entire disinterestedness. It will disclose beyond possibility of cavil that your motives in founding the institution are solely to bless and benefit your fellow men; that you have not been*

*seeking through it to increase your personal power, to propagate your political views, to help your cause, or to glorify your name.*

Noting that other rich men demanded control, Gates went on:

*Mr. Carnegie is, I believe, a member of every Board which he creates, and of course, the managing member. Mr. Clark, who founded Clark University, undisguisedly and notoriously ran the institution until his death. Mr. Stanford died soon after designating his property for the Leland Stanford, Jr. University. His wife, however, took up the reins and openly conducted the University for many years, demanding openly the dismissal of professors uncongenial to her and supervising every detail of administration.*

In closing, Gates urged Rockefeller to withdraw from the university and set his creation free.<sup>50</sup>

At first, Rockefeller did not reply or even acknowledge this letter, yet it set up far-reaching reverberations in his mind. Gates's practical arguments must have counted heavily with him, but the idea of subordinating his ego to some larger institutional end would also have appealed to his religious sense of self-denial. He also believed that the "dead hand of fixed endowments" should not trap future generations with the outmoded agenda of the original donors. Perhaps for all these reasons, Rockefeller made a final \$10 million payment to the University of Chicago in December 1910, bringing his total gifts to \$35 million, or \$540 million in 1996 dollars, then bid it farewell forever. In a valedictory to the board, he wrote, "It is far better that the University be supported and enlarged by the gifts of many than by those of a single donor. . . . I am acting on an early and permanent conviction that this great institution being the property of the people should be controlled, conducted and supported by the people."<sup>51</sup> The withdrawal was not quite as total as Rockefeller implied. Between 1910 and 1932, the GEB and other Rockefeller philanthropies channeled \$35 million to the university, supplemented by another \$6 million from Junior. But Rockefeller, in a statesmanlike act, had established the concept of the patron as founder, not owner or overseer, of his creation. At their December 1910 meeting, the trustees of the university paid tribute to Rockefeller: "Mr. Rockefeller has never permitted the University to bear his name, and consented to be called its founder only at the urgent request of the Board of Trustees. He has never suggested the appointment or the removal of any professor. Whatever views may have been expressed by members of the faculty, he has neither indicated either assent or dissent."<sup>52</sup>

In the early 1900s, there was a well-nigh universal perception that John D. gave generously to philanthropy to fumigate his fortune. As Governor Robert M. La Follette said in 1905, "I read yesterday that Rockefeller has been to prayer meeting again; tomorrow he will be giving to some college or university. He gives with two hands, but he robs with many. If he should live a thousand years he could not expiate the crime he has committed. . . . He is the greatest criminal of the age."<sup>53</sup> Cartoonists stereotyped Rockefeller as a churchgoing hypocrite. One cartoon showed him as an angel with wings sprouting from his head, beneath the caption: "John the Baptist: High Finance Is Now Getting So High That Some People Expected to Get to Heaven from the Top of It."<sup>54</sup>

Were John D.'s donations as saintly as he claimed? Could he possibly have been insensible to the political impact of his good deeds? An internal memo written to George Rogers in 1906 sheds some light on this intriguing question. To assist Standard Oil in its political travails, Archbold asked Rockefeller in October 1906 to publish a list of the dozen or so colleges to which he had given significant endowments. Rockefeller was extremely reluctant to print such a list. "It is a thing we have never done before," he advised Rogers, "and is very distasteful to me, and would not be considered for a moment, only with the idea that it might prove of help to us in the Standard Oil Company." If a list was made up, he wanted a guarantee that it would be returned and destroyed, blotting out any trace of his complicity.<sup>55</sup> This letter generally vindicates Rockefeller's assertion that he did not exploit his philanthropy for selfish reasons, but it also shows that he occasionally bent his own rules. H. G. Wells was mostly right when he wrote in a 1934 book that "of all the base criticisms [Rockefeller's] career has evoked, the charge that his magnificently intelligent endowments have been planned to buy off criticism or save his soul from the slow but sure vindictiveness of his Baptist God is surely the most absurd."<sup>56</sup> Since his adolescence, charity had been interwoven with the fabric of his life.

Nevertheless, the press treated each Rockefeller donation as another bid to buy back his reputation. Never was this truer than during the tainted-money controversy that flared up in March 1905, when it was revealed that Rockefeller had given \$100,000 to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a Congregational group in Boston, likely the largest gift the group had ever received. Coming at the close of the Tarbell series, this farsighted gift was bound to stir up a hornet's nest of controversy.

With the creation of the GEB, Rockefeller had begun to funnel money to nondenominational groups and transcend religious giving altogether. Gates, who regarded sectarianism as "the curse of religion at home and abroad, a blight upon religion, whether viewed from an economic, intellectual, or spiritual standpoint," eagerly encouraged this trend.<sup>57</sup> As this lapsed minister jettisoned the Baptist Church, his Christianity sounded increasingly like high-minded social work. "My religion became . . . simply the service of humanity in the Spirit of Jesus. It is the religion of Jesus, of science, and of evolution alike."<sup>58</sup> In his papers, Gates left a startling memo, "The Spirit of True Religion," which he apparently wrote to clarify his thoughts and in which he candidly stated, "There is no essential difference between religion and morality except that the one is more intense and passionate than the other."<sup>59</sup> In 1903, he bluntly told one applicant that while Rockefeller was a Baptist, he would no longer establish Baptist schools "for the sole purpose of propagating those views which are peculiarly and distinctively Baptist."<sup>60</sup>

The \$100,000 gift of what came to be called tainted money was solicited by Dr. James L. Barton, who met one Sunday with Starr Murphy and Gates in the latter's Montclair home. While Gates did not initiate the meeting, he did recommend to Rockefeller that he contribute the \$100,000. In a letter to Rockefeller, Gates made a secular case for this missionary money, again showing that Rockefeller was capable of responding to explicitly worldly rationales for religious giving:

*Quite apart from the question of persons converted, the mere commercial results of missionary effort to our own land is worth, I had almost said, a thousand-fold every year of what is spent on missions. Our export trade is growing by leaps and bounds. Such growth would have been utterly impossible but for the commercial conquest of foreign lands under the lead of missionary endeavor. What a boon to home industry and*

Setting aside his customary silence, Rockefeller praised this letter profusely and agreed to send a \$100,000 check to Boston a few days later.

So as not to be branded publicity-mongers, Rockefeller and Gates allowed beneficiaries to announce the receipt of gifts. Eager for publicity in this case—which would declare Rockefeller’s emancipation from sectarian giving—Gates pored over the newspapers, vainly awaiting some mention of the record Congregational gift. When he got the Boston board’s monthly publication, he expected to see banner headlines. Instead, the news was tucked away in a two- or three-line item in which the secretary noted that he had received a \$100,000 check from John D. Rockefeller “with surprise,” implying that the money was unsolicited.<sup>62</sup> There was not a grudging syllable of thanks. The gift aroused a great ruckus as a chorus of Congregational ministers demanded that it be returned. Everybody had read in *McClure’s* about the nefarious methods by which this money had been procured.

The most visible critic was the Reverend Washington Gladden from Columbus, Ohio, a scourge of Rockefeller’s for many years. An articulate critic of the trusts, he was a leader of the social-gospel movement. Now, armed with facts supplied directly by Ida Tarbell herself, Gladden rose up in his Congregational church one Sunday morning to deliver a stinging tirade against the \$100,000 gift. “The money proffered to our board of missions comes out of a colossal estate, whose foundations were laid in the most relentless rapacity known to modern commercial history,” he said.<sup>63</sup> In this sermon, Gladden dubbed Rockefeller’s check “tainted money,” an expression taken up by the press and fixed permanently in the political lexicon. He filed a protest with the Congregational Church, pleading for return of the money.

Faced with this uproar, Gates waited for the Boston board to make a clean breast of the story and admit that the money had been solicited. Instead, they suppressed the truth, and Barton even reassured reporters that it had been unsought. When Gates read this, he threatened to expose the gift’s genesis, and only then did the Congregational board come clean. Both Gates and Rockefeller were disappointed that Gladden never made a widespread public retraction. As Rockefeller said, he “failed to do the manly thing and correct the false impressions which his writings had occasioned.”<sup>64</sup> Of course, Rockefeller’s self-satisfaction begged the larger question of whether people should accept money gained by what they deemed unscrupulous means.

The tainted-money controversy elicited a splendid piece of satire from Mark Twain who, having befriended the Rockefellers and Henry Rogers, knew that rapacious businessmen could be kindhearted benefactors. In *Harper’s Weekly*, he published an open letter from Satan in which he chastised readers, “Let us have done with this frivolous talk. The American Board accepts contributions from me every year; then why shouldn’t it from Mr. Rockefeller? In all the ages, three-fourths of the support of the great charities has been conscience-money, as my books will show; then what becomes of the sting when that term is applied to Mr. Rockefeller’s gift?”<sup>65</sup>

As always, the public preferred to picture Rockefeller as crestfallen over the tainted-money hubbub. One newspaper said that he “sits by the hour under the trees that surround his costly home, brooding over the emphatic opposition public opinion has made against him. He speaks to no one save those who call upon most urgent matters.”<sup>66</sup> The truth was that Rockefeller did not waver or buckle under the torrent of bad publicity, though he was sobered by it. In July 1905, he turned up at the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church in an excellent mood, if slightly worn out, and chatted jovially with old friends. He even allowed himself some drollery at the end of his Sunday-school speech. Pulling out his watch, he told the crowd, his eyes twinkling mischievously, “I’ve talked too long, I’m afraid. There are others here who wished to talk. I don’t want you to think I’m a selfish monopolist!”<sup>67</sup> The congregation responded with hearty applause.

*The Codger*

By the close of the Tarbell series in 1905, Rockefeller's infamy as a businessman still overshadowed his budding philanthropic fame. He continued to cherish Forest Hill and Pocantico Hills as peaceful oases, sealed off from the outer world. But where he had once let the public roam the outer grounds of these estates, he could no longer sustain this policy for safety reasons. In 1906, a forbidding iron fence, eight feet tall and topped by wire netting, suddenly rose around Forest Hill, closing off sections to the public. This caution was now warranted, since Rockefeller was inundated with death threats and hired Pinkerton detectives to protect himself. After the *McClure's* series, he kept a revolver on his bedside table. He almost never attended public ceremonies, and Cettie was so rattled by a sense of menace that she advised him to stop public speaking altogether.

Yet however many would-be assassins squatted in the shadows, Rockefeller moved through his days with equanimity. He was not the icy man of myth, and his geniality grew more pronounced with age. If more subdued during the publication of the Tarbell articles, Rockefeller began to lighten up around 1906 and relish his retirement. His health was excellent, he had cast off the excruciating burden of business, and he had put together a superb management team for his charities and outside investments. Now past sixty, he saw his first play, *The Music Master*, as well as William Gillette playing Sherlock Holmes. The Rockefellers subscribed to the Philharmonic and even sampled brother William's gilded box at the opera. For this abstemious Baptist couple, such behavior came perilously close to paganism.

Cheerful and jaunty, Rockefeller cultivated the sly asides, sage apothegms, and cornball humor of a codger. As a businessman, he had preferred dark, monochromatic suits, but now his wardrobe became dapper and eccentrically bright, like that of a retired stage actor. One favorite outfit consisted of a long yellow silk coat over a Japanese paper vest, a straw hat (likened by one periodical to "the headpiece of a rickshaw man") or a pith helmet, and a pair of goggles.<sup>1</sup> This sartorial change started with his alopecia, which made him experiment with skullcaps and wigs and then with a funny assortment of golf and driving hats, many of them with goofy flaps dangling over his ears. With the goggles especially, they made him look like an elderly visitor from outer space. "When he went driving he also wore round black goggles," wrote his gardener, Tom Pyle. "With his thin face and thin slash of mouth, the curious costume gave him an eerily cadaverous appearance."<sup>2</sup> During his digestive troubles of the 1890s, Rockefeller had grown gaunt. Now, under the care of his German physician, Dr. Moeller, he put on more weight, his face grew rounder, and his tall, rangy frame again seemed muscular, if slightly bloated at the waist. Reporters who met him found him amazingly spry—his gaze keen, his step vigorous, his handshake firm.

As he carefully plotted his moves in order to live to one hundred, Rockefeller placed great store in following the same daily schedule down to the second.<sup>3</sup> Whether in prayer or in wholesome recreation, he still had the Puritan's need to employ every hour profitably. Rising at 6 A.M., he read the newspaper for an hour, then strolled through house and garden from 7 to 8, giving a dime to each new employee and a nickel to each veteran. He then breakfasted at 8, followed at 8:45 by a game of numerica, which gave him time to digest his food properly. From 9:15 to 10:15 he worked on his correspondence, mostly devoted to his philanthropy and investments. (As many as 2,000 letters now arrived daily at Pocantico, most of them solicitations for money.) From 10:15 to 12 he golfed, from 12:15 to 1 P.M. he bathed and then rested. Then came lunch and another round of numerica from 1 to 2:30. From 2:30 to 3 he reclined on the sofa and had mail read to him; from 3:15 to 5:15 he motored, from 5:30 to 6:30 he again rested, while 7 to 9 was given over to a formal dinner, followed by more rounds of numerica. From 9 to 10 he listened to music and chatted with guests, then slept from 10:30 P.M. to 6 A.M.—when the whole merry-go-round started up again. He did not deviate from this routine by one jot, regardless of the weather. William O. Inglis, who observed this diurnal rhythm at close range, found "something bordering on the superhuman—perhaps the inhuman—in this unbroken, mathematical perfection of schedule. It was uncanny."<sup>4</sup>

By the spring of 1905, Cettie had recuperated from the attacks that had leveled her a year earlier and again took daily drives with John in a two-seat buckboard. By now, she was a chronic patient, however, and her respite was short-lived: In 1906, she was again confined to bed for a month with "grippe pneumonia." Oddly enough, for all his gallant devotion to his wife, Rockefeller refused to alter his seasonal house rotation, even though Cettie could no longer follow him. For health reasons and to indulge his golf mania, he began to repair each winter to the Hotel Bon Air in Augusta, Georgia. He headed north to Lakewood for the early spring, followed by Pocantico in late spring, then Forest Hill in the summer, returning to Pocantico in October and staying there till he headed south for the winter. He adhered rigidly to this routine even though Cettie was bedridden for most of 1907; for one ten-month stretch she did not attend church or even breakfast in the parlor with her family. By the following year, suffering from emphysema, she had nurses attending her around the clock. Then, in 1909, serious congestion developed in her lungs, clumps of hair fell from her head, and she could not so much as walk across the bedroom. As she remained at Forest Hill, John was away for months at a time—remarkable for a man who had been inseparable from his wife. He must have felt that his own health would be jeopardized if he varied his rituals. He was also uncomfortable around illness, which served as an unpleasant reminder of his own mortality.



***Rockefeller, arm in arm with an unidentified Pinkerton detective and accompanied by a favorite grandson, eleven-year-old Fowler McCormick, marches in the Easter Parade on April 19, 1908. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)***

Rockefeller's life struck many observers as strangely cramped, given his gargantuan wealth: He had an annual untaxed income of \$58 million in 1902—several times larger than contemporary press estimates—or about a billion dollars in tax-free income per annum in today's money. One editorial writer pictured Rockefeller this way: "When that gentleman is seated in his office coin rattles down upon him at the rate of \$1.90 per second. He needs a steam shovel to keep himself from suffocation."<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Rockefeller spent only \$439,000 on household expenses that year.

Rockefeller engaged in strenuous rituals of austerity, and he grimly sought to simplify his life and reduce his wants. He liked to say that "a man's wealth must be determined by the relation of his desires and expenditures to his income. If he feels rich on ten dollars, and has everything else he desires, he really is rich."<sup>6</sup> He and Cettie took pains to show they were not squandering money and made a point of exchanging modest gifts. In 1905, for instance, John gave Cettie \$500 for her birthday and \$500 for Christmas, even though her personal portfolio of railroad and gas-company bonds was now worth more than \$1 million. For holidays, the Rockefellers exchanged token gifts—pens, ties, handkerchiefs, gloves—then wrote elaborate thank-you notes about how beautiful they were. In the spring of 1913, Rockefeller sent vegetables to his son at his home at 13 West Fifty-fourth Street and at Abeyton Lodge, his house in Pocantico, prompting the following outpouring from the ecstatic recipient: "As I glance at the weekly vegetable report from Pocantico Hills and see that last week \$11.10 worth of asparagus went to Abeyton Lodge and \$5.40 worth to No. 13. . . . I am constrained to express Abby's and my warmest thanks for your kindness in allowing us to share with you the products of the garden."<sup>7</sup> In this manner, the Rockefellers inhabited two worlds: a real but unspoken world of unimaginable wealth and a make-believe world of modest gifts intended to show that they were not spoiled. Since money meant nothing to them, they had to stress the sentimental value of gifts. The main thing was to prove that you were not taking your good fortune for granted. In January 1905, Cettie wrote to Junior at Forest Hill: "I am looking for snow to try our new sleigh, which is on springs and has four runners so as to turn like a carriage. Is not this luxury?"<sup>8</sup> When one thinks of the ornate Newport "cottages" and giant steam yachts then in vogue among the rich, it is hard not to find Cettie's conception of "luxury" poignant.

Rockefeller never lost his ingrained sense of thrift. When Junior, defying custom, gave him a fur coat and cap for Christmas in 1908, it elicited the following humorous reply: "I thank you a thousand times for the fur coat and cap and mittens. I did not feel I could afford such luxuries, and am grateful for a son who is able to buy them for me."<sup>9</sup> As his son should have known, Rockefeller would never strut around in this plutocrat's costume, and he returned it to Junior, who wore it instead.

Breathtakingly generous in his philanthropy, Rockefeller could also be stingy—appallingly so. Whereas most other tycoons hired subordinates to oversee personal expenditures, Rockefeller supervised every detail, and in small matters he tended to be an incorrigible skinflint. The account books of his estates were all sent to 26 Broadway and audited to the last dollar. The estates were all melded together into their own internal market system, and when Pocantico "sold" trees to Lakewood, Pocantico was credited and Lakewood debited. "We are our own best customers," Rockefeller observed archly in his memoirs, "and we make a small fortune out of ourselves by selling to our New Jersey place at \$1.50 or \$2.00 each, trees which originally cost us only five or ten cents at Pocantico."<sup>10</sup> He had studies performed to compute the cost of per-capita food consumption at his various houses and chided the housekeeper at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street for "table board" that ranged as high as \$13.35 per person compared to \$7.80 for Pocantico and \$6.62 for Forest Hill.

Rockefeller spent a ridiculous amount of time protesting bills both large and small and scrutinized the smallest bills from grocers and butchers. Somewhat paranoid to begin with, he assumed every tradesman was an extortion artist, or at least was padding the rich man's bills. Even while walking on his estate, he tried to spot shirkers. "I have noticed of late several instances of idling," he told one superintendent, "and in one or two cases have stopped my automobile and waited to see if the men would resume their work."<sup>11</sup> For a time, he tipped porters by holding out a handful of change and asking them to take what they deserved; when they took him at his word, he was shocked and renounced the policy, resorting to a strict 10 percent policy.

Rockefeller was notably suspicious when it came to the medical profession. In an extraordinary number of cases, he imagined that he was being gouged by physicians and threatened lawsuits. In 1909, Dr. Paul Allen treated Rockefeller at Hot Springs, West Virginia, and brought in a consulting physician, a Dr. Smith. When Rockefeller received a \$3,000 bill from Dr. Smith, he complained to Dr. Allen that he could have gotten other reputable

physicians for between \$500 and \$1,000. “I prefer to adjust this matter with Dr. Smith without litigation, but I am in no state of mind to submit to what I regard as extortion,” he warned Dr. Allen.<sup>12</sup> After Rockefeller threatened legal action, Dr. Smith settled for \$500. Then Rockefeller received a bill from Dr. Allen himself of \$350 per diem for 21 days of treatment at Hot Springs, and he again flew into a rage, refusing to pay more than \$160 a day—an amount he dropped to \$75 after canvassing doctor friends and examining local compensation levels. Once again, he hinted at litigation. When Junior noted that Dr. Allen had sacrificed four families as patients because of this extended West Virginia stay, Senior countered that “the prestige of his going to Hot Springs for twenty-one days as our family physician . . . might be worth a great deal more to him than this loss of patients.” Calling the doctor’s charges “extortionate,” Senior concluded, “I believe it my duty to a good many people who have been blackmailed by doctors to stand a trial.”<sup>13</sup> For Rockefeller, it was dogma that prices should reflect true market values, not the buyer’s ability to pay, and nothing upset him more than the notion that a rich man should pay a premium on his hard-earned wealth.

As Senior disappeared behind the gates of his estates, the public spotlight was progressively cast on his son and heir, who shrank beneath its glare. “John D. Rockefeller, the greatest organizing genius in the world, and largest individual owner of the United States and its inhabitants, is the father of a young man called John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,” opined one Hearst newspaper. “John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in his own right will be richer than many entire nations. He will be worth more money than the whole of Greece was worth when the work done by the Greeks constituted the glory of the world.”<sup>14</sup> Nobody was more daunted by this prospect than Junior himself, who felt trapped in the iron cage of dynastic expectation. Never sure of himself, Junior plodded ahead, always wondering where he was heading.

Junior was awed by his father, whom he regarded as a marble figure on a pedestal. “To his son he had always seemed of heroic proportions—brilliant in his construction of a huge industrial empire, exacting in matters of personal integrity, disciplined in the control of his own emotions, serene in the face of public abuse, and magnanimous in his contributions toward mankind,” Gates wrote.<sup>15</sup> Taught to regard his father in this golden light, Junior felt humble in his presence. He once told the New York Chamber of Commerce that his sole desire was to help his father and, if necessary, “to black his shoes, to pack his bag.”<sup>16</sup> “Of my ability I have always had a very poor opinion,” he told his father in 1902, “but I need not assure you that such as it is, it is wholly and absolutely devoted to your interests, and that now and always you can trust me as you always have.”<sup>17</sup> Instead of bucking up his courage, Senior often let his son wallow in self-flagellation.

If Senior tried to shut out his critics, Junior was hypersensitive to insinuations about his father. As Gates observed, Junior’s “whole conduct of life is governed by the purpose, hardly at all concealed, of rehabilitating his father’s public reputation.”<sup>18</sup> Junior’s need to vindicate his father stemmed partly from love but also from more self-interested reasons. As an ethical young man, how could he feel good about himself if he was spending blood money? To give away the Rockefeller fortune with a clear conscience, he had to convince himself that it had been earned fairly.

If Junior lacked the intestinal fortitude to spend his life facing down a hostile public, this feeling only grew as he and Abby began to create a large family. Their first child, Abby—known as Babs—was born at 13 West Fifty-fourth Street in 1903, followed by John D. Rockefeller III in 1906, whose birth elicited the headline, “Richest Baby in History.” Nelson was born in 1908 in Seal Harbor, Maine, on Senior’s birthday, which he always regarded as an omen, if not outright proof, that he was destined to lead the next generation of Rockefellers.

Desperately in need of guidance and emotional support, Junior re-created with his wife the close relationship he had had with his mother. He clung to Abby and depended upon her judgment, and sometimes he seemed scarcely able to live without her. When Abby and Babs went off to the Aldrich estate at Warwick, he was tormented by her absence. Abby enabled him to savor all the romanticism repressed during his upbringing. Two years after their marriage, Junior could still write to her breathlessly, “How happy you made me that night, darling, in the radiance of your young womanhood, so beautiful, so fascinating, so loving, and so long the one object of my passionate desires. . . . What a beautiful night that was, darling. We were oblivious of all except each other and our great love.”<sup>19</sup>

Cool and very shrewd in sizing up situations, Abby saw something unseemly in the demeaning tasks assigned to Junior when he started at 26 Broadway. She encouraged him to claim his rightful place as heir apparent. Junior still did not know how he would divide his time between business and philanthropy. Aware of the public-relations value of a Rockefeller heir, the Standard Oil of New Jersey chieftains were eager to use him as window dressing, and in 1904, at age thirty, he was appointed a director. Two executives, A. C. Bedford and Henry H. Rogers, took him on a whirlwind tour of the Oklahoma oil fields and discovered that this likable, unassuming young man had his own shy appeal. “Bedford and Rogers found out that I got on with the public very well and that the public was interested in seeing a live Rockefeller,” said Junior. “In other words, they began to think of me as something of an asset.”<sup>20</sup> In 1909, he was elevated to a vice presidency.

A neophyte in business, the product of a sheltered upbringing, Junior was bound to be shocked by the moral squalor of Standard Oil under John D. Archbold. The quick-witted, combative Archbold knew how to use his violent temper to bully people into submission. Since Archbold lived in Tarrytown, he stopped by Pocantico each Saturday morning to present a bright red apple to Rockefeller and to consult with his largest shareholder. Commuting to work by speedboat each morning, Archbold often invited Junior along, and they had breakfast as they raced down the Hudson River. On these occasions, Junior often quizzed Archbold about a matter that greatly upset him: the secret political payoffs—legal but seamy—routinely made by Standard Oil. As Junior explained, “The party bosses would come to the back door and it seemed to the management of the company wise to favor them. . . . I gradually became sensitive to usages and actions for which as a member of the board and an officer I felt responsible but which as a single individual I had little voice in determining.”<sup>21</sup> The money traffic was blatant: At campaign time, Mark Hanna, Cornelius N. Bliss, and other party bosses hung around, as Junior put it, “at the back door, hat in hand.” Yet when Junior protested, Archbold airily dismissed it as a matter of survival and said that all big corporations did it.<sup>22</sup> Did Junior ever wonder why his father, whom he considered a paragon of virtue, had groomed Archbold as his protégé?

On several occasions, Junior was asked to lobby Senator Aldrich for Standard Oil. In 1903, for instance, Junior prodded his father-in-law to appoint Senator Boies Penrose to the Senate Finance Committee because he “has for some years been a friend of certain gentlemen in our company and has usually shown himself friendly toward the company.”<sup>23</sup> In later years, Junior must have regretted these actions, one of the few times when his ethical

compass failed him. Having gotten a hint of the moral atmosphere at Standard Oil, Junior began to distance himself from its management and attended only about a third of the board meetings. While he feigned affection for Archbold—"We were all very fond of him, he was so witty and jolly"—he made a point of having less contact with him.<sup>24</sup>

Of course, as Junior struggled with his dawning awareness of corruption at Standard Oil, Ida Tarbell was exhuming its unsavory past, and the two overlapping events probably pushed him into his nervous breakdown in late 1904. The press did not help matters. In the gauche young heir, reporters spotted a far more vulnerable target than his father, and they ridiculed him as weak, fumbling, prudish, and neurasthenic. This coverage made Junior even more self-conscious than before, and he was pilloried no matter what he did. If he did not give tips, he was mocked, but when he gave his barber a nickel, the coin was posted on the barber's wall and reproduced in the newspapers. "He rarely spends more than 50 cents for his midday lunches," the New York *Daily News* reported. "He drinks no intoxicating liquors, uses tobacco moderately, and his tailors' bill in a year is not as heavy as that of a prosperous clerk in a Wall Street office."<sup>25</sup> Junior fidgeted under the attention. "It was rather expected of me that having inherited money I would waste it," said Junior. "I made up my mind that I wouldn't do it."<sup>26</sup>

Whenever Junior spoke in public, hard-bitten journalists turned out to record and mock his words. In February 1902, he gave a talk at the Brown University YMCA in which he tried to square business ethics and Christianity. To justify the superiority of consolidation over competition, he cited the breeding of the American Beauty rose, which had only been achieved through constant, painful pruning. This figure of speech, tossed in extemporaneously, haunted Junior for years and was cited constantly as a credo of rapacious capitalism.

As Junior said of this period, "My problem was to reconcile right and conscience with the hard realities of life on a practical level," and he groped his way unaided by his father. He clung ardently to his leadership of the men's Bible class at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church. After he took over the class from Charles Evans Hughes in 1900, the number of young men in attendance at once quadrupled from 50 to 200 and ultimately reached 500, including many bookkeepers, clerks, salesmen, and students. In the class, Junior tried to use scripture to elucidate moral dilemmas of everyday life. "We have talks along financial, educational, sociological and religious lines, as well as talks of a generally helpful nature," he explained to William Rainey Harper in 1902.<sup>27</sup> It was never clear how many students were there for guidance and how many were angling for Rockefeller jobs or money. Reporters infiltrated the sessions just to hurl embarrassing questions at Junior, who sat with hands tightly clasped on the table as they made sport of his replies. Mark Twain, a guest speaker, observed Junior's predicament firsthand. "Every Sunday young Rockefeller explains the Bible to his class," he wrote. "The next day the newspapers and the Associated Press distribute his explanations all over the continent and everybody laughs."<sup>28</sup> Twain conceded that Junior repeated platitudes preached from every pulpit, but thought he was unfairly roughed up for political reasons.

In 1905, as attacks mounted on his father and his talks were increasingly subjected to savage derision, Junior agonized over whether to relinquish the class. Still recuperating from his breakdown, he devoted three nights each week to preparing this Sunday talk. Gates in particular thought this was taking an excruciating toll. When Junior told his father in June 1905 of his wish to resign, Senior registered unequivocal opposition. "It would interfere with my pleasure to have you give up the class," he said. "It has been a source of great joy and comfort to your Mother and me."<sup>29</sup> John D. himself had informed one of Junior's classes, "I would rather see my son doing this work than see him a monarch on his throne."<sup>30</sup>

Junior's reasons for wanting to stay were illuminating. He needed a place where he could resolve the tensions between business and religion, Standard Oil and the Baptist Church, forging a synthesis that would enable him to function in an imperfect world. If he gave up the class, he also worried that the family wealth and notoriety would isolate him from society, as had so clearly happened to his father, who led an artificial existence. He received a timely warning along these lines from Dr. W.H.P. Faunce, the president of Brown University and former pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church:

*If you drop that class, you will take a step toward retirement from your fellow-men. Your father has felt obliged—often against my protest—to barricade himself in order to avoid the imposters, cranks etc. of which the world is full. This is the inevitable penalty of his position. But there is no reason why that penalty should descend to you.*<sup>31</sup>

For three years, Junior kept the Bible class, then, at Abby's gentle urging, withdrew in 1908 at a moment when he would not seem to be retreating under fire. As she reassured him, "You have borne all the criticism and ridicule that is necessary to let the world see that you are sincere."<sup>32</sup> It was not the last time that she rescued him from unnecessary martyrdom.

Since Junior had committed himself to serving his father, the question naturally arises of why Senior, eager to slough off cares, did not commence sooner the great transfer of wealth to his son. Other moguls, such as Commodore Vanderbilt and J. P. Morgan, Sr., had waited until their deaths to convey the bulk of their wealth to their sons, but they needed their money as working capital in their businesses and did not have extended retirements like Rockefeller's. Until 1912—when Junior was thirty-eight—Senior kept him in a prolonged adolescence, paying him a salary that was really a glorified allowance. "Why, the girls in the office here have an advantage that I never had," Junior once lamented. "They can prove to themselves their commercial worth. I envy anybody who can do that."<sup>33</sup> By slow increments, his father ratcheted up his allowance from \$10,000 a year in 1902 to \$18,000 five years later, but Junior never felt he had earned it, exacerbating his sense of inadequacy. As he told his father in 1907, "I have always wished, simply as a matter of satisfaction to myself, that my salary might represent the real value of my services in the office, while as it is and has been in the past it represents rather your generosity."<sup>34</sup>

Before 1911, Rockefeller made only token transfers of oil stock to his son, starting with his first annual gift of one hundred shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey in 1903, but he also deeded to him parcels of valuable property in Cleveland, Buffalo, and New York. Then, in 1909, he gave him a controlling interest in the American Linseed Company, and with this sixteen-million-dollar gift Junior saw the golden floodgates start to open. Grateful but anxious, he wrote to his father, "A deep feeling of solemnity, of responsibility, almost of awe, comes over me as I contemplate these gifts, and my heart rises in silent prayer to God that he will teach me to be a good and faithful steward as my Father has been."<sup>35</sup> Even though he now owned a company and extensive real estate, Junior still dangled in an awkward dependency, having to account to his father for his personal expenses. In January 1910, Senior asked how much he had spent the previous year, and Junior, like an obedient schoolboy, computed the answer, in Rockefeller style, down

to the decimal points: \$65,918.47.

At the turn of the century, Junior and his three sisters had roughly equal wealth—several hundred thousand dollars apiece—and father kept parity among them for several years. (Much of Junior’s early income came from a \$500,000 “credit” John D. had given him to supplement his salary.) Then it grew steadily clearer that Junior would be the receptacle for the bulk of the fortune. Partly this was a plain case of male chauvinism. But special factors also worked against Bessie and Edith, while frigid relations with Alta’s husband, Parmalee, lessened her chances. Senior had cool relations with two of his three sons-in-law and would have hesitated to give them undue influence over his money. In Junior’s opinion, his sisters were also disqualified because they did not handle their finances in the scrupulous manner demanded by father.

Constantly consulting expert opinion and learning all he could, Junior was now immersed in the Rockefeller philanthropies, and nobody enjoyed finer access to the master. In casual moments at Pocantico, Junior could lightly broach a project or have Cettie read a proposal aloud. “Gates was the brilliant dreamer and orator,” Junior conceded. “I was the salesman—the go-between with Father at the opportune moment.”<sup>36</sup> Junior discharged this role perfectly, for he lacked the itch for fame, willingly laid all glory at his father’s doorstep, and held views congruent with his. For Senior, exhausted from his business labors, this conscientious son was heaven-sent. Once, during a golf game, Rockefeller announced, “My greatest fortune in life has been my son.”<sup>37</sup>

So why did Senior procrastinate in giving him his money? Since he remained tight-lipped, we can only conjecture. One plausible explanation is that he planned to reach age one hundred and had no wish to surrender power prematurely in his sixties. He must have fretted, too, about Junior’s debilitating breakdown, which started in 1904 and dragged on for nearly three years, curtailing his activities. Senior must have feared that the stupendous weight of the fortune would crush his delicate son. Rockefeller might also have waited until Junior began to show more robust self-confidence. Protective of his vulnerable son, Rockefeller was irate when the press pummeled him. “They have no right to attack Mr. John,” he would insist. “All my life I have been the object of assault. But they have no ground for striking at him!”<sup>38</sup>

Yet the overriding fear was most likely political. Since the family fortune largely took the form of Standard Oil stock, giving it to Junior would have engulfed him in controversy far uglier than anything he had ever known. With Standard Oil besieged by state and federal antitrust suits, Junior would have inherited both the controversy and the legal liability that went with the stock. Had Rockefeller unloaded the oil stock on Junior, editorialists would also have accused him of fleeing retribution and responsibility. That Junior had such grave reservations about Standard’s management under Archbold would have only strengthened his father’s reluctance to hand over significant blocks of shares to him.

While Gates initiated Junior into the rites of philanthropy, the crown prince continued to perform many mundane domestic duties foisted upon him by his father, including paying the servants and overseeing repairs. Then, on the night of September 17, 1902, the Parsons-Wentworth house at Pocantico burned down. Hundreds of people stood by helplessly in the dark as flames consumed the wooden structure. Fortunately, nobody was hurt. John and Cettie simply moved their belongings to an undistinguished dwelling on the grounds called the Kent House. Senior had long wanted to build a new house at Pocantico anyway and was not therefore especially fazed by the fire.

From 1902, Junior and Abby had occupied a lovely house on the estate known as Abeyton Lodge, a comfortable, rambling affair in Hudson Valley Dutch style, festooned with many dormer windows and awnings. They tended to look askance at Senior’s patched-up residences and wanted him to occupy a grander dwelling. As a result, they reinforced his desire to erect a new house at the property’s highest point, Kykuit, a five-hundred-foot elevation with a peerless vista of the Hudson River, and took charge of planning a manor house that would be a model of quiet elegance and faultless taste. It has been hypothesized that Senior saw the project as therapeutic for Junior after his breakdown, but the latter’s troubles actually stalled the project. As *The New York Times* reported accurately in May 1905, “The unexpected serious crisis in the health of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has temporarily checked his father’s plans for building a fine mansion this summer on his immense estate in the Pocantico Hills.”<sup>39</sup> Even a year later, Senior told a cousin that he was trying to stop Junior from overwork and he would never have rushed him into building the new house. He would surely have remembered the onus of supervising construction of the family home in Cleveland as an adolescent.

In the spring of 1904, Senior had given his son permission to solicit preliminary sketches from architects, and by the following summer contracts were signed with Delano and Aldrich as architects (Chester H. Aldrich was Abby’s distant cousin), Thompson-Starrett as builders, Ogden Codman, Jr., as interior designer, and William Welles Bosworth as landscape architect. Presented with these plans, Rockefeller reacted as he so often did when in a quandary—he did nothing. He exercised a pocket veto, leaving Junior in the old position of trying to figure out his intentions. “After a while,” Junior said, “I became convinced that the reason he did nothing was because he hesitated to build so large a house, with the additional care which its operation would involve, but on the other hand was too generous to suggest a smaller house, which would not adequately accommodate children and grandchildren.”<sup>40</sup> Evidently, Junior guessed right, for when he presented plans for a scaled-down house—small enough to satisfy his father’s craving for simplicity, roomy enough to accommodate guests—Rockefeller consented with relief. The house would be handsome but not ostentatious, previewing a new Rockefeller aesthetic of restrained grace that owed much to Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.

Before construction started, Rockefeller, an engineering buff, brought a number of demands to the table. To reinvigorate Cettie’s health, he wanted Kykuit to receive maximum sunshine in the winter. He also wanted sunlight to trail him on his daily rounds, with light shining in the dining room for lunch, for instance, but with his bedroom dipped in shadow for his afternoon nap. This demand might have flummoxed the most adept architect, but for Rockefeller, who had dabbled in construction, it was child’s play. He constructed a boxlike contraption mounted on a turntable at the center of the building site. Stationed in this box for several days, working the levers, he observed how the sunlight slanted down on a small model of the house. He then presented his hourly charts to the architects, who shifted the foundation lines in conformity with them.

Junior and Abby threw themselves into Kykuit’s construction with a mixture of passion and nervous energy. (Mesmerized by measurement, Junior carried a collapsible four-foot ruler in his pocket for the rest of his life.) They oversaw creation of a three-story Georgian manor house, with elegant gables and dormer windows. In deference to Baptist values, the house had no ballroom, but it did have an Aeolian organ for both religious and secular music. Junior and Abby were very partial to their creation. After they had toured some pretentious “châteaux” on Long Island’s north shore, Junior said



that Kykuit, by comparison, was “far less elaborate than many houses we have seen” but “more perfect of its kind, more harmonious and more charming.”<sup>41</sup>

John and Abby enlisted the services of Ogden Codman, the Boston interior designer who helped Edith Wharton refurbish her Newport home and coauthored a book with her, *The Decoration of Houses*, in 1897. In the book, Wharton rebelled against the cold, cluttered rooms of her childhood. Codman wanted to invest Kykuit with the easy tranquillity of an English country house, furnishing it with pieces that would seem like old family heirlooms. No detail of design escaped John and Abby’s exacting attention. They fussed over every item with that small flutter of anxiety that Junior always felt when performing a task for his father. “We bought all the furniture, china, linen, glass, silver and works of arts, employing, of course, the best advisers obtainable,” he said.<sup>42</sup> Before unveiling the house to his parents, Junior and Abby slept there for six weeks, testing every bedroom and taking meals there.

Sure that the house was now ready, they apprehensively invited John and Cettie to sample it in October 1908, and it seemed, at first, an unparalleled success. “The new house all furnished by John and Abby was ready for us,” Cettie recorded in her diary. “It is beautiful and convenient within and without.”<sup>43</sup> Cettie and sister Lute delighted in playing the large pipe organ, with its player-piano attachment, and Senior imported an organist from the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church for after-dinner concerts on Sunday evenings. That Thanksgiving, three generations of Rockefellers gathered in the new house, with Abby and Junior bringing their growing brood of Babs, John III, and five-month-old Nelson. They instituted a tradition of no smoking or drinking at either Kykuit or Abeyton Lodge.

Unfortunately for Junior and Abby, their ordeal had only begun. Since Cettie had been sick, they had tried to spare her concern with construction details, but she was an extremely finicky lady. For the sake of diplomacy, John and Cettie pretended to be thrilled with their new home, but they increasingly carped in private. The third floor, reserved for guest rooms, had tiny dormer windows that made them stuffy and unsuitable. They then discovered graver problems. The elevator made an awful din; the roaring plumbing in Cettie’s bathroom reverberated in the public areas; the racket from the service entrance below John D.’s bedroom grated on his nerves; rainwater dripped into the dining room; the chimneys sometimes belched smoke, and so on and so on. Cettie even found indecent the charming statues of male cherubim on the porch outside their bedroom and had them chastely converted into female angels. As his parents broke silence and confided their concerns, Junior’s heart sagged: He had let them down again. After a year, it was decided that the house would be completely revamped.

Yet the brouhaha over the house was minor compared to the uproar over the grounds. William Welles Bosworth had planned to surround Kykuit with a small, formal park of 250 acres, with the rest of the estate left in something close to its wild, pristine state. Since Senior fancied himself a landscape expert, he conceived an instant dislike for Bosworth, whom he regarded as a rival and a frighteningly extravagant fellow to boot. When Bosworth submitted his plans, Rockefeller harrumphed that he could do better:

“In a few days,” Rockefeller recalled in his memoirs,

*I had worked out a plan so devised that the roads caught just the best views at just the angles where in driving up the hill you came upon impressive outlooks, and at the ending was the final burst of river, hill, cloud, and great sweep of country to crown the whole; and here I fixed my stakes to show where I suggested that the roads should run, and finally the exact place where the house should be.*

He then told Bosworth: “Look it all over and decide which plan is best.”<sup>44</sup> When this plan was adopted, Rockefeller attributed this decision to its patent superiority, though it is hard to see how Bosworth could have objected. Even with the terraced formal gardens close to the house, Rockefeller interjected his own ideas. He insisted upon lime trees for the garden walk just south of the house, having learned they were the fastest growing trees and would most quickly cast shade on the footpaths.

Luckily, Rockefeller did not do everything himself and allowed Bosworth to create a majestic fantasy straight out of the Italian Renaissance, complete with grottoes, fountains, pergolas, sunken gardens, temples, topiary bushes, classical statues, and running streams. Disgruntled at the cost of these ornaments, Rockefeller would stroll the grounds with guests and tell them, only half jesting, “You know, these little brooks run mighty high!”<sup>45</sup> Cettie was especially fond of Bosworth’s rustic Japanese garden with its quaint teahouse, but every time Rockefeller looked at it, he saw plain extortion and complained to his son. “I can hardly understand how the little Japanese house, which I supposed was to be a very superficial affair, would reach \$10,000. . . . Bosworth may be all right. I hope we shall feel later on, as you do, that he has not been a too expensive luxury for us.”<sup>46</sup>

Whenever they acceded to one of Bosworth’s modest ideas, Rockefeller growled, it ended up costing much more than they imagined. Senior had first been quoted a figure of \$30,000 for the entire landscaping job and was horrified in 1910 when the bill swelled to \$750,000—more than the cost of house and furnishings combined! (It would equal nearly \$12 million in contemporary money.) Thus far, he had been restrained, but now he gave his son a good tongue-lashing. “Granted that we have a very satisfactory result, but \$750,000 is very different from \$30,000, and is, indeed, 25 times that amount, and what Mr. Bosworth has received for his services is fifty percent more than the entire original estimate of cost to me. I should not want the public to know what our expenditure has been.”<sup>47</sup> In the end, the house paled beside the stately gardens, and this must actually have pleased the outdoorsy Rockefeller. For all his complaining, he adored the grounds and planted a network of electric lights that allowed him to illuminate them theatrically at night. “If you were to visit me on the darkest night,” he would boast, “I could show you vistas of trees from one part to the other of my estate by merely touching a button.”<sup>48</sup>

Starting in 1911, the house itself underwent two more years of renovation and was transformed into a fine specimen of American Renaissance, a voguish style that bespoke the self-confidence of the burgeoning industrial class. Narrow but deep, the house had four floors above ground and two below that were gouged into the hillside. Gone was the old dormer-ridden third floor, replaced with a mansard roof. By turning the wooden veranda into a stone loggia, the forty-room house acquired new dignity and grandeur. While not exactly modest, Kykuit was decorous and understated and testified to its owner’s simplicity. It fell far short of what Rockefeller could have afforded or what other preening magnates might have built.

To Senior's delight, the redesign entailed complicated problems in civil engineering. To lengthen the approach to the house, hundreds of teamsters carted in thousands of loads of topsoil, requiring the construction of a huge retaining wall. To ferry in supplies without disturbing the occupants, an underground tunnel was created for trucks, and Senior delighted in watching the steam shovels punch a hole in the hillside. This construction thrilled him, as if he were a small boy equipped with a new set of toy trucks. The remaking of Kykuit went on until October 1913, when John and Cettie finally moved back into the house after two years of work. By that point, Cettie was very sick and did not have much longer to live.

With Kykuit complete, Rockefeller turned his attention to removing disturbing elements from the grounds. One row of houses inside the Rockefeller acreage was picked up and set back down in the nearby village. As he accumulated more land, Rockefeller was also increasingly bothered by the Putnam division of the New York Central Railroad, which cut a swath across the middle of his estate. He hated the hoboes and hunters drawn by the right-of-way, not to mention the ash that fluttered down on his golf course from the coal-burning locomotives. In 1929, Rockefeller decided to have the train rerouted and paid an estimated \$700,000 to buy the entire village of East View, with its forty-six homes; after buying and razing all of the houses, he donated the land for new railroad tracks five miles to the east of the original one. Removing another unwanted intruder, Junior paid \$1.5 million for the three hundred acres of Saint Joseph's Normal College, underwriting the costs of relocating it and building a new campus elsewhere.

At its peak, the Pocantico estate was a self-contained world with seventy-five houses and seventy miles of private roads. Forever reworking his domain, Rockefeller kept hundreds of men busy moving trees and hills to open up new views. The estate included a sizable working farm that supplied the family's food needs. Rockefeller developed such a taste for Pocantico's produce and springwater that they were shipped to him wherever he went.

The Pocantico Hills estate was a marvelous haven, but the cluster of newsmen clamoring for answers beyond the majestic iron gates always reminded its owner of the hostile public. Their chorus of accusations grew only louder with time. By Teddy Roosevelt's second term, Rockefeller and Standard Oil could no longer flout the federal and state governments with impunity, as they had for so long. The moment of reckoning was at hand.



*Bessie Rockefeller Strong, whose prolonged illness has always been surrounded by mystery. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

*The World's Richest Fugitive*

As they approached the 1904 presidential election, Standard Oil executives knew that Teddy Roosevelt was still miffed at their attempt to snuff out his new Bureau of Corporations and that the oil trust stood at the top of his list of evil trusts to be reined in by federal regulators. Since the idea of backing Roosevelt's Democratic opponent, Alton B. Parker, was unthinkable to Archbold and his associates, they smothered the incumbent with money, especially a \$100,000 contribution from Henry H. Rogers. Other businessmen who feared the lash of federal regulation—including Edward H. Harriman, Henry Clay Frick, and James Stillman—also paid tribute to Roosevelt, provoking Democratic charges that the president was being bribed by the very companies he vowed to control. Attorney General Philander Knox wandered into Roosevelt's office one day in October 1904 and heard the president dictating a letter ordering the return of the Standard Oil funds. "Why, Mr. President, the money has been spent," Knox objected. "They cannot pay it back—they haven't got it." "Well," Roosevelt said, "the letter will look well on the record, anyhow."<sup>1</sup>

When Roosevelt won by an impressive margin in November, Rockefeller sent a telegram to him: "I congratulate you most heartily on the grand result of yesterday's election."<sup>2</sup> In the Standard boardroom, the contribution to Roosevelt's campaign was soon acknowledged to be the worst investment they had ever made. As Archbold moaned, "Darkest Abyssinia never saw anything like the course of treatment we received at the hands of the administration following Mr. Roosevelt's election in 1904."<sup>3</sup> Or as Henry C. Frick phrased it more succinctly, "We bought the son of a bitch, but he wouldn't stay bought."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the Standard Oil hierarchs remained cocksure that, in any contest for supremacy with the federal government, they would inevitably prevail.

Before the election, the Bureau of Corporations, headed by James R. Garfield, had begun to gather data on Standard Oil. The son of the former president and active in Ohio Republican politics, Garfield was friendly with some Standard Oil lawyers, and the initial inquiry went amicably enough. Then, in February 1905, by a unanimous resolution, the House of Representatives urged an antitrust investigation of Standard Oil, a result of the oil boom in Kansas. Re-enacting a drama once played out in western Pennsylvania, independent oil producers and refiners protested that Standard Oil dominated the state's pipelines, and they also accused it of conspiring with the railroads. Their passions were fanned both by Ida Tarbell's articles and by a dramatic tour she made through the oil fields. Suddenly, Commissioner Garfield was summoning Archbold and Rogers to question them about Standard's behavior in the state. When he broached the touchy subject of rebates—the flash point for so many battles in oil history—their relations deteriorated hastily. A new generation of independent oil producers in Kansas, Illinois, Oklahoma, Texas, and California would provide the motive force behind the antitrust drive against the Standard.

As the moribund Sherman Act quickened to sudden life under Teddy Roosevelt, the Tarbell series virtually guaranteed that Standard Oil would be the central target of any federal trustbusting probe. Tarbell thought it the optimal choice because it was "the mother trust and the most nearly monopolistic."<sup>5</sup> It furnished a well-known consumer article, affected nearly everyone, and had an abundant history of hearings and lawsuits to excavate. In the early 1900s, petroleum was being applied to an array of new uses and it no longer seemed tolerable for one organization to retain a stranglehold over it.

For years, Rockefeller and his colleagues had ignored public opinion, refusing to give interviews and behaving defiantly at hearings. In her *McClure's* series, Tarbell had justly said, "If Mr. Rockefeller had been as great a psychologist as he is a business manipulator he would have realised that he was awakening a terrible popular dread."<sup>6</sup> In their hubris, the oil monopolists mocked the petty efforts of politicians to obstruct them. "We will see Standard Oil in hell before we will let any set of men tell us how to run our business," an unreconstructed Henry Rogers swore.<sup>7</sup> Unwilling to compromise, Standard officials dealt with government officials as roughly as they did with business competitors. At this precarious moment, the trust needed a master diplomat, not the hotheaded Archbold.

In 1906, Roosevelt signed a stack of bills to curb industrial abuses. Profiting from the outcry prompted by Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*, he signed the meat-inspection bill and the Pure Food and Drug Act. Identifying railroad discrimination as a major issue, he supported the Hepburn bill, which granted broader power to the Interstate Commerce Commission to set railroad rates and placed interstate pipelines under its domain. By bringing Standard Oil to heel, Roosevelt hoped to check two abuses at once: railroad collusion and industrial monopoly. When the Bureau of Corporations sent him its report on the oil trust, it highlighted Standard's collusion, both in secret rates and open discrimination, with the railroads. Seizing upon this as a potent tool to push through the Hepburn bill, Roosevelt made the five-hundred-page report public on May 2, 1906. "The report shows that the Standard Oil Company has benefited enormously up almost to the present moment by secret rates," the president declared.<sup>8</sup>

Seriously misreading the punitive public mood, Rockefeller remained silent. When Charles M. Pratt drafted a reply, Rockefeller objected in no uncertain terms: "Giving broadcast [to] this information at this date is unwise and is a headliner for more drastic treatment by the Fed. Govt."<sup>9</sup> Overriding Rockefeller's dissent, Standard Oil released a statement denying that it had knowingly committed any unlawful actions.

In Standard Oil, Teddy Roosevelt found a trust tailor-made for his purposes: big, rich, brutal, unpopular, and totally unrepentant. He adored grandstanding and liked to use his bully pulpit to incite a popular furor. With an expugilist's flair for feints and bluffs, he kept the combine thoroughly confused about his true sentiments. At moments, he issued strong public denunciations: "Every measure for honesty in business that has been passed in the last six years has been opposed by these men."<sup>10</sup> Even less temperate in private, he told his attorney general that the Standard Oil directors were "the biggest criminals in the country."<sup>11</sup> Then, in friendly private chats at the White House, he disarmed the very Standard directors he had reviled by seeming the soul of civility. In early March 1906, Archbold and Rogers were received cordially at the White House, as Junior reported to his father in confidence:

*[The president] professed great ignorance of the affairs of the company, saying his knowledge of it was "nebulous." As to the investigation on foot through Mr. Garfield's department, he seemed to know little. . . . He exhibited no personal animosity or unkindly feeling, nor could they judge from*

*anything said that he himself was at the bottom of this investigation.*

While Archbold professed satisfaction, Junior, educated by his father-in-law in the president’s mutable ways, was more skeptical. “Senator Aldrich observed at my house the other night that while the President agreed with whoever talked last with him and seemed won over entirely to that view of the matter, the following day the next man who approached him with a different view gained an equally cordial hearing and relief.”<sup>12</sup>

Even as Roosevelt entertained the bosses of Standard Oil, he was about to unleash the government’s full fury against it. He was offended by its obstructive tactics with Garfield, its refusal to concede the legitimacy of his investigation. When he sent the Garfield Report to Congress, he warned that the Justice Department might prosecute Standard Oil for the abuses revealed. This linkage of Standard Oil with railroad rebates laid down the lines for future antitrust prosecution. Like Lloyd and Tarbell, Attorney General William H. Moody decided that the Standard monopoly had been based on a pattern of secret, illegal rebates. In late June 1906, Roosevelt summoned Moody and other cabinet members for an unusual nocturnal session at the White House to discuss possible prosecution. On June 22, Moody announced a preliminary investigation, headed by Frank B. Kellogg, of an antitrust suit against Standard Oil—a move that one newspaper reported under the stark headline, “Standard Oil Officials May Go to Prison.”<sup>13</sup>

By this time, Standard officials knew that they had been grossly deceived by the president’s genial manner. “There is no doubt that the special Cabinet meeting, which the President called, and where the action was entirely dominated by him, led to the instituting of the proceedings,” Archbold told Rockefeller. Trying to strike a brave note, he added, “all well, feeling first rate, and ready for the fight.”<sup>14</sup> As always, Standard Oil reacted with bravado, and Hell Hound Rogers sent these fighting words to Rockefeller: “It is my opinion that we are all right and going to win out sure, without doubt I do not think we have anything to fear.”<sup>15</sup>

In retrospect, it seems clear that the ambiguous signals from the White House reflected more than duplicity on Roosevelt’s part, for he was genuinely reluctant to wield the big stick against Standard Oil. He preferred compromise to antitrust cases, which were slow, time-consuming, and fiendishly difficult to win. He wanted to supervise trusts, not break them up and sacrifice their efficiency, and he was searching for some conciliatory overture from his adversaries, a suggestion that they would accept government oversight and voluntarily mend their ways. But compromise was so alien to Archbold that he did not see that he might have averted an antitrust suit with a little political flexibility.

By the time the Roosevelt administration formulated its suit, Rockefeller had not darkened the door of 26 Broadway for years. After 1905, he even stopped drawing a token salary. But Rockefeller was still held responsible for the sins of Standard Oil and most vilified when least involved in the business. Aware of the benefits of giving a human face to the trust, Roosevelt presented Rockefeller as the active genius of the cabal, and the press dramatized the antitrust case as a cockfight between Roosevelt and Rockefeller, the White House and 26 Broadway.

Even before the federal government filed formal charges against Standard Oil, a rash of state suits broke out, the most aggressive one being in Missouri, where Herbert S. Hadley was elected attorney general in 1905. As a reform-minded prosecuting attorney in Kansas City, he had developed a reputation for battling corruption. No sooner did he become attorney general than he set out to prove that both Waters-Pierce and Republic Oil were secret marketing subsidiaries of Standard Oil that had fixed prices and carved up the state into exclusive sales territories with Standard Oil of Indiana. In serving subpoenas upon Standard executives in Manhattan, Hadley’s men proved to be agile daredevils. “The gentlemen are following their daily avocation in town here but moving cautiously,” Junior reported to his father from 26 Broadway.<sup>16</sup> One morning, Henry Rogers strode rapidly from his Manhattan town house to his chauffeured car. As it pulled away from the curb, a process server named M. E. Palemdo sprang from a hiding spot and landed on the running board. “Is this Mr. Henry H. Rogers?” he asked. While a speechless Rogers stared at this impudent interloper, Palemdo flung the subpoena at him, flashed his court order, then leaped from the speeding vehicle.

Even with such acrobatics, Hadley’s minions could not catch Rockefeller, and the press joined in the national manhunt. Tracing a welter of rumors, reporters erroneously placed the titan aboard Henry Rogers’s yacht, anchored off Puerto Rico, or in a hideaway with Flagler in Key West. As he decamped from one estate to the next, Rockefeller was reduced to the degrading life of a fugitive. Then his whereabouts were betrayed by the telltale cheese. Every day at Pocantico, Rockefeller received a shipment of his favorite cheese aboard the New York Central. One day, a local hack driver, Henry Cooge, informed the press that suspicious cheeses were again entering Pocantico. “Them cheeses,” he said, “I would recognize anywhere, no matter whether it is day or night. . . . Rockefeller, in my opinion, is somewhere on his estate.”<sup>17</sup>

Cooge’s nose was correct: Rockefeller had retreated to Pocantico, turning it into his fortress, flanked on every side by detectives. Waves of process servers flung themselves against the battlements to no effect. “Time and again,” said one newspaper, “process-servers in various disguises have succeeded in passing the pickets, but never have they penetrated beyond the inner guard of detectives. When discovered they have been handled roughly and promptly ejected by the oil king’s minions.”<sup>18</sup> Afraid that his phone was being tapped, Rockefeller advised Cettie not to telephone him. He also advised his secretary at 26 Broadway to forward letters to him in plain envelopes without return addresses.

At a convenient moment, via a backdoor route, Rockefeller fled by boat from Tarrytown to Golf House in Lakewood, where he set up conditions worthy of a maximum-security prison. Floodlights were trained on people approaching the estate at night, and delivery wagons were searched thoroughly, lest they conceal crouching servants of the law. When Abby gave birth to John D. Rockefeller III in March 1906, the newspapers gloated that because of Hadley’s marauding agents Rockefeller could not visit his first male grandson bearing the Rockefeller name. The New York *World* taunted him with the headline, “Grandson Born to John D. Rockefeller And He, Mewed Up in His Lakewood Fort, Could Only Rejoice by Phone.”<sup>19</sup> This artful dodger urged relatives to keep his location secret. He advised brother-in-law William Rudd: “Confidentially I prefer not to have it known where I am. It often saves me much annoyance. My correspondence has been cut down fifty or seventy-five per cent since the autumn. I say this because some curious people might be asking you if you heard from me or if you were writing me, etc. I do not wish to have it known now or at any time.”<sup>20</sup> During the first round of testimony in New York, Hadley failed to get Rockefeller on the stand, but the humiliating pursuit had made an impression on him. After Hadley returned to Missouri, Rockefeller inquired of Archbold, “Would it be well for us to see how we could settle the Missouri cases without further litigation or trouble? I am not prepared to say, but suggest that we give it careful thought.”<sup>21</sup>

No sooner had he finished evading Hadley’s men than Rockefeller’s testimony was sought in a Philadelphia suit against the Pennsylvania Railroad. Instructed by his lawyers not to venture within one hundred miles of the city, he had George Rogers draw a hundred-mile radius around Philadelphia on a map, and he did not penetrate that ring. Slowly, his life was being tied into knots by court cases. In March 1906, when Junior wanted him to attend his class reunion at Brown or at least to write a congratulatory note, Rockefeller declined, explaining that “if the location from which I wrote was not given it would cause comment. If the letter was dated from 26 Broadway, that would cause comment, especially in connection with the statement that I had not been in my office for many years. . . . Possibly if no reference was made to me on this occasion, it might be better.”<sup>22</sup>

As lawsuits kept appearing, Rockefeller reacted with the indignation of a man who felt wronged, and he cynically dismissed the politicians behind them as sensation-mongers. Nevertheless, he was being held hostage to Standard Oil’s legal travails and expressed frustration with his nominal title of honorary president, which made him a lightning rod for attacks against the trust. When he sounded out Gates and Junior about resigning, he recalled that when Standard Oil of New Jersey was formed, he had allowed his name to be used “at the solicitation of my associates, though I earnestly requested them to name my successor.”<sup>23</sup> Both Gates and Junior pressed him to drop the unwanted title, which they thought a handicap to the conduct of his philanthropies.

In August 1906, amid great secrecy, Rockefeller quietly dictated a letter to George Rogers, resigning as president of Standard Oil and asking for speedy board approval—a request he renewed several times over the next few years. As he told Archbold, “I am placed in a false position and subjected to ridicule for not knowing about the affairs as one should know to be in the official relation; and I shall not be surprised to hear of stringent legislation to punish people for occupying positions in this way.”<sup>24</sup> Every time that Rockefeller made this plea, Archbold resisted, afraid that his departure might appear to repudiate the organization at a vulnerable moment and undermine shareholder confidence. As far as Archbold was concerned, Rockefeller was now in too deep to back out. “We told him that he had to keep” the title of president, Henry Rogers had earlier told Ida Tarbell. “These cases against us were pending in the courts; and we told him that if any of us had to go to jail, he would have to go with us!”<sup>25</sup>

Rockefeller and his colleagues had been slow to grasp the power of the growing newspaper chains and mass-circulation magazines, which could now saturate the country with a story. Rockefeller’s image was suddenly everywhere. One cartoonist pictured him approaching a newsstand where his face was featured on the cover of every publication and dolefully asking the vendor: “Do you have any that aren’t about me?” In another cartoon, Rockefeller shoveled coins into one side of a scale, with a scrap of paper saying “A Few Kind Words” on the other side; the caption wondered: “What Would He Give for Them?” This most secretive of men saw his most obscure designs exposed everywhere. Wanting to forget the past, he now had to confront it at every turn.

In retrospect, it seems clear that Rockefeller’s press critics profited from a fleeting transitional moment when corporations had not adapted to the new media and lacked any public-relations apparatus. For nearly three years, Standard Oil was assailed by Ida Tarbell and made only halfhearted responses. When editorials appeared impugning the *McClure’s* series, for instance, Rockefeller had copies circulated widely. And for years, Standard Oil clandestinely paid \$15,000 per annum to an English economist named George Gunton who edited a magazine that with telltale regularity disputed Lloyd and Tarbell. (For fear of the political consequences, Rockefeller and his descendants always balked at outright ownership of major news properties.) The trust also financed a sympathetic history, *The Rise and Supremacy of the Standard Oil Company* by Gilbert H. Montague, which began as his thesis as a Harvard undergraduate. Yet these were random efforts, not a coordinated counterattack.

The real publicity watershed for Standard Oil came after the tainted-money controversy. Feeling impotent in the face of misinformation, Gates badgered Rockefeller with plans for a literary bureau, and Rockefeller encouraged him to speak to Archbold. According to Gates, Archbold was “overjoyed” by Rockefeller’s change of heart, and the upshot was that the trust hired its first publicist, Joseph I. C. Clarke, an editor of the *New York Herald*.<sup>26</sup> Although Ivy Lee was already handling publicity for the Pennsylvania Railroad, such a step was still a novelty in corporate America. Most businesses did not concede the legitimacy of journalists poking into their affairs and consequently had no full-time publicist on the payroll. A jovial, outgoing poet and playwright, Clarke would greet reporters with a quip and a cigar to warm up the trust’s image. Before long, he was lining up reporters for breezy, lighthearted interviews with Rockefeller, featuring a game of golf with the mogul, who obligingly delivered pithy observations on topical subjects. Articles began to appear with titles like “The Human Side of John D. Rockefeller,” as if its existence wasn’t taken for granted.

At first, Junior doubted the efficacy of even favorable stories. But as early as 1903, he and Parmalee Prentice beseeched Senior to publish an authorized biography to rebut Tarbell’s work before it formed the basis of future histories. Sure that history would vindicate him, Rockefeller at first temporized, then compromised to appease his son—setting a pattern for the next three decades. In 1904, he began dictating answers to biographical questions posed by Starr Murphy, yet his heart was not in it, and the project soon expired. Work on an official Standard Oil history fared only marginally better. In 1906, a special executive committee of Standard Oil of New Jersey hired the Reverend Leonard Woolsey Bacon to write a history, and Rockefeller vetted his chapter on the South Improvement Company. Then Bacon got sick and only a pamphlet appeared.

Rockefeller imagined that the press’s muckraking ardor would cool shortly. He took comfort from the fact that the new mass media exemplified the big-business capitalism they deplored and so could not very well tolerate radical critiques for long. How could big newspaper barons such as Joseph Pulitzer crusade against their own interests? As Rockefeller assured Gates, “The owner of the *World* is also a large owner of property, and I presume that, in common with other newspaper owners who are possessed of wealth, his eyes are beginning to be opened to the fact that he is like Samson, taking the initiative to pull the building down upon his head.”<sup>27</sup> By 1905, Rockefeller and his entourage were picking up hints that investigative zeal was ebbing among the editors at *McClure’s*, where, Starr Murphy reported, “the thing has now gone so far that they themselves are getting disgusted and heartily wish they were out of it.”<sup>28</sup> In March 1906, Teddy Roosevelt delivered his famous speech at Washington’s Gridiron Club in which he borrowed a term from *Pilgrim’s Progress* and denounced the new investigative reporters as muckrakers who kept their eyes fixed on lowly matters instead of occasionally lifting them up to heaven. The muckrakers were now on the wane, but the trustbusters were not.

Hounded by government and the press, Rockefeller found little solace in family affairs. In May 1906, he provided one cousin with a somber litany of problems that had beset the family since the Tarbell series. Edith had returned from her therapeutic travels in Europe, which were supposed to alleviate her depression, but she was sick and recuperating only slowly; Junior was making progress after his breakdown but was still weak; Alta had been in bed

for several weeks after surgery; and Cettie was laid low with pneumonia and gripe. “So I think we will agree,” Rockefeller summed up, “that no one family has a monopoly of the ills of life.”<sup>29</sup> At sixty-six, he was the healthiest specimen in the family.

Of all the family medical problems, the most worrisome was that of Bessie. She and her husband, Charles Strong, had moved to Cannes in May 1904 to confer with neurological experts, especially a Dr. Bourcart. Now, two years later, she was also suffering from heart trouble and was too debilitated to return home. While Rockefeller applauded her for seeking rest in a warm, sunny climate, he was distressed by her two-year absence abroad. Sensitive to her delicate psychological state, he sent her gently whimsical letters. “I weigh nearly two hundred pounds, without my five wigs,” he wrote in December 1905. “You should see them! They are real works of art, and most satisfactory. I sleep in one, and do not know how I got along all these years without the hair.”<sup>30</sup>

In spring 1906, frustrated by Bessie’s absence, Rockefeller and Cettie decided to spend seven weeks with the Strongs in France—an eternity abroad for these two provincials—at their summer residence in Compiègne, northeast of Paris. That May, Charles had reported that Bessie “you will be glad to hear, is in better condition at the present than at any time since we came abroad, though we shall hardly be able to cross the ocean this summer.”<sup>31</sup> Rockefeller might have seen a sudden chance to deliver a timely plea for Bessie’s return to America. In commenting on the trip, George Santayana said of the Rockefellers, “they are going to travel under an assumed name, to protect themselves from begging letters and indiscreet curiosity.”<sup>32</sup> But Rockefeller might also have wanted to travel incognito to foil efforts to serve him with subpoenas.

In June 1906, the Rockefeller party—including Cettie, Lute, Alta, and Dr. Biggar—sailed for France aboard the *Deutschland*, with the Rockefeller name discreetly omitted from the passenger list. When it was learned that Rockefeller was aboard, the press busied itself with speculation about his motives. Some reporters stressed his desire to avoid testimony and others his supposedly broken health. Perhaps the most outrageous theory came from a *New York American* reporter, William Hoster, who conjectured luridly that Rockefeller’s stomach was ruined, that he was going to consult a renowned European specialist, and that he might never return alive. Hoping to observe Rockefeller at close range, Hoster purchased a ticket for the crossing, intending to file a series entitled “How the Richest Man in the World Plays.”

During the voyage, as he stalked his quarry, Hoster was amazed at how different Rockefeller was from the stereotype that he himself had foisted on readers. For one thing, Rockefeller had an excellent appetite and wolfed down three meals a day. “It was a distinct shock to me,” he later wrote, “when Mr. Rockefeller strolled up the plank to find him, instead of the hopeless dyspeptic that he had been painted, a tall, broad-shouldered, robust man, with ruddy complexion, clear eyes, alert step and altogether vigorous manner.”<sup>33</sup> Far from being aloof, Rockefeller fairly cavorted around the ship: bursting into a dance when he bested Dr. Biggar at shuffleboard; donning a harlequin’s costume the night of the captain’s dinner; and delighting small children with his antics. “One sturdy little fellow one afternoon produced two pennies, which he insisted upon sharing with his playmate Rockefeller,” Hoster later wrote. “The man of millions gravely accepted the copper and carefully placed it in his pocket, then, with his face turned seaward impulsively took up the child and folded his arms about it.”<sup>34</sup> This warmhearted man was a revelation to Hoster.

One part of Hoster’s assignment was to land an exclusive interview with Rockefeller. When the boat docked at Cherbourg, he knew that the Rockefeller party would shortly roar off in a touring car and that he had to confront the mogul at once. While Rockefeller wandered in an arbor, Hoster accosted him and introduced himself. Though he pretended that he never read his critics, Rockefeller evidently knew Hoster’s byline and expressed bitterness at the absurd treatment of his health. Hoster meekly confessed his error. Then, with a reporter’s cheek, he asked, “Mr. Rockefeller, have you ever reflected that perhaps you yourself may be in a measure responsible for the way that you have been treated by the newspapers?” He recounted how, dozens of times, he had gone to Rockefeller’s homes to try to interview him but had never been admitted or even allowed a glimpse, which seemed to verify the reports of ill health. Turning to another canard that Hoster had swallowed, Rockefeller noted that he had not been involved in Standard Oil management for many years. “Is it possible that is not known?” he asked. “I have made no concealment of it. All my friends know it.”<sup>35</sup> Yet Hoster insisted that he and other reporters were genuinely ignorant of that, and he implored him to make it public.

For a time, Rockefeller gazed stonily at Hoster and dug his walking stick into the gravel path. Then his face relaxed and a faint smile crossed his lips. “So it is all my fault,” Rockefeller said, with a touch of sarcasm. Then, after a pause, he added more seriously, “I suppose there may be something in what you say, though I had never thought of it in that way before.”<sup>36</sup> Since Rockefeller had demonized reporters, much as they had demonized him, he was surprised to find that Hoster was sincere and invented stories for lack of accurate information.

Rockefeller’s attitude toward the press had already begun to evolve with Standard’s hiring of Joseph I. C. Clarke, which might have predisposed him to talk more freely with Hoster. When Hoster asked if he was worth a billion dollars, Rockefeller shot back, “Nothing like it—not by one-third of that amount. I want to make clear to you the injury that is done to me by these persistent stories that I am worth a billion dollars. They provoke in the minds of thousands thoughts which lead to great unhappiness.”<sup>37</sup> Gradually opening up as they walked along, Rockefeller told Hoster how grieved he was to be transformed into a monster. “Is it not patent that I have been made into a sort of frightful ogre, to slay which has become a favorite resource of men seeking public favor?”<sup>38</sup> As always, Rockefeller blamed business rivals and demagogic politicians for his troubles. Yet however self-serving his remarks, he was at least now talking to a reporter. Then, to Hoster’s extreme amazement, Rockefeller invited him to accompany the party to Compiègne. How could he possibly resist?

Charles and Bessie were renting the Château des Avenues at the edge of the forest of Compiègne for the summer. Once the summer home of Queen Isabella of Spain, it was now owned by the Duc de l’Aigle. Despite his wife’s illness, Charles was winding up a new book called *The Origin of Consciousness*. The Rockefellers were heartened to find the forty-year-old Bessie in improved health, though her mental faculties remained gravely impaired. When George Santayana visited during the Rockefellers’ stay, he wrote to a friend, apropos of Charles, “It is a terrible life he leads as his wife is like a child, hopelessly ill, yet apparently not going to die for the present.”<sup>39</sup> Unlike Hoster, Santayana was shocked at how poorly Rockefeller looked, old and wrinkled and wearing a “pepper and salt wig decidedly too small for him.”<sup>40</sup>

After a lifetime spent escaping reporters, Rockefeller now converted William Hoster into his bosom companion. They rambled through the forest,

golfed, and dined together in local hotels. After teaching Hoster how to ride a bike, he took him cycling down the main street of Compiègne, along with his adored nine-year-old granddaughter, Margaret. Hoster was struck by Rockefeller's strong populist streak, how he was intrigued by common people but indifferent to the highborn. In discussing Napoleon, Rockefeller said, "He was a human being and virile because he came direct from the ranks of the people. There was none of the stagnant blood of nobility or royalty in his veins."<sup>41</sup> Rockefeller was entranced by Joan of Arc. "Where did she get her wisdom, if it was not inspired of Heaven?" he asked. <sup>42</sup> Sight-seeing with Hoster, Rockefeller might have begun to taste, for the first time, the pleasures of confession. "They will know me better when I am dead, Mr. Hoster," Rockefeller said one day. "There has been nothing in my life that will not bear the utmost scrutiny."<sup>43</sup>

Rockefeller found it impossible during this European idyll to banish thoughts of his tribulations at home. Around the time of his departure from New York, Attorney General Moody had announced the preliminary antitrust investigation of Standard Oil. Then, in early July, Rockefeller received word that a probate court in Hancock County, Ohio, had brought an antitrust action against Standard Oil and issued a warrant for Rockefeller's arrest. The local sheriff had bragged to reporters that he would be on the dock to greet Rockefeller when he sailed back from Europe. George Rogers relayed a message from Archbold, who called the Ohio suit frivolous but advised Rockefeller to extend his European stay. Rogers also reported a new suit in the works in Arkansas. "There seems to be a perfect wave of attacks all along the line," he warned from New York. <sup>44</sup> By late July, the Standard lawyers, reversing their earlier position, pressed Rockefeller to return, assuring him that the Ohio case was targeted against Standard Oil companies in the state, not individuals. As it turned out, Rockefeller was not arrested at the dock, since his lawyers had arranged for him to testify voluntarily in the Ohio case.

Having booked return passage on the *Amerika* for July 20, 1906, John and Cettie yearned to take Bessie with them. Rockefeller and Charles clashed repeatedly over this question. Charles later told William James, "I had an uphill fight to prevent Mr. Rockefeller from taking his daughter back with him in defiance of expert opinion."<sup>45</sup> Rockefeller refused to believe that Bessie was too frail to make the crossing. In the end, somewhat reluctantly, even resentfully, he acquiesced in Charles's decision to keep her in France. Charles might have performed one signal service for him, however. One Sunday afternoon, he read aloud an essay that he had drafted on the duties of rich men, arguing that when people accumulated wealth on a colossal scale, they should then convert that wealth into public trusts, administered by trustees for the commonweal. This essay might have strengthened Rockefeller's wish to create a huge philanthropic foundation.

Back in New York in August, Rockefeller tried to launch a new era in his relations with the press. In fact, reporters were so startled by his sudden, voluble friendliness that one headline declared, "Oil King Acts Like Political Candidate."<sup>46</sup> When Hoster published a long, flattering interview with Rockefeller, the latter applauded the "fair and square treatment" he had received.<sup>47</sup> Deciding to combat ghoulish stories about his patient's health, Dr. Biggar gathered reporters and said, "Mr. Rockefeller is in stronger physical health than he has been in the last fifteen years. He is as active and as light-hearted as a schoolboy. The trip has benefited him wonderfully."<sup>48</sup>

Though sorry to return without Bessie, the Rockefellers had been encouraged by her progress, and Rockefeller, in thanksgiving, distributed shares of stock to family members. These hopes were cruelly dashed when word came from France on November 13 that Bessie had suffered a paralytic stroke. Rockefeller wired Charles, "Love Sympathy Hope. Leave nothing undone." He took comfort in the thought that Bessie had a good doctor, an attentive husband, and a loving daughter. But the next day came the dreadful wire from Charles: "Bessie Passed Away at Two O'Clock This Morning Without Suffering."<sup>49</sup> Deeply shaken, Rockefeller replied: "We all send love. All is well with dear Bessie. Command us for any service. Father."<sup>50</sup> By a ghastly coincidence, this news arrived just as the government began to prosecute Standard Oil under the Sherman Antitrust Act.

When Bessie Strong died, so little was known about this reclusive heiress that the newspapers strained to pad out their obituaries, admitting that she was known only to a small circle of family intimates. In late November, Charles and Margaret brought the body back for burial in the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Tarrytown. Having lost Bessie, the Rockefellers wanted Charles to settle in America, but he was now a permanent expatriate. As he told William James, "I have never been especially proud of being an American."<sup>51</sup> Fluent in German, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and French, he wanted to return to Europe, seeing it as the fountainhead of culture. For Rockefeller, American to the marrow, convinced that European society was decadent, such an attitude was incomprehensible. Around this time, when reporters asked whether he might ever retire to Europe, he replied, "The United States can't develop enough drawbacks to make me lose the feeling that there is no place like home."<sup>52</sup>

To Rockefeller's immense chagrin, Charles took Margaret to England, where she went to school in Sussex and then to Newnham College, Cambridge. During the next thirty years, Charles took an apartment in Paris and a villa in Fiesole near Bernard Berenson's I Tatti, living the life of a solitary, melancholy widower. Rockefeller kept renewing his earnest plea that Margaret be educated in New York City, and it became a sore point with him that Charles refused to oblige him. A year after Bessie's death, Rockefeller discontinued all further gifts to his son-in-law, though not to Margaret. He feared that Margaret would become isolated from the rest of the family and was haunted by fears that she would be seduced by a continental fortune hunter. As he bemoaned to Edith, "[Margaret] is a dear girl. How much we wish she were at school in this country, where we could see her oftener; and when she gets all through with the English school, where are the American acquaintances to come from? I am talking this to her and Charles plainly, but without any encouraging response."<sup>53</sup>

Rockefeller worried that Charles was exposing his granddaughter to too many radical, secular ideas. That Charles deplored capitalism, advocated trade unions, and favored taxes to rectify inequalities of income—these things Rockefeller could tolerate. But he could not condone that Charles led his daughter away from the church and deprived her of religious instruction. In 1908, Charles told Junior that he had dismissed Margaret's beloved Irish governess, a Miss Lawrenson, for introducing religion into their household. "I find that, quite without her fault, Margaret was imbibing Catholic ideas, and there was nothing for it but to make a change, greatly as I regretted letting Miss L. go."<sup>54</sup> Every time that Charles and Margaret visited New York, the Rockefellers tried to lure them back to church—a strategy that probably backfired and fortified their resolve to stay away. During one such visit in 1909, Junior wrote to his mother, "Charles and Margaret took supper with us again last Sunday night and went with us to church as far as the corner of Fifth Avenue and Forty-Sixth Street. Whether we ever get any nearer or not time only will tell."<sup>55</sup> More than a decade after Bessie's death, Rockefeller was still jockeying to get Margaret back, asking his son-in-law Harold McCormick if he and Edith could use their "united influence to get Charles and Margaret to come over here when it is possible to do so. We want to have Margaret live with us."<sup>56</sup>

Before considering the particulars of the antitrust case against Standard Oil, it is worth pursuing for a moment Rockefeller's metamorphosis into a master of public relations. Back at Forest Hill that autumn, Rockefeller did something unexpected: He received—in a suitably jolly mood—a delegation from the American Press Humorists, who were so charmed by his wit that they elected him an honorary member and then cheerfully boasted that they now had the highest per-capita income of any such society in the world. For a long time, Starr Murphy and other aides had argued that if only reporters would meet Rockefeller and see him as a father, friend, and neighbor, he would not be so grotesquely misrepresented in the press. Joe Clarke invited more reporters to golf with the titan, and these festive outings, full of gags and banter, invariably produced favorable articles. "I have as my constant companions at golf, magazine writers and newspaper men," Rockefeller wrote to Harold McCormick in September 1906. "They say they did not know me before, and seem entirely friendly and well disposed."<sup>57</sup>

As he abandoned his fearful attitude toward the press, he loosened up, as if liberated by the change. It formed part of a general development away from the more severe manner of his business years. *Leslie's Weekly* reported the following year, "At the age of sixty-seven he is growing out of his chrysalis. For the first years of his life he is beginning to enjoy himself. Two years ago he dodged newspaper men. Now he courts them."<sup>58</sup> Virtually every reporter who profiled Rockefeller was surprised to discover a courteous, lighthearted old gentleman. "Never have I known anyone who could approach Mr. Rockefeller in thoughtful little attentions," one impressed reporter wrote. "This is the testimony of all his guests. His worst enemy would succumb to this treatment."<sup>59</sup> In response to this friendlier press treatment, Edith started giving her father giant scrapbooks, stuffed with the hundreds of articles about him that appeared around the world each year.

Though he had spurned many chances to respond to Ida Tarbell and declined offers to write his life, Rockefeller now decided to publish his memoirs in Tarbell-like monthly installments in *The World's Work*. The magazine was an especially safe, attractive forum since its editor, Walter H. Page, was a member of the General Education Board. In February 1908, Rockefeller began to play golf daily in Augusta, Georgia, with the publisher, Frank N. Doubleday. Their talks resulted in a string of seven articles published under the title "Random Reminiscences of Men and Events" starting in October 1908. These quaint, superficial pieces were ghostwritten by Doubleday, assisted by Starr Murphy. After Doubleday, Page published them in book form in 1909, the volume was released simultaneously in England, Germany, France, and Italy. Rockefeller thought this due penance from publishers who were trying to undo past harm "when they supposed they were serving the cause of righteousness," as he told Edith.<sup>60</sup>

For legal reasons, editing the series required great tact. Rockefeller knew that the attorney general would be scanning the series for his antitrust suit and Standard's lawyers rigorously combed every word. At first, Rockefeller wanted to trim the Widow Backus section, citing the petty sums at stake, but Gates rejoined that it was precisely the minute sums that had given the story its hold over the popular imagination. "I doubt if any single libel against you or the company has done more harm," Gates said bluntly. "If a man or a company could do such things to a poor and defenceless widow and for a small sum of money, how relentless must be its spirit and its methods!"<sup>61</sup> Bowing to Gates's reasoning, the titan devoted more pages to Backus than to any of his mighty industrial ventures.

For the most part, Rockefeller eschewed controversy in his book. Doubleday wanted to replace the image of the forbidding Rockefeller with that of the easygoing man he had come to know. In the series, Rockefeller struck an avuncular note, presenting himself as an avid gardener and sportsman, telling the reader at the outset, "On a rainy morning like this, when golf is out of the question, I am tempted to become a garrulous old man."<sup>62</sup> He was just plain John, the next-door neighbor. Of his current life, he said, "I live like a farmer away from active happenings in business, playing golf, planting trees; and yet I am so busy that no day is long enough."<sup>63</sup> As always, he tried to seem a model of Christian forbearance, turning the other cheek to unfair attacks against him. "I have had at least my full share of adverse criticism, but I can truly say that it has not embittered me, nor left me with any harsh feeling against a living soul."<sup>64</sup>

In *Random Reminiscences*, Rockefeller described a fair world where strong, hardworking people were rewarded, and lazy folks punished; no admixture of tragedy clouded his vision. Despite the swelling tide of antitrust suits, Rockefeller reiterated his faith that cooperation, not competition, advanced the general welfare. "Probably the greatest single obstacle to the progress and happiness of the American people," he intoned, "lies in the willingness of so many men to invest their time and money in multiplying competitive industries instead of opening up new fields, and putting their money into lines of industry and development that are needed."<sup>65</sup>

Though Rockefeller's memoirs received mixed reviews, they helped to humanize his image. Everyone, of course, was eager for Ida Tarbell's reaction, and she duly delivered a booming cannonade of criticism to a Chicago newspaper: Listen: There is the Mr. Rockefeller of his autobiography, for whom I have a real, a great admiration. He is admirable—there is no other word—in his quietly wise discussions of the proper setting out of Japanese quinces and blue firs, of the arrangements of geraniums and roses. . . . And then there is the other Mr. Rockefeller. . . . Utterly and almost as impersonally ruthless as a whirlwind or a torrent, he has swept through the country a conquering Hun, regardless of all save winning for himself. No, he's not a Hun: the destructive force of him is too intelligent. He is more like Bernard Shaw's Napoleon—great, because for himself he suspended the ordinary laws of conventionality and morality while keeping them in operation for other people. He is a mastodon of mental machinery. And would you ask a steam plow for pity? Would you look for scruples in an electric dynamo?<sup>66</sup>

Clearly, the lady had not mellowed.

Besides acting as midwife for *Random Reminiscences*, Doubleday made another valuable contribution to Rockefeller's rehabilitation. As head of the Periodical Publishers' Association, he dreamed up the idea of having Rockefeller address a luncheon of New York publishers; in a splendid coup de théâtre, the mogul would be introduced by Mark Twain, the chief satirist of the Gilded Age. As it turned out, Twain was ripe for this venture. In the summer of 1907, his dear friend Henry H. Rogers had suffered a stroke, and Twain had stayed with him in Bermuda from February 24 to April 11, 1908, easing his convalescence. Twain's favorite daughter, Susy, had died of spinal meningitis a decade earlier at age twenty-four. When Frank Doubleday told Twain that Simon Flexner's antimeningitis serum, developed at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, had cut the death rate from the disease from 75 to 25 percent of those afflicted, Twain was all the more eager to help.



Always on good terms with Rockefeller, Twain thought he deserved a fair hearing from the press and was sure he would make a good impression on the publishers. Beyond his affection for Rogers, Twain recoiled at the sanctimonious tone the press often adopted in attacking the trusts. He knew all about Rockefeller's business reputation, but some perverse, irreverent streak attracted him to anyone who was so deliciously notorious. For Twain, a man so universally hated by the American public had to have many redeeming features.

When Doubleday asked Rockefeller to meet with the magazine publishers, Rockefeller, now an old hand at press relations, replied, "Certainly. Why not? I am willing to meet and talk with any body of men, friends or enemies."<sup>67</sup> On May 20, 1908, Doubleday sat at the head of the luncheon table at the Aldine Club, surrounded by forty or fifty magazine publishers, when the rear door flew open and Mark Twain, Henry Rogers, and the two Rockefellers, junior and senior, marched single file into the room. As Twain noted of those present, "there was probably not one whose magazine had not had the habit for the past few years of abusing the Rockefellers, Henry Rogers, and the other chiefs of the Standard Oil."<sup>68</sup> Since Rockefeller had avoided contact with the literati, three-fourths of the publishers, by Twain's estimate, had never before set eyes on him.

First Rogers and then Twain gave brief introductions before Rockefeller got up to speak. His talk, illustrated with moving anecdotes, described the work of the RIMR. Rockefeller was still a tall, imposing man, yet there was now a touch of melancholy in his eyes, and it was a sadder, more reflective face that stared out at the magazine publishers. The next morning, Twain, who had no equal himself on the lecture platform, jotted down this tribute:

*Mr. Rockefeller got up and talked sweetly, sanely, simply, humanly, and with astonishing effectiveness, being interrupted by bursts of applause at the end of almost every sentence; and when he sat down all those men were his friends and he had achieved one of the completest victories I have ever had any knowledge of. Then the meeting broke up, and by a common impulse the crowd moved forward and each individual of it gave the victor a hearty handshake, and along with it some hearty compliments upon his performance as an orator.*<sup>69</sup>

It was an unlikely triumph for a reclusive man who had refrained from public speaking and had fled from the press for so long. Unfortunately, he had turned this skill to advantage much too late, since the political assault against Standard Oil now headed inexorably toward its finale.



*A grim John D. Rockefeller votes in November 1908, not long after the shocking disclosure of the Archbold bribery scandal. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Judgment Day

On November 18, 1906, the federal government filed suit in Missouri to dissolve Standard Oil under the Sherman Antitrust Act, naming as defendants Standard Oil of New Jersey, sixty-five companies under its control, and a pantheon of chieftains, including John and William Rockefeller, Henry Flagler, Oliver Payne, John Archbold, and Henry Rogers. They were charged with monopolizing the oil industry and conspiring to restrain trade through a familiar litany of tactics: railroad rebates, the abuse of their pipeline monopoly, predatory pricing, industrial espionage, and the secret ownership of ostensible competitors. The proposed remedy was sweeping: to break up the massive combine into its component companies. As a government report documented in 1907, the Standard Oil leviathan still refined 87 percent of all kerosene, handled 87 percent of exported kerosene, marketed 89 percent of domestic kerosene, and was more than twenty times the size of its most serious competitor, Pure Oil. After the suit was filed, Standard officials tried to sound sanguine and could not subdue their now delusional sense of invincibility. In a letter marked “Strictly confidential,” Rockefeller told Archbold of reports that the Justice Department had scant confidence in its own case and that it was just a flimsy vendetta worked up by Roosevelt. “This program is the usual topic of his present day talk with friends and he shows a disposition that is vindictive. If his suit fails, he means to urge legislation, if he can have it framed, aimed at the same target.”<sup>1</sup>

There seems little doubt that Standard Oil seriously misplayed its cards with Roosevelt. In January 1907, the president tangled with one of his nemeses, Ohio senator Joseph B. Foraker, before a crowded dinner at the Gridiron Club in Washington. A stout ally of Standard Oil, Senator Foraker stiffly resisted measures to regulate business. With patent indignation, Roosevelt excoriated Foraker and the “malefactors of great wealth” behind him. As he pronounced the classic phrase, some reporters thought his gaze traveled to J. P. Morgan, whereas Morgan’s friends insisted that the president eyed Henry H. Rogers, then sitting next to Morgan. The latter were probably right, for Morgan and his client firms had handled relations better with the White House. If Roosevelt treated the Morgan interests (U.S. Steel, International Harvester, et al.) more leniently than he did Standard Oil, it was partly because they had submitted to guidance from the Bureau of Corporations and worked out informal arrangements to correct violations. In briefing his father on the antitrust case, Junior relayed rumors that U.S. Steel had pushed Frank Kellogg to target Standard Oil so as to deflect heat from itself. He also mentioned that several Standard Oil executives, including Charles M. Pratt and Edward T. Bedford, thought that U.S. Steel had wisely placated the government while Archbold had been foolishly antagonistic. Senior preferred to view Standard Oil as vengefully singled out for abuse and claimed that “other large corporations went scot free who were regarded by these ablest attorneys in the land as far more vulnerable than was the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>2</sup>

By the summer of 1907, the political fight against Standard Oil had spread across a vast, bloody battlefield, with seven federal and six state suits (Texas, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi) in progress against the embattled trust. New legal skirmishes seemed to crop up weekly. That year, an Ohio grand jury brought in 939 indictments against Rockefeller and other Standard Oil officers; a bill was introduced in Tennessee to oust the trust on antitrust grounds; Missouri fined and expelled the Waters-Pierce Company; and so on and so forth.

Approaching his sixty-eighth birthday, Rockefeller had never imagined that his twilight years would be so eventful. His fortune had failed to purchase him even a poor man’s mite of tranquillity. As nominal president of Standard Oil, he was in a bind, responsible for actions he had not approved. In a July 1907 letter that betrayed considerable anguish, Rockefeller again pleaded with Archbold to accept his resignation and release him from his torment. During the next two weeks, he repeatedly proffered his resignation, telling Archbold this would free him from several subpoenas. Though he owned 27.4 percent of Standard Oil stock—three times the amount held by Flagler, the next largest shareholder—Archbold turned him down flat, and Rockefeller bowed to his protégé’s wishes. But the decision did not sit well with him.

One thing evident amid the spate of lawsuits was that railroad rebates had not faded as an issue, even though pipelines had governed the oil business for more than a generation. When rebates were again forbidden by the Elkins Act of 1903 and the Hepburn Act of 1906, the public naively assumed they had ended. Then the Interstate Commerce Commission reported in January 1907 that Standard Oil was *still* secretly accepting rebates, spying on competitors, setting up bogus subsidiaries, and engaging in predatory pricing—the same deadly sins patented by Rockefeller back in the 1870s. Roosevelt and his cabinet thirsted for a test case that would prove Standard Oil’s collusion with the railroads and dramatize the twin evils of abusive trusts and scheming railroads.

The issue was duly highlighted in a 1907 case in Chicago in which Standard Oil of Indiana was accused of taking illegal rebates from the Chicago and Alton Railroad. The shipments in question had passed between Whiting, Indiana, and East Saint Louis, Illinois, *after* such rebates were outlawed by the Elkins Act. (Rockefeller, we recall, always insisted that Standard Oil took no rebates after they were banned in 1887.) The presiding figure in the Chicago courtroom was a gaunt, outspoken judge with premature white hair named Kenesaw Mountain Landis who, at forty-one, was newly appointed to the federal bench and later served as the first baseball commissioner.

Eager to levy an eye-popping fine against the trust, Landis asked its attorneys for figures on its capitalization and earnings between 1903 and 1905. The Standard lawyers, Landis knew, were in a tight spot: If they furnished the true figures, they might invite a punitive fine; if they withheld them, they would look guilty. On June 26, 1907, the federal district attorney tried to pry loose from Standard counsel John S. Miller a list of employees privy to those numbers. “I’ll see you in hell first” was Miller’s cordial reply. This riposte backfired: Landis assigned U.S. marshals to subpoena several Standard Oil officials, including Rockefeller. Flouting the judge’s request, Rockefeller again fled and stayed with Alta and Parmalee in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He instructed the bedridden Cettie, by now a battle-hardened veteran, to keep quiet about his whereabouts and send him mail only under the Prentice name. For several days, as the press guessed at Rockefeller’s whereabouts, Landis’s process server tried to track the titan through the New England countryside.

When Teddy Roosevelt and his attorney general heard that Landis wanted to haul Rockefeller into court, they were greatly dismayed, for if Rockefeller testified in the Chicago case, he might win an “immunity bath” from possible criminal prosecution in the more important federal antitrust

suit. They sent an emissary to Chicago to plead with Landis. "I'd like to oblige Mr. Roosevelt," he said. "I'd do anything in reason to oblige him. But Rockefeller is making a monkey out of my process server, and I'm going to bring him before this court to vindicate its dignity."<sup>3</sup> Rockefeller must have discovered the legal advantages of testimony, because he suddenly contacted Judge Landis from Pittsfield and voluntarily accepted a subpoena from a deputy marshal.

On July 5, 1907, arriving by private railroad car, John and William Rockefeller and Henry Flagler conferred with lawyers at the spacious new offices of Standard Oil of Indiana in Chicago. Instead of cooperating with Landis, Rockefeller counseled defiance and opposed revealing the balance sheets. "But, Mr. Rockefeller, times have changed," Flagler said. "The old maxim, silence is golden, doesn't work so well." "Well," Rockefeller drawled, "it did when I was at the helm."<sup>4</sup> Though he had agreed to travel to Chicago, Rockefeller hesitated to appear in court, and when he canvassed the lawyers present, they seemed to side with him. Then he sounded out the youngest lawyer, Robert W. Stewart, who said, "Mr. Rockefeller, in view of the opinion rendered by the distinguished legal talent present, I hesitate to express an opinion." "Young man," Rockefeller said, "I'm paying you to give me your opinion." Summoning up his courage, Stewart said, "Mr. Rockefeller, you are no different from any other citizen before the law, and if I were you, I would appear."<sup>5</sup> For all his tough talk, Rockefeller was smart enough to abide by the young man's advice.

On the sultry morning of July 6, 1907, John and William Rockefeller arrived at the federal building and found streets teeming with hundreds of spectators. When Rockefeller was spotted in a straw hat, grasping a slender cane, somebody shouted, "Here he comes!" The crowd surged forward in such close ranks that it took a squad of twenty club-wielding detectives to clear a path. Rockefeller grinned when a street urchin called out, "There's a man who got his picture in the paper."<sup>6</sup> Some zealous onlookers tore buttons from Rockefeller's coat. By the time the Rockefeller brothers reached the sixth-floor courtroom, a red-faced William, sweating profusely, muttered, "An outrage! I never heard of such treatment."<sup>7</sup> By contrast, John D. exhibited his usual cool demeanor before an unruly mob. When he entered the sweltering courtroom, with electric fans slicing overhead, he even imitated a reporter trying to take notes in the crush of people. Once the doors were closed, the hum of spectators outside was still so loud that policemen had to clear the corridor.

After the marshal brought down his gavel, Rockefeller began fifteen minutes of unforgettable testimony. A virtuoso of evasive testimony, he was the tranquil eye of the storm. As one reporter noted, "Mr. Rockefeller was the coolest looking man in the room. Every motion he made was slow and dignified. His step was slow. His replies to the questions of the court were even slower."<sup>8</sup> Judge Landis, itching to interrogate Rockefeller, had not reckoned on his incomparable mastery of prevarication and selective memory loss. Once again, in the halls of justice, Rockefeller turned himself into a confused old dotard. The most modest question seemed to pose insurmountable challenges to his mind.

To start things off, Judge Landis asked, "Mr. Rockefeller, what is the business of the so-called Standard Oil Company of New Jersey?" "I believe, your Honor . . ." Rockefeller began, then appeared to lose his way. He paused, fiddled with his cane, crossed his legs, then made a second stab at an answer. "I believe, your Honor . . ." Here again, his mind wandered as Judge Landis tapped his spectacles on his desk in frustration. Finally, Rockefeller concentrated his faculties and replied, "I believe, your Honor, they operate an oil refinery in New Jersey."<sup>9</sup> To all questions, Rockefeller responded in this same slow, disconnected style, making his testimony worthless. In exchange, Landis had to give Rockefeller the one thing he dearly wanted: immunity from criminal prosecution. This testimony was not only a fiasco for the judge but a public-relations victory for Rockefeller. How, people wondered, could this sweet, bumbling old man have been the evil wizard of the trust? His testimony even received plaudits from the press. As he told Archbold afterward, "My experience at Chicago and with the newspaper people generally of late has been very satisfactory."<sup>10</sup>

A month later, Judge Landis took his revenge. On the morning of August 3, 1907, as more than a thousand people sought entrance to his courtroom, Landis read aloud his decision in the Standard Oil case. (Possibly in anticipation, Rockefeller had just announced a \$32 million gift to the General Education Board.) Once again, with difficulty, the marshals shut the great doors to keep out waves of spectators. Pale and edgy, Judge Landis called Standard Oil no better than a common thief and castigated its lawyers for their "studied insolence."<sup>11</sup> As spectators guffawed at these insults, the bailiffs repeatedly had to rap for order. Then, Landis delivered his bombshell: a fine against Standard Oil of Indiana that dwarfed any other in American corporate history up until that time: \$29.24 million (\$457 million in 1996 dollars). This was the maximum penalty: \$20,000 for each of 1,462 carloads of oil cited in the indictment. Reporters struggled to convey the magnitude of this fine. That money could build five battleships; fill 177 flatcars with silver dollars; employ 48,730 city-street workers each year. It amounted to slightly more than half the money coined annually by the federal government. Since it represented nearly 30 percent of Standard Oil's \$100 million capitalization, Rockefeller's theoretical share of the fine worked out to \$8,011,760. Asked about the penalty, Mark Twain said it reminded him of the bride's words the next morning: "I expected it but didn't suppose it would be so big."<sup>12</sup>

Rockefeller used the record fine to put on a characteristic show of aplomb. He was in the middle of a golf foursome in Cleveland when a messenger came sprinting across the fairway, clutching a yellow envelope. Taking it and handing the boy a dime, Rockefeller read the verdict without even a twitch. Finally, he put the message in his pocket and said to his golf partners, "Well, shall we go on gentlemen?"<sup>13</sup> Then he hit an excellent drive of about 160 yards down the fairway. At first, nobody dared to ask the question on their minds, but then one person screwed up his courage: "How much is it?" "Twenty-nine million, two hundred and forty thousand, the maximum penalty, I believe," Rockefeller answered coolly. Then he gestured toward the tee and said, "It is your honor. Will you gentlemen drive?"<sup>14</sup> By all reports, Rockefeller was in superb form that day and completed nine holes in fifty-three shots, his best score ever. The next day, in relating the incident, one Cleveland paper said: "Not by Change of Countenance or Movement Did the Standard's Founder Betray the Fact That He Might Have Been Annoyed or Angered by the Sentence Handed Down in Chicago."<sup>15</sup>

Of course, Rockefeller's poker face concealed deep rage. The Landis fine supported the thesis that the Standard Oil empire was based on unethical, even illegal, rebates, not on the business acumen of its founders. Before the day was over, Rockefeller issued a statement upbraiding the court: "A great injustice has been done the company. It was from ignorance on how the great business was founded. For all these years no one has known and no one seems to have cared how it came into existence."<sup>16</sup> Descrying Teddy Roosevelt's influence, Gates told Rockefeller that he had lost his admiration for the man and hoped that "this amazing and reckless robbery and plunder under the forms of law, may awake the business interests of the country and thoughtful men, to the perils into which we have drifted."<sup>17</sup>

At one point during that famous golf game of August 3, 1907, Rockefeller had remarked, “Judge Landis will be dead a long time before this fine is paid,” and his prediction proved accurate.<sup>18</sup> He seldom spoke so harshly in public. Many observers saw the Landis fine as more of a political statement and a publicity stunt than sound jurisprudence. In July 1908, a federal appeals court not only revoked the fine but severely reprimanded Landis for considering each carload of oil as a separate offense. Judge Peter S. Grosscup, calling Landis’s act an “abuse of judicial discretion,” ordered a retrial, in which Standard Oil was subsequently found not guilty.<sup>19</sup> Teddy Roosevelt was hopping mad at the appeals court. While he had thought the Landis fine excessive, he had thought the trial itself fair. The day after the fine was thrown out, Roosevelt announced that the government would again prosecute Standard Oil for accepting rebates, since “there is absolutely no question as to the guilt of the defendant nor of the exceptionally grave character of the offense.” Dismayed, he said with a touch of bombast that the decision had “hurt the cause of civilization.”<sup>20</sup>

By the early fall of 1907, many Wall Street soothsayers were predicting a savage downturn in financial markets in response to the Landis fine and the antitrust suits. “It must be that these persecutions against business interests will not always continue,” Senior warned his son in late August. “If so, we must be prepared for very disastrous results to our commercial fabric. I think we better increase our reserves of money with our income.”<sup>21</sup> In the week after the Landis fine, Standard Oil shares skidded from 500 to 421, leading a stock-market slump.

For reform-minded critics, the ensuing panic originated with the misbehavior of the business fraternity itself. For several years, the stock market had coasted on a tide of easy money, low interest rates, and manic speculation in copper, mining, and railroad shares. In this euphoric mood, stock promoters had flogged unsound companies, and investors had gorged themselves on watered stock. Among the most flagrant speculators were trust companies that exploited legal loopholes to speculate heavily in the stock market while also lending excessively against securities as collateral. Roosevelt inveighed against “an era of over-confidence and speculation” that would lead to a severe purgative reaction.<sup>22</sup>

As money tightened that September, Rockefeller deposited in several New York banks bonds that could be pledged as security for government loans—a rescue operation for which he reaped a handsome 2 percent commission. As panic overtook Wall Street in late October 1907, throngs of petrified depositors lined up in front of banks to empty their accounts, and J. P. Morgan rushed back to New York from an Episcopal convention in Richmond. On October 22, after his aides examined the books of the Knickerbocker Trust, Morgan decided that it was hopelessly insolvent and had to be shut. That night, in an extraordinary pledge of faith in a private citizen, Treasury Secretary George Cortelyou met with Morgan in a Manhattan hotel and placed at his disposal twenty-five million dollars in government funds to stem the panic. While Morgan was the impresario of the salvage operation, Rockefeller provided more private money than anybody else.

When Gates got wind of the Knickerbocker’s collapse, he telephoned Rockefeller at Pocantico in the early morning and said a public statement from him might restore confidence. Rockefeller stood there in his bathrobe, mulling over the matter, then decided to call Melville E. Stone, general manager of the Associated Press. He told Stone, for quotation, that the country’s credit was sound and that, if necessary, he would give half of all he possessed to maintain America’s credit. It was an unprecedented statement: A single citizen had promised to bail out Wall Street. The next morning, as these sedative words were reprinted across America, reporters spilled onto the golf course at Pocantico. When asked if he would *really* give half his securities to stop the panic, Rockefeller replied, “Yes, and I have cords of them, gentlemen, cords of them.”<sup>23</sup> It was a rare case of Rockefeller boasting about his wealth, but it was clearly meant to lift public morale. Because Rockefeller deposited ten million dollars there, National City Bank had the deepest gold reserves and cash resources of any bank during the panic. “They always come to Uncle John when there is trouble,” Rockefeller noted with pride.<sup>24</sup> When J. P. Morgan decided to save the shaky Trust Company of America on October 23, he received three million dollars in rescue funds from George F. Baker of First National Bank and James Stillman of National City Bank, the latter drawing on Rockefeller money.

For the first time in several years, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., strode through the portals of 26 Broadway on October 24 and took up his command post. “I was surprised to find so many men who had come to the front since my last visit years ago. Afterward I had an opportunity to talk with old associates and many new ones, and it was a source of great gratification to me to find that the same spirit of cooperation and harmony existed unchecked.”<sup>25</sup> Rockefeller offered his services to J. P. Morgan, and his millions formed part of the twenty-fivemillion-dollar fund that Morgan marshaled that day to keep the stock market open, averting the bankruptcy of at least fifty brokerage houses. Whatever his personal distaste for Morgan, Rockefeller generously praised his leadership during the 1907 panic. “His commanding personality served a most valuable end,” he wrote in his memoirs. “He acted quickly and resolutely when quickness and decision were the things most needed to regain confidence.”<sup>26</sup>

Several family members sought Rockefeller’s help to withstand the storm. He bought \$4.5 million of International Harvester stock from the cash-strapped McCormicks and extended a huge \$7 million loan to his brother William, who was hip-deep in stock-market maneuvers. Even with a brother, Rockefeller could not suspend standard business practices—Frank had already learned that—and he asked William to furnish a list of securities as collateral. But when Rockefeller’s adviser Henry E. Cooper demanded more, it prompted an ironic reminder from Rockefeller: “Well, Mr. Cooper, don’t be too rigorous. Remember, William is a very rich man.”<sup>27</sup>

With full-blown panic raging around him, Rockefeller refused to depart from his daily schedule for long and, after his one day at the office, he returned to Pocantico to play golf. During his morning game, he was interrupted repeatedly by urgent messages, and each time he pedaled his bike back to the carriage house and made another enormous pledge to stave off trouble. He then resumed his game with his usual sangfroid and air of unconcern.

During the 1907 panic, Rockefeller, for the first time, appeared civic-minded to the general public and garnered lavish praise. As he told a relative, the newspapers had “spoken very kindly and favorably, and all have shown great appreciation of what we have tried to do to save the ship.”<sup>28</sup> For a time, it seemed this goodwill might moderate the antitrust zeal against Standard Oil, but this hope soon evaporated when Rockefeller told a reporter, “The runaway policy of the past administration can have but one result. It means disaster to the country, financial depression, and chaos.”<sup>29</sup> According to Rockefeller, he made this statement off-the-record and professed pity for the errant reporter who published it in violation of his solemn oath. The comment aggravated the hostility that President Roosevelt already felt toward Rockefeller, especially since Rockefeller kept pleading ill health as his reason for not coming to the White House to discuss Standard Oil. Privately, Roosevelt said that Rockefeller felt wounded because the government had published the plain truth about Standard Oil.

After the Landis fine was announced, Standard Oil tried to alter its strategy and negotiate a government compromise. That September, it held out a tempting deal to investigators: It would open its books and abide by any recommendations to guarantee compliance with the antitrust laws if the government withdrew its suit. Government officials were caught off guard by this peace offering. “A really astonishing proposal,” James R. Garfield wrote in his diary.<sup>30</sup> But Roosevelt was no longer in the mood for a truce. “If we have a criminal case against these men,” he told Attorney General Charles Bonaparte, “I should be very reluctant to surrender it.”<sup>31</sup>

Archbold should have persisted in his conciliatory approach, but he was too accustomed to heavy-handed politics. He was openly contemptuous of all political attacks against the combine. During the spring and summer of 1908, he held several confidential meetings with President Roosevelt arranged by Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon. The president expressed an earnest wish to see the Standard Oil case settled out of court. While Archbold believed in his sincerity, he also knew that Roosevelt had vacillated on this issue. Archbold then resorted to a typically tactless maneuver. In late October 1907, he had Senator Bourne suggest to the president that if the government struck a deal, Standard Oil would help Roosevelt win renomination in 1908. A horrified Garfield called this brazen offer “stupidly corrupt.”<sup>32</sup>

Because of Rockefeller’s helpful intervention in the Panic, Roosevelt observed a brief moratorium in attacking Standard Oil then made up for lost time in January 1908. In a special message to Congress, he complained that “the speculative folly and flagrant dishonesty of a few great men of wealth” had engendered the loss of fiscal confidence, and he condemned the “bitter and unscrupulous craft” of the Standard Oil leadership in fighting reform measures.<sup>33</sup> The antitrust suit would proceed as planned.

Since Rockefeller had created the largest business empire of the late nineteenth century, it was only fitting that he should face the most massive antitrust suit of his day. Some 444 witnesses delivered 11 million words of testimony; swollen by 1,374 exhibits, the proceedings filled 12,000 pages in 21 thick volumes. Before it was over, Standard Oil also contested some 21 state antitrust suits from Texas to Connecticut, leading one historian to comment, “Never before in the history of the United States had there been so far-reaching a struggle between industry and government.”<sup>34</sup> To supplement its legal staff, Standard Oil retained John G. Milburn and M. F. Elliott of Wall Street, D. T. Watson of Pittsburgh, Moritz Rosenthal of Chicago, and John G. Johnson of Philadelphia. For its part, the Justice Department brought in Charles B. Morrison, a federal district attorney from northern Illinois, and Frank B. Kellogg, a Saint Paul attorney whose success in the case catapulted him to the post of secretary of state in the late 1920s.

Throughout the case, the public fancied Rockefeller to be the all-powerful wire-puller who manipulated Archbold and the other pliant marionettes. If this was sheer fantasy, what then was his actual influence? He did exert limited influence on Standard Oil strategy through the medium of Henry Clay Folger, a Standard Oil director. A thin, bearded man, Folger was diplomatic and extremely diligent in his duties. Unlike the rugged Standard Oil businessmen of an earlier day, Folger had graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Amherst and then attended Columbia Law School. A cultured man, he left to posterity America’s foremost collection of Shakespeare First Folios as well as a splendid library. Far more important to Rockefeller was that Folger played excellent golf and joined him on the links every Wednesday morning.

In memos to Folger about the suit, Rockefeller never touched on political or legal tactics but mostly addressed arcane calculations of profitability. Rockefeller wanted to prove that Standard Oil’s profits had never been excessive or extortionate. Many other companies watered their stock—that is, issued them at inflated capitalization—so that their dividends appeared deceptively modest. To save on taxes and conform to Ohio law, Standard Oil had kept its capitalization low, which produced misleadingly high dividends of 40 or 50 percent per year. Rockefeller pegged the real dividend rate at something closer to 6 or 8 percent.

Folger performed statistical analyses showing that with its capitalization more accurately stated to reflect retained earnings, Standard Oil had paid average dividends twice as high as Rockefeller had surmised. “I am surprised to find the average dividends for twenty-five years 13.86%,” the company founder confessed sheepishly to Folger. Rockefeller now had to rationalize the higher figure and suddenly found it within an acceptable range, noting the larger profits of “many other large businesses with less risk, including the *United States Steel Company*.”<sup>35</sup> “Business men will not regard the earnings . . . which you present as excessive,” he told Folger.<sup>36</sup> Afraid that militant trustbusters might see things differently, he promised to destroy this incriminating data. He also reminded Folger that Standard Oil had not kept prices low out of altruism but to deter competition and “keep our profits on such a basis that others would not be stimulated to enter the field of competition with us.”<sup>37</sup> This belied his frequent claim that his motive was to bequeath cheap oil to the working people.

During his Standard Oil tenure, Rockefeller had mollified the public by generally keeping kerosene prices low. But when Archbold took control in the mid-1890s, he kept domestic prices high while depressing foreign prices to diminish overseas competition. During the dozen years before Rockefeller’s retirement, the trust’s return on assets ranged from 11 to 17 percent. With Archbold at the helm, returns soared from 21 to 27 percent between 1900 and 1906. This might have been smart business but it was very poor politics: The trust was booking record profits just when it could least afford to enrage public opinion. It is no coincidence that Ida Tarbell’s series and Teddy Roosevelt’s trust-busting coincided with Archbold’s more grasping regime. He was a much less clever monopolist than his mentor.

When Frank Kellogg grilled Rockefeller in November 1908 at the customs house in New York, much of the testimony concerned Standard Oil’s pricing policy. Standing by maps showing the operational areas of Standard marketing units, Kellogg tried to entrap Rockefeller into admitting that the cartel had divided America into exclusive sales territories. “Does the Standard Oil of Ohio have a limited territory?” he asked. “It has not,” said Rockefeller calmly. “Has it not in the last five years?” asked Kellogg. “Not to my knowledge,” Rockefeller replied. “Its field is the world. That is its mission, to light the world with the cheapest and best.”<sup>38</sup> Smiling and imperturbable, Rockefeller kept glancing for guidance to his lawyers, who continually raised objections to Kellogg’s questions.

Kellogg tried to show that Standard Oil routinely engaged in predatory pricing, eliminating competitors and then hoisting prices to exorbitant levels. He estimated that true competition prevailed in fewer than 10 percent of all petroleum markets and noted that kerosene prices had risen unreasonably from 1895 (when Archbold took charge) to 1906, creating widespread consumer discontent. To justify Standard’s plush earnings, Rockefeller cited

everything from fire hazards to the vagaries of drilling to the need to invest in new fields. To which Kellogg responded with sarcasm: “But Standard Oil has been paying enormous dividends right along.” Lifting his eyes heavenward, Rockefeller replied, “And we were grateful for it.”<sup>39</sup>

Once again, the press found it hard to believe that this amiable old gent with his sudden memory lapses and fuzzy logic was the fearsome raptor of Standard Oil. “Now that Mr. Rockefeller has emerged from his seclusion and is seen in the fierce light of a public inquiry, he appears no such monster as the public fancy has painted,” observed one paper. “He is affable to the point of cordiality.”<sup>40</sup> Said another: “If Rockefeller has been playing a part, he has done so in a way that would do credit to Uriah Heep. If not, it is barely possible that the curious old man has been misrepresented . . . and that the world owes him an apology.”<sup>41</sup> Perhaps if Rockefeller had made himself available at the beginning of his career as he now did at the end, he might not have been sitting in the witness stand.

In anointing Archbold as his successor, Rockefeller had made him the chief potentate in the world oil industry for the next twenty years. Round-faced, bright-eyed, and peppery, with a tiny body and big head, Archbold, the son of a poor Baptist minister, often bounded down the corridor whistling “Onward Christian Soldiers.” But a violent temper lurked beneath the vivacity. Nevertheless, he and Rockefeller always traded compliments about each other. “You know, when John Rockefeller dies,” Archbold said, “the world is going to be surprised to learn what a very great man he has been in every way.”<sup>42</sup> Rockefeller responded in kind: “[Archbold] was a man of imagination, of courage, of great persuasiveness, with a genius for reading men and dealing with them.”<sup>43</sup>

Yet as chief executive of Standard Oil, Archbold stooped to a far rougher style of combat than Rockefeller had, and he freely bribed elected officials. Rockefeller, of course, was no stranger to such skulduggery, but he engaged in payoffs more reluctantly, if only because he so disliked politicians. Archbold had fewer scruples, and as government regulation intruded deeper into business, he decided that the trust needed permanent representation in the U.S. House and Senate.

The first documented instance of Archbold suborning an official occurred in 1898, during Frank Monnett’s suit against Standard of Ohio, when Archbold placed Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio on the payroll. He started with a payment of \$15,000, then made another of \$14,500 three weeks later, winding up with a total of \$44,000 in a six-month period. A corporate lawyer from Cincinnati and former Ohio governor, Foraker was a formidable speaker who earned the nickname of “Fire Alarm Joe” for his rousing oratory. Archbold got excellent value for his money. In February 1900, he wrote to the senator, apropos of a proposed bill hostile to Standard Oil: “It is so outrageous as to be ridiculous, but it needs to be looked after and I hope there will be no difficulty in killing it.”<sup>44</sup> When Foraker helped to dispatch the bill, Archbold sent congratulations: “I enclose you a certificate of deposit to your favor for \$15,000. . . . I need scarcely express our great gratification over the favorable outcome of affairs.”<sup>45</sup> The certificate of deposit was more difficult to trace than a check and was the instrument of choice for political bribery.

Another favorite recipient of Standard Oil largesse was Senator Matthew Quay of Pennsylvania, who received \$42,500 between 1898 and 1902. In one lighthearted note, Archbold told Quay that he was enclosing a \$10,000 certificate of deposit as a reward for the senator’s “enticing ways.”<sup>46</sup> Evidently, Archbold felt more at ease with small, scattered payments, for he advised Quay on another occasion, “Please ask for payments as needed from time to time, not all at once.”<sup>47</sup> Another true friend of the trust from western Pennsylvania was Representative Joseph C. Sibley, later called “a political procurer for Archbold, an agent for the seduction and corruption of public men by the Standard Oil.”<sup>48</sup> In official Washington, Sibley acted as a conduit for Standard Oil money, once writing to Archbold, “A Republican United States Senator came to me today to make a loan of \$1,000. I told him I did not have it but would try and get it for him in a day or two. Do you want to make the investment?”<sup>49</sup>

The trust’s Washington operations might never have surfaced had it not been for a kind act by Archbold. At his Tarrytown mansion, he employed a valued black butler, James Wilkins, who had a twenty-four-year-old ne’er-do-well son named Willie. Out of sympathy for Wilkins, Archbold hired Willie as an office boy at Standard Oil at a time when few if any blacks were employed there. Willie liked to play the ponies and was chronically short of cash. Hoping to take advantage of the political backlash against Standard Oil, he teamed up with Charles Stump, a nineteen-year-old white office boy, to scout out incriminating evidence on Archbold’s desk. In December 1904, the two young men pinched a couple of telegrams and contacted Fred Eldridge, an editor at William Randolph Hearst’s *New York American*, who studied the loot and said it was worthless. But he expressed a special interest in letters from Archbold to senators or congressmen and gave the two enterprising young men two hundred names that might interest readers. Armed with Eldridge’s wish list, Stump and Wilkins began to scour Archbold’s correspondence after hours, and when they spotted letters to Sibley and Foraker, they took them to Eldridge and haggled over prices. On several occasions, when they reached an impasse, the editor would say he had to “see Mr. Hearst.”<sup>50</sup> This espionage lasted from December 1904 until February 1905, when Archbold discovered the missing political documents, accused Stump and Wilkins of theft, then fired them. With the \$20,500 that they had received from Hearst, the two young entrepreneurs were able to open their own saloon in Harlem.

For months, Archbold dreaded publication of the purloined letters and must have been puzzled when they did not appear. Hearst had stored the incriminating documents in his safe and awaited a propitious moment to unveil them. By attacking the trusts, Hearst had created a hybrid role for himself as the people’s tribune, who would advance his own imperial ambitions by exposing those of his fellow empire builders. By the 1930s, Hearst became fiercely reactionary, yet in the early 1900s he was still a populist champion. Showing exceptional self-control, Hearst did not publish the letters when he ran against Charles Evans Hughes, a friend of Rockefeller’s, for the New York governorship in 1906. “Charles, I do hope you beat that man Hearst!” Rockefeller told Hughes that year.<sup>51</sup>

But in the election of 1908, Hearst backed the Independence League Party, which nominated Massachusetts’s Thomas L. Hisgen, a manufacturer of axle grease, as its presidential candidate. Hisgen had once spurned a bid from Standard Oil to buy him out for \$600,000, and when the trust retaliated by slashing prices and trying to ruin him, Hisgen became an implacable foe. Hearst picked him as the party’s candidate with the Archbold letters in mind. On September 17, 1908, Hearst gave a pro-Hisgen speech in Columbus, Ohio, in which he claimed that just before the talk a stranger had appeared in his hotel room and handed him copies of correspondence between Archbold and several politicians. “I am now going to read copies of letters written by Mr. John Archbold, chief agent of the Standard Oil, an intimate personal acquaintance of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Rogers,” Hearst announced with great

fanfare.<sup>52</sup> He then created a national sensation by reading aloud letters written by Archbold to Senator Foraker and Congressman Sibley. Later, in a Saint Louis speech, he recited two more specimens, with the correspondence prominently reproduced in Hearst papers.

Realizing that he could not deny the authenticity of the letters, Archbold tried to finesse the charges by claiming that the correspondence was “entirely proper.”<sup>53</sup> At first, Foraker pretended that the payments were strictly lawful and aboveboard. “That I was employed as counsel for the Standard Oil Company at the time and presumably compensated for my services was common knowledge,” he insisted. “At least I never made any effort to conceal it.”<sup>54</sup> When the public refused to buy this, Foraker and Sibley were hounded from public life. Archbold survived as head of Standard Oil, however, and the following year, perhaps to mend his increasingly tattered image, he gave one million dollars to Syracuse University.

The Archbold scandal convinced Junior that the doubts he had entertained about Standard Oil had not been the product of an overactive imagination. Many years later, he admitted to having been “sickened” by the Hearst exposé. “It was the political contributions that focussed the whole thing” as to whether or not he should resign from Standard Oil.<sup>55</sup> For more than a decade, ever since leaving Brown, Junior had been poised uneasily between business and philanthropy. He had never warmed to commerce, and the Archbold scandal pushed him toward his proper career: that of a full-time philanthropist.

The decision to leave Standard Oil was so sensitive that Junior discussed it only with his wife and father. He had to figure out how to extricate himself without hurting his father or the organization. To live with his own conscience, he told his father, he had to resign from the trust and devote his life to philanthropy. He also advocated Archbold’s ouster, but Senior thought it impossible to fire Archbold in the midst of the antitrust suit. As for his son’s departure, he reacted with surprising equanimity: “I want you to do what you think is right.”<sup>56</sup> That his father honored his wish to leave Standard Oil only deepened the bond between them.

Whether as a concession to his father or to Archbold, Junior waited more than a year to depart from the company. At the January 11, 1910, board meeting, he quietly retired as a director of Standard Oil: thus, the active, daily involvement of the Rockefeller dynasty with the trust had lasted only slightly more than one generation. Two months later, when a bill was introduced in Washington to incorporate the Rockefeller Foundation, Junior’s resignation was first revealed to the public, helping to separate the family’s charitable efforts from Standard Oil. To purify himself of all business ties, Junior also retired at the same time from U.S. Steel. He had ended his relations with every company except for American Linseed and the one company, ironically, that would defile his name: the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

It seems odd that Junior’s disenchantment with Archbold did not diminish his reverence for his father. We know that Archbold had studied corruption at the master’s feet, but Senior made no effort to disabuse his son. Clearly, he did not want to forfeit the love of this young man whose goodness validated his own life. Perhaps he did not think Junior could live with the moral ambiguities of a fortune extracted by dubious methods. Perhaps he felt he was sparing his son disturbing knowledge. Or perhaps he had so thoroughly rationalized his own behavior that he saw himself in the same glowing, virtuous light as his son did. This last theory would seem to be the one most consistent with the rest of his career.

In the last analysis, it took a stupendous leap of faith for Junior to believe that his father was blameless and that Archbold had inaugurated corruption at Standard Oil. It is almost inconceivable that he did not suspect at moments that Archbold had learned some of his tricks from Senior. And how did Junior know that his father was innocent? By instinct, by blind faith, by knowledge of his father’s private character—by everything but detailed knowledge of his business career, which Senior did not care to discuss. If Junior harbored any unspoken doubts about his father’s ethics—doubts only whispered to Abby in the dead of night—the Archbold scandal gave him a convenient cover to slip away from Standard Oil without blaming his father’s past.

The scandal coincided with a formative phase in Junior’s life, as he caught the bracing spirit of Progressive reform. Soon after graduating from college, Junior had joined the movement to clean up tenements, making contact with reformers such as Jacob Riis and Lillian Wald and proposing to Gates an attack on tuberculosis in the slums. The Progressive movement favored peaceful, incremental change and was infused with unimpeachable ideals: that people should be healthier and better educated and that government should operate in a businesslike manner. The Progressives conjured up an antiseptic world of public administration in which decisions would be made rationally by scholars, scientists, and experts. For someone like Junior, who shrank from venomous words and violent confrontation, such clean government promised to transcend the bruising partisan politics that had sullied his father’s reputation. Best of all, Progressives were well-bred, educated, upstanding types whom you could invite home to dinner without embarrassment.

In the early 1900s, the movement latched on to an ideal issue: the New York brothels then flourishing under Tammany Hall protection. During the 1909 mayoral campaign, a debate arose over something called white slavery—the traffic in young women forcibly drafted into a life of sin. After the election, a special grand jury was impaneled to weigh the matter, and in January 1910 Judge Thomas C. O’Sullivan picked Junior as its foreman. Protesting that he had never patronized the ladies and was achingly ignorant of the subject, Junior tried to beg off, only to have the judge snap: “You owe it as a duty to the city to do your part in crushing out the vile practices that are said to exist.”<sup>57</sup>

The choice of Junior was a setup. Tammany bosses figured that he would be weak and spineless, too prudish to explore the demimonde, and that his grand jury would sit for a month and issue harmless recommendations. Instead, Junior plunged into his work with fanatic energy. “I never worked harder in my life,” he said. “I was on the job morning, noon, and night.”<sup>58</sup> The cause enlisted his deepest sympathies, for he yearned to overcome a crippling sense of amateurism and become an expert in *something*. The white-slavery jury gave him a chance to graduate from being his father’s factotum and to acquire a separate identity. Emerging from Senior’s shadow, Junior re-created himself as a reformer, placing himself alongside the Ida Tarbells and Henry Demarest Lloyds of the world.

Junior explored the murky realm of Manhattan bordellos at arm’s length, as if afraid to expose himself to their forbidden allure. He later made an astonishing confession: “When I was investigating vice in New York I never talked to a single prostitute.”<sup>59</sup> But behind the protective shield of scientific inquiry, he questioned countless experts and became extremely knowledgeable. Because he refused to settle for superficial answers, his grand jury

extended its work from one to six months. When he handed up a presentment with fifty-four indictments, Judge O’Sullivan, aghast, quarreled hotly with him. “When O’Sullivan found out what I intended to do he was thoroughly frightened because it meant that the plans of Tammany Hall had miscarried,” Junior recalled.<sup>60</sup> The grand jury’s work was, sadly, nullified when Mayor William Gaynor—himself now at war with Tammany Hall—failed to act on the findings, and most of the indictments ended in acquittal. Despite this denouement, Junior emerged as something brand-new in Rockefeller annals: a civic hero. Not some rich patsy to be pushed around by party bosses, he now stood forth as a formidable personage in his own right.

The white-slavery jury had a lasting impact on him. When the city did not follow up on the jury recommendations, Junior consulted one hundred experts on how to solve the problem. (Among those who most impressed him was the young Raymond B. Fosdick, who had rooted out municipal corruption under two mayors; Fosdick later became president of the Rockefeller Foundation and Junior’s official biographer.) In May 1913, Junior set up and personally financed the Bureau of Social Hygiene, which for twenty-five years studied urban ills ranging from venereal disease to lack of birth control to drug addiction. Cettie proudly sent him \$25,000 to promote instruction in sexual hygiene for female students around the country. Junior also worked with Jacob Schiff and Paul Warburg to protect young Jewish women on the Lower East Side from procurers. The young Rockefeller heir, so long kept in limbo, was now showing a new willingness to tackle controversial social issues and place his money behind it. The more evil that people attributed to his father, the harder he worked to achieve an impossible purity.

As he awaited the verdict in the antitrust case against Standard Oil, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., gave way to uncharacteristic melancholy. While working on *Random Reminiscences*, he toted up the names of more than sixty former colleagues who had died. Henry Rogers died in May 1909, following a stroke, leaving an estate appraised at \$41 million, and his memorial service was probably the last occasion that lured Rockefeller back to 26 Broadway. The titan was now one of the last veterans of the early days on Oil Creek and had to contemplate the fact that the government was about to undo his decades of work.

In trying to predict the verdict, Rockefeller, usually a tough-minded realist, fell back on the most feathery hopes. After the 1908 election, he was relieved to be free of Teddy Roosevelt, who handed over the Republican nomination to his corpulent secretary of war, William Howard Taft. On October 29, 1908, in a cameo appearance at 26 Broadway, Rockefeller endorsed Taft for president. “He is not a man, I judge, to venture with rash experiments or to impede the return of prosperity by advocating measures subversive of industrial progress.” Annoyed by this implicit dig at him, Teddy Roosevelt mocked Rockefeller’s endorsement: “It is a perfectly palpable and obvious trick on the part of the Standard Oil people to damage Taft.”<sup>61</sup>

After Taft’s election victory over William Jennings Bryan—who had said that Rockefeller should be sent to prison—Rockefeller understandably wired his congratulations to the president-elect. When the press hinted that Taft might be hostile toward Standard Oil, Rockefeller demurred, telling Henry Folger that “I cannot believe this is anything more than an idle rumor.”<sup>62</sup> Actually, Taft liked Rockefeller personally but loathed the trust. He later wrote, “It was indeed an octopus that held the trade in its tentacles, and the few actual independent concerns that kept alive were allowed to exist by sufferance to maintain the appearance of competition.”<sup>63</sup> While many industrialists hoped that antitrust prosecutions would slacken under Taft, he in fact initiated sixty-five antitrust actions, even more than the forty-four brought by Roosevelt. Throughout the antitrust case, Rockefeller woefully underestimated public animosity against Standard Oil, and as late as August 1909 he told Harold McCormick that he had stopped granting interviews for a while because “the sentiment has greatly changed in our favor.”<sup>64</sup>

Three months later, a federal circuit court in Saint Louis ruled unanimously that Standard Oil of New Jersey and thirty-seven affiliates had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act; the holding company was given thirty days to divest itself of its subsidiaries. Taft praised Frank Kellogg for his “complete victory,” while Teddy Roosevelt, on safari in Africa, where he was butchering a small zoo’s worth of animals, conveyed his elation, terming the verdict “one of the most signal triumphs for decency which has been won in our country.”<sup>65</sup>

Although the trust appealed instantly to the Supreme Court, a deep sense of gloom settled over 26 Broadway as the final verdict approached. Meanwhile, one government decision after another went against the stigmatized monopoly. In 1909, Congress largely repealed the duty that had protected the trust from foreign competition; the secretary of war halted purchase of petroleum products from it; and the president set aside petroleum-rich territory for conservation purposes. When Rockefeller crossed paths with Taft in 1910 during his stay at the Hotel Bon Air in Augusta, Georgia, they agreed to golf together, but Mrs. Taft, fearing bad publicity, got the president to cancel his game. On another occasion—doubtless when the first lady was not looking—Rockefeller asked the president to greet his five-year-old granddaughter, Mathilde McCormick. To Rockefeller’s delight, the huge Taft hoisted the lovely little girl with the long curls high into the air.

By the spring of 1911, the wait for the Supreme Court’s decision began to seem interminable, and even the president grumbled about the court’s glacial pace. Because the court’s composition changed after the death of one justice, the arguments had to be heard twice. On April 25, 1911, Junior passed along to his father Senator Aldrich’s wily prediction: “He was disposed to believe that the decision will be adverse to the company, but thinks the Court will clearly define the law and hopes that it will point out a legal way for the conduct of large corporations.”<sup>66</sup> The senator must have had excellent sources.

When the end came for Standard Oil after forty-one years of existence, it was swift, sudden, and irrevocable. At 4 P.M. on May 15, 1911, Chief Justice Edward White told a sleepy courtroom, “I have also to announce the opinion of the Court in No. 398, the United States against the Standard Oil Company.”<sup>67</sup> At once, the room quivered with expectation as senators and congressmen streamed in to hear the verdict. For the next forty-nine minutes, White read aloud the twenty-thousand-word opinion, speaking in such a low, monotonous voice that other justices had to lean over and ask him to speak louder. In his mumbled, momentous words, White upheld the decision to dismantle Standard Oil, which was given six months to spin off its subsidiaries, with its officers forbidden from reestablishing the monopoly. Thus ended the longest running morality play in American business history.

Rockefeller reacted with studied nonchalance. He was golfing at Pocantico with Father J. P. Lennon from the Tarrytown Catholic church when he learned of the decision, and he did not seem particularly perturbed. “Father Lennon,” he asked, “have you some money?” The priest said no, then asked why. “Buy Standard Oil,” Rockefeller said—which turned out to be sound advice.<sup>68</sup> To his former partners, he sent a sad, whimsical obituary that



began, “Dearly beloved, we must obey the Supreme Court. Our splendid, happy family must scatter.”<sup>69</sup> Intent as always on ignoring bad news, Rockefeller refused to read the celebrated opinion that broke up his empire—exactly what one would have expected.

The antitrust suit against Standard tested whether the American legal system could cope with the new agglomerations of wealth and curb their excesses. The paradoxical lesson learned was that government intervention was sometimes necessary to ensure unfettered competition. Regulation did not inevitably harm business but could also aid it. The 1911 decision was not an undiluted triumph for reformers by any means, and many of them considered it a shameful betrayal. Senator Robert La Follette, who stood in the courtroom as Judge White read the verdict, told reporters afterward, “I fear that the court has done what the trusts wanted it to do, and what Congress has steadily refused to do.”<sup>70</sup> Echoing this, William Jennings Bryan asserted that Chief Justice White had “waited 15 years to throw his protecting arms around the trusts and tell them how to escape.”<sup>71</sup>

For fifteen years, White had vainly advanced a doctrine called the “rule of reason,” which would not outlaw every combination in restraint of trade but only those that were unreasonable and violated the public interest. This doctrine vastly expanded judicial discretion and opened a loophole large enough to tolerate many trusts. In the lone dissent, Associate Justice John Harlan angrily protested this new principle, banging the bench and accusing his fellow justices of having put “words into the antitrust act which Congress did not put there.”<sup>72</sup> He added mockingly, “You may now restrain commerce, provided you are reasonable about it; only take care that the restraint is not undue.”<sup>73</sup> The decision tallied in many ways with Teddy Roosevelt’s belief that the government should rein in irresponsible trusts but not meddle with good ones. The more militant reformers were right to consider it, at best, a partial victory.

As so often happens with politics and markets, by the time of the Supreme Court’s 1911 decision, evolutionary changes in the marketplace had already eroded the trust’s dominance. With the final amalgamation of Royal Dutch and Shell in 1907, Standard Oil at last faced a worthy competitor abroad, while the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was tapping rich new fields in the Middle East. At home, more oil poured forth from Texas, Oklahoma, California, Kansas, and Illinois, providing an opening wedge for assertive newcomers. Where the trust had pumped 32 percent of American crude oil in 1899, its share had slumped to 14 percent by 1911. Even Standard’s historic strength in refining dipped from an 86 percent market share to 70 percent in the five years before the breakup.

The automobile was also radically recasting the industry: In 1910, for the first time, gasoline sales surpassed those of kerosene and other illuminating oils. In 1908, William C. Durant launched the General Motors Corporation, and that year Henry Ford brought out his first Model T. Auto ownership soon exploded, reaching 2.5 million cars by 1915 and then 9.2 million by 1920. Though Standard Oil of California introduced the first filling station in 1907, the trust was not a pioneer in this area, and the national network of gas stations would be too extensive to be monopolized by any one company.

Those who had seen the Standard Oil dissolution as condign punishment for Rockefeller were in for a sad surprise: It proved to be the luckiest stroke of his career. Precisely because he lost the antitrust suit, Rockefeller was converted from a mere millionaire, with an estimated net worth of \$300 million in 1911, into something just short of history’s first billionaire. In December 1911, he was finally able to jettison the presidency of Standard Oil, but he continued to hold on to his immense shareholdings. As the owner of about one quarter of the shares of the old trust, Rockefeller now got a one-quarter share of the new Standard Oil of New Jersey, plus one quarter of the thirty-three independent subsidiary companies created by the decision. And that did not include the oil shares he had given to the GEB, the University of Chicago, and other recipients of his largesse.

At first, investors did not know how to value the shares of these Standard Oil components, since Rockefeller had resisted a New York Stock Exchange listing and the old trust never issued reports to shareholders. As one Wall Street publication warned on the eve of trading, the value of the new companies was “the merest guesswork.”<sup>74</sup> What quickly grew apparent, however, was that Rockefeller had been extremely conservative in capitalizing Standard Oil and that the split-off companies were chock-full of hidden assets. Two other factors encouraged a veritable feeding frenzy in the stocks. For years, the shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey had been depressed by the antitrust litigation, but with the litigation ended, they bounced back to a more normal level. And the explosion of the automobile industry created euphoria about the endless growth prospects of the petroleum industry, which had been shadowed for fifty years by warnings of doom.

When trading started on December 1, 1911, the public exhibited an insatiable appetite for the new companies, especially after they declared dividends averaging 53 percent of the old capital value of Standard Oil stock. As if rejoicing in the chance to tweak trustbusters, investors bid up the shares to insane levels. Between January and October 1912, Standard Oil of New Jersey zoomed from 360 to 595; Standard of New York went from 260 to 580; and Standard of Indiana from 3,500 to 9,500. Thanks to this staggering appreciation, Rockefeller’s net worth reached a lifetime peak of \$900 million in 1913—more than \$13 billion in 1996 dollars. (To put that \$900 million in perspective, the total accumulated national debt of the United States stood at \$1.2 billion that year, equivalent to 3 percent of the gross national product; federal spending was a mere \$715 million.) As Junior later explained, his father never had a billion dollars at any one moment, although much more than that passed through his hands. During the ten years after Standard Oil’s 1911 dismantling, the assets of its constituent companies quintupled in value. Beyond his talents as a businessman, Rockefeller benefited from a large dollop of luck in his life, making more money in retirement than on the job.

The soaring fortunes of the Standard companies made it seem as if the cagey Rockefeller had outwitted the country again. Newspapers began running daily box scores of his wealth—not exactly the chastening sequel Washington had envisioned. As former J. P. Morgan partner George Perkins told a friend, Wall Street was “laughing in its sleeve at what has been going on.”<sup>75</sup> Nobody felt more frustrated than Teddy Roosevelt, who returned to the presidential fray with his third-party Bull Moose candidacy in 1912. Lashing out at Standard Oil again, he roared, “The price of stock has gone up over one hundred percent, so that Mr. Rockefeller and his associates have actually seen their fortunes doubled. No wonder that Wall Street’s prayer now is: ‘Oh Merciful Providence, give us another dissolution.’ ”<sup>76</sup>

In the eternal race for the title of the world’s richest man, Rockefeller now left Andrew Carnegie far behind and probably had at least twice as much money as Carnegie did. (Exact comparisons are difficult since both men had given away so much.) Nonetheless, Rockefeller and Carnegie still enjoyed cordial if rather distant relations. In 1912, en route to Washington to give testimony, Carnegie dropped by Kykuit and found Rockefeller “tall and spare and smiling, beaming.” Carnegie still savored his belief that he had outfoxed Rockefeller on their old Mesabi ore deal, for he afterward wrote a friend,

“Positively it is a delight to meet the old gentleman. But I did not refer to the ore purchase I made from him.”<sup>77</sup>

It was hard to convince a skeptical public that the thirty-four new companies, with their seventy thousand employees, would not reconstitute a new conspiracy. J. P. Morgan, upon hearing of the 1911 decision, asked, “How the hell is any court going to compel a man to compete with himself?”<sup>78</sup> Many of the newly independent companies were powerful enough to inspire fear as freestanding entities. Standard Oil of New Jersey remained the world’s largest oil company, second only to U.S. Steel in size among American enterprises and retaining 43 percent of the value of the old trust. Five of the newly divested companies stood among the country’s two hundred largest industrial firms. Since all the companies had identical owners, it was hard to foresee vigorous competition. As Roosevelt complained, “All the companies are still under the same control, or at least working in such close alliance that the effect is precisely the same.”<sup>79</sup>

Rockefeller made all the right noises about obeying the 1911 decision. As he told Archbold on September 8, 1911, “We will do the best we can to comply with every requirement of the government, and if as much is required of others it does seem as though it must bring about a reform.”<sup>80</sup> Yet he quietly worked to undermine the dissolution, suggesting that officials of the Standard Oil companies meet at 26 Broadway at ten-thirty each morning to maintain amicable relations and swap information. (For legal reasons, everyone was cautioned not to exchange thoughts on paper.) That both Standard Oil of New Jersey, headed by Archbold, and Standard Oil of New York, headed by Folger, kept their headquarters in the same old building said much about their relationship.

For the next decade, the divestiture often seemed a sham. The Standard companies continued to divide the country into eleven marketing territories, selling the same brand names and not competing on prices. It took a long time for former colleagues to view each other as competitors and raid each other’s territories. Many critics thought that, to avert this complicity, the government should have done one of three things: keep the trust intact and regulate it; force shareholders to take stock in only one of the thirty-four companies; or create fully integrated companies that did not need to rely on other Standard companies. Standard of New Jersey, for instance, inherited a vast refining system without the crude oil to service it, forcing it into close collaboration to remedy the imbalance.

While the old guard at 26 Broadway mourned the trust’s passage, some Young Turks at the operating companies were overjoyed. Many Standard Oil directors had been over sixty. This had given the organization a geriatric tone, stifling young, imaginative men at a time that demanded rapid adaptation to the auto age. One of these extraordinary mavericks, Dr. William M. Burton of Standard Oil of Indiana, thought that Roosevelt and Taft had performed an inestimable service. After the 1911 dismemberment, he said, “It was felt all along the line—younger men were given a chance.”<sup>81</sup> Free of top-heavy bureaucracy, Burton patented an exceptionally valuable process in 1913 for “cracking” crude oil—that is, for refining it so as to yield a far higher percentage of gasoline. This discovery permitted Standard of Indiana to reap windfall royalties from other oil companies. Maintaining full control of this technology until 1921, Standard of Indiana required its cousin companies to restrict sales of “cracked” gasoline to their pre-1911 marketing territories, helping to extend the trust structure for another decade.

It is an enduring tribute to Rockefeller that so many Standard Oil companies prospered during the remainder of the century, controlling a significant fraction of both the American and world oil industry. Rockefeller’s stepchildren would be everywhere: Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon), Standard Oil of New York (Mobil), Standard Oil of Indiana (Amoco), Standard Oil of California (Chevron), Atlantic Refining (ARCO and eventually Sun), Continental Oil (Conoco), today a unit of DuPont, and Chesebrough-Ponds, which had begun by processing petroleum jelly. Three offspring—Exxon, Mobil, and Chevron—would belong to the Seven Sisters group that would dominate the world oil industry in the twentieth century; a fourth sister, British Petroleum, later took over Standard Oil of Ohio, then known as Sohio. It was certainly not their intention, but the trustbusters helped to preserve Rockefeller’s legacy for posterity and unquestionably made him the world’s richest man.



***Henry H. Rogers and Mark Twain sailing together in Bermuda in 1908. (Courtesy of the Mark Twain Project, the Bancroft Library)***

## Benevolent Trust

As the national thirst for gasoline caused his stock in the Standard Oil companies to appreciate wildly, it was only proper that the oil king should develop a passion for automobiles. He kept a Peerless auto at Pocantico as early as 1904. In the 1910s, cars began to fill his stone coach barn alongside the old-fashioned buckboards and coaches. Even as a young man, Rockefeller had been exhilarated by speed and motion, racing his trotting horses down Euclid Avenue, and he now took daily auto drives of fifty miles or more. It was the powerful, gleaming Crane-Simplex touring car of 1918 that truly captured his fancy. Big as a cruise ship, smoothly navigating bumpy back roads, this elaborate maroon vehicle with semi-open sides had wide running boards and a glamorous interior of black leather upholstery.

Since the Crane-Simplex comfortably seated seven, Rockefeller turned the afternoon drives into carefully orchestrated social affairs, telling each person where to sit and specifying the exact itinerary to the chauffeur. Like a king enthroned in his movable court, Rockefeller always sat in the middle of the backseat. As with his golf games, the afternoon drives permitted no intimate or serious conversation, only obligatory jollity. As the huge car swept down country roads, trailing whorls of dust and ventilating the passengers with fresh air, Rockefeller hummed, sang spirituals, whistled, or joked. Social director of these excursions, he was relaxed and jovial, often sitting back and daydreaming—but without ever abandoning his competitive instincts. If a young hotshot sped by, Rockefeller would absorb the affront in silence, then bend forward and calmly instruct the chauffeur, “Phillips!” “Yes, sir.” “How fast are we going?” “Thirty-three, sir.” “Could we go a little faster?” Slowly but inexorably the speedometer would climb until the young motorist was overtaken—at which point Rockefeller would stare resolutely ahead, his face impassive, betraying no sign of his joyful triumph.<sup>1</sup> Rockefeller clocked these drives and liked to set new speed records. “Phillips,” he would say, “we got to town Monday in one hour and seventeen minutes. Let’s see what we can do today.”<sup>2</sup> Phillips would smile, touch his cap, and go for the record.

On many drives, the touring car stopped by a meadow so that Rockefeller and his guests could recline on the grass. Rockefeller chatted happily with farmers who happened by, quizzing them about their seed or fertilizer and passing along tips to the superintendents of his estates. It was one of many signs in Rockefeller’s later years that he yearned for the innocent pleasures of his bucolic boyhood. “I am very sorry to see this tendency of crowding into the cities, very sorry,” he once told a Bible class. “It is not like fifty years ago, when I was a boy. It seems to me that as the cities grow larger the country in general becomes weaker.”<sup>3</sup> Carrying a cane, chatting casually with neighbors, he loved to wander around the Pocantico village in his golf knickers. Each year for his birthday, he invited the local children to Kykuit and offered them huge mounds of ice cream while a brass band boomed and flags fluttered overhead. Shedding his straitlaced image, he even stooped on all fours and played with the town children. His comfort with children was one of the conspicuous features of his later years.

For all the holiday ease of his retired life, Rockefeller could never escape a sense of danger off in the shadows. In 1912, he received threats from the Black Hand, a Sicilian and Italian American secret society engaged in blackmail and terrorism. As a precaution, Junior, Abby, and the children were packed off to Lakewood for the autumn while security was tightened at Pocantico. Senior was sufficiently spooked that he installed a special alarm system at Kykuit, with a button under his pillow. If he heard prowlers or unexplained noises, he pressed the button, which made small, inconspicuous lights twinkle in the trees at three or four spots; the night watchman would then ring Rockefeller to verify his safety.

Rockefeller devoted a great deal of his spare time to religion. Before breakfast, he reverently recited a blessing then read aloud a page from *My Daily Meditation for the Circling Year* by the Reverend John Henry Jowett, who championed a severe, uncompromising Christianity and counseled readers against pride, lust, and avarice. Jowett preached stoic calm in the face of hatred and warned against bearing grudges against enemies—advice that Rockefeller must have taken to heart. At breakfast, guests were invited to read poems or selections from the New Testament. Rockefeller turned for bedtime solace to another volume of sermons called *The Optimist’s Good Night*, so that his days were bracketed with the consolations of religion.

While Rockefeller felt that his retirement years were steeped in righteousness, the American public never quite believed it. For all the good work performed by the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and the General Education Board, the founder was still accused of hoarding his wealth. The newspapers applied their own grinding pressure, showing that his gifts had neither matched Andrew Carnegie’s nor kept pace with his own growing fortune. One statistician projected in 1906 that if he let his wealth collect compound interest for the next thirty years, he would end up sitting on a pile of ninety billion dollars.

As early as 1901, Rockefeller had realized that he needed to create a foundation on a scale that dwarfed anything he had done so far, and he toyed with the idea of establishing a benevolent trust: “Let us erect a foundation, a trust, and engage directors who will make it a life work to manage, with our personal cooperation, this business of benevolence properly and effectively.”<sup>4</sup> Frederick Gates revived the idea in June 1906 when he wrote to Rockefeller, “I have lived with this great fortune of yours daily for fifteen years. To it, its increase and its uses, I have given every thought, until it has become a part of myself, almost as if it were my own.”<sup>5</sup> Mustering all his rhetorical resources, Gates thundered, “Your fortune is rolling up, rolling up like an avalanche! You must keep up with it! You must distribute it faster than it grows! If you do not, it will crush you and your children and your children’s children.”<sup>6</sup> If Rockefeller did not act soon, Gates predicted, his heirs would dissipate their inheritances or become intoxicated with power. The solution he advanced was to set up “permanent corporate philanthropies for the good of mankind” that would give money to education, science, the arts, agriculture, religion, and even civic virtue.<sup>7</sup> These trusts would constitute something novel in American society: private money administered by competent trustees for the public weal. “These funds should be so large that to become a trustee of one of them would make a man at once a public character,” Gates explained. “They should be so large that their administration would be a matter of public concern, public inquiry, and public criticism.”<sup>8</sup>

The concept of charitable trusts was not invented by Rockefeller; Benjamin Franklin, Stephen Girard, and Peter Cooper had set up such trusts. What he brought to the concept was unprecedented scale and scope. As he contemplated the formation of a giant foundation in 1906, Margaret Olivia Sage,

widow of financier Russell Sage, was about to establish a foundation to investigate the plight of working women and the social ills bred by modern life. Junior touted such philanthropies as the best way to advance the family's favorite causes. To his father, he suggested that he create one trust to promote Christian civilization abroad, a second to do the like at home, and a third to supply money to the University of Chicago, the GEB, and the RIMR. These boards would be small by design and staffed by about five family members and Rockefeller insiders. However limited the vision behind this blueprint, it began to sketch the outlines of a new approach to philanthropy. Not surprisingly, the architect of Standard Oil favored the creation of a single mammoth foundation in which he would retain veto power. Once again, the scale of the Rockefeller fortune demanded that new forms be devised to administer it.

Afraid that a state charter for a Rockefeller Foundation could be repealed at the whim of an unfriendly state legislature, Junior and Gates aimed for a more prestigious federal charter for the new foundation, such as that received by the GEB in 1903. The Rockefellers waited until early 1908 to make their pitch in Washington, possibly hoping to capitalize upon the goodwill generated by Senior's assistance in quelling the 1907 panic. By chance, on a train trip to golf in Augusta, Georgia, Rockefeller had encountered Senator "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman of South Carolina and unexpectedly charmed this critic. Junior was cheered by this serendipitous encounter: "Senator Tillman would formerly have been one of the leaders in antagonizing the bill. If he is favorable to it he could do more with the radicals than anyone else."<sup>9</sup>

On June 29, 1909, Rockefeller signed over 73,000 shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey, valued at \$50 million, to three trustees: Junior, Gates, and Harold McCormick. This was supposed to be the first installment of an initial \$100 million endowment for the projected Rockefeller Foundation. Getting the U.S. Senate to grant a charter for a tax-exempt foundation amid the tumult of the federal antitrust suit against Standard Oil proved a tricky proposition. Exactly how did legislators explain to their perplexed constituents that the ill-gotten gains now being exposed in court should be honored by a federal charter? Introduced in the Senate in March 1910, the charter bill threatened to stir up more public animosity against the Rockefellers than it assuaged. Only a week later, Standard Oil attorneys filed briefs with the Supreme Court in the antitrust appeal, mingling the two events in the public mind and putting the patently bad Rockefeller and the patently good Rockefeller on display side by side.

The charter traveled a rocky road in Congress. Following the pattern of Johns Hopkins, Rockefeller advocated a broad, unrestricted charter that would allow great flexibility. "Perpetuity is a long time," he was fond of saying, and he did not wish to saddle future foundation executives with outmoded mandates.<sup>10</sup> Gates thus enunciated a purposely vague mission for the Rockefeller Foundation: "to promote the well being of mankind throughout the world."<sup>11</sup> Critics were quick to allege that this nebulous charter gave the Rockefellers carte blanche to manipulate the foundation for their own ends. In fact, this open-ended quality was meant to free the proposed foundation from the influence of its founder. That it would be huge, global, and general—that its money could go anywhere and do anything—was the essence of its novelty. Many newspapers saw the vagueness, however, as a gauzy curtain behind which the evil wizard of Standard Oil could work his mischief. Others deplored the foundation as an elaborate publicity stunt to deodorize the Rockefeller name. In denouncing the charter, one paper called the projected organization a "gigantic philanthropy by which old Rockefeller expects to squeeze himself, his son, his stall-fed collegians and their camels, laden with tainted money, through the eye of the needle."<sup>12</sup>

The charter scandalized Attorney General George W. Wickersham, who was entrusted with prosecuting Standard Oil. He protested to President Taft in February 1911.

*The power which, under such bill, would be vested in and exercised by a small body of men, in absolute control of the income of \$100,000,000 or more, to be expended for the general indefinite objects described in the bill, might be in the highest degree corrupt in its influence. . . . Is it, then, appropriate that, at the moment when the United States through its courts is seeking in a measure to destroy the great combination of wealth which has been built up by Mr. Rockefeller . . . the Congress of the United States should assist in the enactment of a law to create and perpetuate in his name an institution to hold and administer a large portion of this vast wealth?*<sup>13</sup>

Taft granted the point. "I agree with your . . . characterization of the proposed act to incorporate John D. Rockefeller."<sup>14</sup>

Yet Taft saved these barbs for internal consumption and struck a more conciliatory tone with the Rockefellers in person. On April 25, 1911, Senator Aldrich shepherded Junior and Abby to the White House for a top secret lunch with the president. While this meeting was later interpreted as a gauche effort to sway the Standard Oil case, it was concerned exclusively with the Rockefeller Foundation charter. Petrified that the press might get wind of this lunch, Taft insisted that his guests bypass the main door and enter through a side door of the east entrance. The visitors' names were never recorded in guest books or mentioned by White House staff. Taft's trusted aide, Archie Butt, was amused by the president's discomfiture. "It is strange how men in public office shudder at the names of Aldrich and Rockefeller," he reflected.<sup>15</sup> Over lunch, Taft speculated that the foundation charter would pass only if held in abeyance until after settlement of the antitrust suit. Junior, heartened, left the luncheon feeling that the president had been "most agreeable and kindly."<sup>16</sup>

To appease the public, the Rockefeller camp volunteered some extraordinary concessions, including offering to base the new foundation in the nation's capital. When Gates ran into Taft at a Bryn Mawr College luncheon, the president suggested that he send along ideas about how to install safeguards in the plan. In a follow-up memo, Gates said that Congress could, at any time, limit how the foundation money was spent. As to fears that the Rockefellers would wield undue power, Gates said that Rockefeller intimates would make up only five or more members of a board of up to twenty-five people. Gates then made an extraordinary proposal: that all, or a majority, of the following people would have the power to veto board appointments: the president of the United States; the chief justice of the Supreme Court; the president of the Senate; the speaker of the House; and the presidents of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Chicago.

Despite this almost unseemly eagerness to accommodate the government, the bill had a checkered career in Congress, even with Senator Aldrich's high-powered patronage. It passed in the House then stalled in the Senate and kicked around, in various forms, for three years. After a point, legislators started to haggle with the Rockefellers, promising support only if certain foundation grants flowed to their districts. Aghast at this blackmail, Rockefeller asked his son in November 1911 whether it might not be better to seek a state charter. A federal charter, Junior rejoined, would be preferable, since states might require board members to live there, weakening the Rockefeller ties and holding them hostage to statehouse politics.

Nevertheless, the Rockefellers soon despaired of Washington and turned to New York State for a charter in 1913. Two years earlier, the state legislature had chartered the Carnegie Corporation, with a \$125 million endowment. Now the Rockefeller charter was quickly approved with scarcely a whisper of protest. Between 1856 and 1909, Rockefeller had given \$157.5 million for charitable purposes. Mindful of Gates's admonition that his gifts must keep pace with his exploding wealth, Rockefeller gave \$100 million to the Rockefeller Foundation in its first year, bolstered by another \$82.8 million by 1919. In current dollars, that would translate into a \$2 billion gift during the foundation's inaugural decade. It also meant that by 1919 Rockefeller had already given away an amount roughly equal to the \$350 million that Andrew Carnegie gave away in his entire lifetime; the titan would donate another \$180 million before he died. Since his son gave away an additional \$537 million directly and another \$540 million through the Rockefeller philanthropies, Rockefeller far surpassed his great rival's benefactions and must rank as the greatest philanthropist in American history.

By securing the Rockefeller Foundation charter in 1913, Rockefeller insulated a large portion of his wealth from inheritance taxes. That year also saw the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment, which provided for the first federal income tax. Even though the top rate was only 6 percent to begin with, Rockefeller categorically denounced this innovation. "When a man has accumulated a sum of money, accumulated it within the law, the Government has no right to share in its earnings," he complained to a reporter in 1914.<sup>17</sup> As taxes became steeper and more progressive in the coming decades, it became a daunting task for any businessman to amass the money that Rockefeller had earned in a laissez-faire world devoid of antitrust laws. His own wealth, in fact, was the text for many sermons in favor of using taxation as a way to check the acquisition of huge fortunes, to redistribute wealth, and to reduce social tensions.

The birth of the Rockefeller Foundation coincided with the gradual retreat of Frederick T. Gates from Rockefeller's business affairs after twenty years of tenacious attention. During the summer of 1909, the fifty-six-year-old Gates was suffering from nervous strain, likely from overwork, and wanted to spend more time with his wife and seven children. Around 1912, the once threadbare Minnesota preacher picked up at bargain prices twenty thousand acres of land near Hoffman, North Carolina, and set about growing cotton, corn, and oats and raising livestock on a thousand-acre farm with a peach orchard of seventeen thousand trees.

In August 1912, Gates tendered his resignation from the business side of the family office to devote himself solely to the philanthropies. Long reliant upon Gates's sound judgment, Rockefeller tried to sweet-talk him into staying: "Shall we not, dear friend, continue along life's pathway together, both of us recognizing the propriety for ourselves of increasing freedom from care, but, nevertheless, both continuing to give what time we wisely and appropriately can, to the large and important questions, old as well as new, which we find ourselves in a position to help to solve?"<sup>18</sup> By November, Rockefeller had capitulated and accepted his resignation. For the next five years, Gates chaired the GEB but ceased to draw a regular salary and performed only sporadic business missions for Rockefeller. For all his panegyrics about Rockefeller's wisdom, Gates had some private grievances and was irked by what he saw as his skimpy compensation; the value of his services had been a sore point with him ever since the 1901 Mesabi-ore sale to U.S. Steel. In 1915, Gates undertook a long, tortuous negotiation for Rockefeller with the Consolidation Coal Company; afterward, he rejected as too meager Rockefeller's \$25,000 in compensation and held out for \$60,000.

Although Gates had been the visionary behind the Rockefeller Foundation, he now became just one of nine trustees. When the foundation held its first meeting at 26 Broadway on May 19, 1913, Junior was elected president. He invited his father to attend but knew he would decline. Nominally a trustee for ten years, Rockefeller followed his usual practice and never sat in on a single meeting. He was now receding to a more distant supervisory role with his philanthropies and yielding more power to his son, although he never surrendered his veto power. Perhaps the congressional donnybrook over the foundation charter reminded him of the value of keeping a salutary distance from his foundations. Or perhaps it was just age.

Several features of the new foundation mocked the idea that it was a public trust and suggested instead a closely guarded Rockefeller preserve. Its governing structure conjured up a holding company for existing Rockefeller philanthropies instead of the autonomous operation once promised so fervently to Congress. Of the nine trustees, two were family members (Senior and Junior), three were staffers (Gates, Starr Murphy, and Charles O. Heydt, Junior's secretary), and four came from Rockefeller philanthropies (Simon Flexner and Jerome Greene from the RIMR, Harry Pratt Judson from the University of Chicago, and Wickliffe Rose from the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission). The Rockefeller philanthropies remained a self-contained universe, with the same faces rotated among the various boards.

The Rockefeller Foundation's claim to autonomy was also undercut by Rockefeller's retention of the right to allocate \$2 million of its income yearly. Until this practice was abolished in 1917, these founder's designations constituted up to a third of all grants and financed several of Senior's pet projects, from Baptist missionary work to the Eugenics Record Office of Charles B. Davenport. In retrospect, Congress, by denying a charter to the foundation, had forfeited a chance to restrict Rockefeller's influence over his money.

As for the recipients of grants, buffeted by the uproar over the federal charter, the Rockefeller Foundation refrained from anything that smacked of controversy. Having had more than enough public criticism, the Rockefellers wanted everything to be simon-pure. Like the family's other philanthropies, the Rockefeller Foundation was attuned to the optimistic, rational spirit of the Progressive era and drew on its new class of technocrats. (Woodrow Wilson, a political scientist, had been elected to the White House in 1912.) Science would be the magic wand waved over any project to show that it was sound and objective, free of favoritism or self-interest. For a long time, the Rockefeller Foundation shunned the humanities, social sciences, and the arts as areas too subjective or fraught with political peril. In 1917, when advising his father to pump another fifty million dollars into the RIMR, Junior explained his preference for medicine: "This is a field in which there can be no controversy, so that I think the possibility of criticism as regards the use of the fund or its potential dangers would be almost nothing. There is no limit to the development of medical work."<sup>19</sup>

In its first decade, the Rockefeller Foundation focused on public health and medical education both at home and abroad. As founder of one of the first multinational corporations, Rockefeller applauded the unique global range of his new philanthropy, a feature that would always distinguish it. In its maiden action in June 1913, the new board decided to take the superb work of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission's antihookworm campaign and apply it around the globe. To accomplish this, it created a new International Health Commission under the leadership of Wickliffe Rose, who exported his campaign to fifty-two countries on six continents, treating millions of people.

In the future, Rose would engage in battles to subdue malaria, tuberculosis, typhus, scarlet fever, and other scourges, but he registered his most spectacular success with yellow fever, once tagged “the terror of the Western Hemisphere.” During the Spanish-American War, Major Walter Reed had shown that mosquitoes transmitted yellow fever, knowledge used by Colonel W. C. Gorgas to control the disease in Panama during the building of the canal through mosquito-infested jungles. Touring the Far East in 1914, Rose heard fears from public-health officials that a fresh outbreak of yellow fever could result from ships passing through the new canal. Back in the United States, Rose consulted Colonel Gorgas, who asserted that yellow fever could be “eradicated within a reasonable time and at a reasonable cost” if a systematic campaign was mounted to stamp out seedbeds in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>20</sup> Hired by Rose to accomplish just that, Gorgas achieved such triumphant results that the disease was nearly wiped out in South and Central America by the late 1920s. When it flared up again, the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored a team of scientists to develop and manufacture a vaccine to fight it, a dramatic effort that yielded a vaccine by 1937 but also claimed the lives of six researchers, who contracted the disease. Millions of doses of the vaccine were distributed worldwide and saved innumerable American soldiers during World War II.

These moving crusades to eliminate infectious diseases generated one troubling afterthought: What if these diseases returned for lack of trained government personnel in the affected areas? It soon became evident that the best way to safeguard Rose’s work was to assist governments in establishing public-health machinery. It was an auspicious moment for such an approach, for pure science had now begun to outstrip applied medicine, which meant that enormous gains could be made simply by implementing existing knowledge. With this in mind, the Rockefeller Foundation gave six million dollars to Johns Hopkins for a new school of hygiene and public health that opened in 1918, a newfangled institution to train public-health professionals in such emerging disciplines as sanitary engineering, epidemiology, and biostatistics. In 1921, the foundation made a similar gift to Harvard to start a public-health school and finally spent twenty-five million dollars to create such schools from Calcutta to Copenhagen, along with numerous fellowship programs. Through its catalytic role, the Rockefeller Foundation played an integral part in the rise of American medicine to the pinnacle of world leadership.

While Rockefeller Foundation largesse was distributed across many continents, China was a special beneficiary, receiving more money than any country except the United States. As Rockefeller scaled back involvement with the University of Chicago in 1909, Gates fancied that they might replicate this feat with a great Chinese university. Like many Baptists of his era, Rockefeller was interested in China because of the extensive missionary efforts there. Though the political unrest in China gave him pause, Gates sent a study mission there to investigate. Two groups stoutly opposed the project: local Christian missionaries, who feared the heathenish secularism of the proposed university, and government officials, who feared foreign subversion. So the interest in China turned to that old Rockefeller standby: medicine. In 1915, the Rockefeller Foundation set up the China Medical Board, which constructed the Peking Union Medical College and opened it in 1921. One of Rockefeller’s most ambitious projects, the medical complex contained fifty-nine buildings, roofed with jade-green tiles (it would be dubbed the Green City) scattered across a twenty-nine-acre site. Later nationalized by the Communists, the school introduced a generation of Chinese doctors to modern medicine.

By the 1920s, the Rockefeller Foundation was the largest grant-making foundation on earth and America’s leading sponsor of medical science, medical education, and public health. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., had established himself as the greatest lay benefactor of medicine in history. Of the \$530 million he gave away during his lifetime, \$450 million went directly or indirectly into medicine. He had dealt a mortal blow to the primitive world of nineteenth-century medicine in which patent-medicine vendors such as Doc Rockefeller had flourished. He had also effected a revolution in philanthropy perhaps no less far-reaching than his business innovations. Before Rockefeller came along, rich benefactors had tended to promote pet institutions (symphony orchestras, art museums, or schools) or to bequeath buildings (hospitals, dormitories, orphanages) that bore their names and attested to their magnanimity. Rockefeller’s philanthropy was more oriented toward the creation of knowledge, and if it seemed more impersonal, it was also far more pervasive in its effect.

## Massacre

In his philanthropies, John D. Rockefeller had ascended into the pure air of good works, high above the clash of partisan politics and industrial strife. With the advent of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller name, so besmirched by association with Standard Oil, took another long step toward redemption. And by serving on the white-slavery jury, Junior had tested a brand-new image as a social reformer. It was at this happy juncture that news reached New York of terrible bloodshed in the southern Colorado coalfields and the worst nightmare in Rockefeller history—surpassing anything ever related to Standard Oil—descended upon the family with terrible swiftness.

The Rockefellers' ill-fated involvement in Colorado dated back to 1902, when Senior was flush with windfall profits from the spectacular sale of Mesabi iron ore to U.S. Steel. At George Gould's urging, Frederick Gates visited the properties of Colorado Fuel and Iron (CFI), the state's largest employer, which owned twenty-four coal mines that provided coke for its own steel mills. If the Rockefellers controlled the company, Gould fancied, his railroads might receive lucrative coal-carrying contracts. Inspired by his Mesabi triumph, Gates had a hunch that a CFI investment might be a bonanza on an equivalent scale. In November 1902, Rockefeller paid \$6 million for 40 percent of its stock and 43 percent of its bonds, gaining uncontested supremacy over the Colorado company. Only later did Gates learn that Gould had been tipped off by a trusted aide that the company management was "rotten" and that its top executives were a pack of "liars," "swindlers," and "thieves."<sup>1</sup>

To strengthen CFI, Gates convinced Rockefeller in 1907 to import a new management team, and he had an ideal candidate in mind: his sixty-year-old uncle, LaMont Montgomery Bowers, whose consumptive wife might benefit from the Colorado mountain air. Because of Bowers's demonstrated proficiency in running the Great Lakes ore fleet, the Rockefellers reposed extraordinary—and ultimately misplaced—trust in the abilities of this former wholesale grocer from upstate New York who became vice president of the Colorado company and the Rockefellers' chief liaison with it.

Despite this fresh leadership, the Colorado investment seemed as misbegotten as the Mesabi investment had been charmed, and for years CFI did not pay a penny on its stocks or bonds. Hobbled with a money loser, the Rockefellers took an intransigent tone with union organizers. As early as October 1903, Junior sent fighting words to CFI's president on the subject: "We are prepared to stand by in this fight and see the thing out, not yielding an inch. Recognition of any kind of either the labor leaders or union, much more a conference such as they request, would be a sign of evident weakness on our part."<sup>2</sup> In his decades in business, Senior had learned never to budge on the prerogatives of capital, especially when it came to unions. In 1903, Standard of New Jersey had truculently broken a strike for union recognition at its Bayonne, New Jersey, refinery. So when Bowers came on board, he had an understanding with the Rockefellers that he would be assertive in blocking unionization.

When dealing with CFI, Junior reflexively abided by his father's faith in absentee ownership and delegated wide authority to managers, monitoring their performance by ledger statistics. This approach had made sense where the Rockefellers were minority stockholders and did not wish to get in deeper but proved sadly deficient here. At CFI, the Rockefellers found themselves in the indefensible position of being all-powerful yet passive amid a spiraling crisis.

When Junior resigned from Standard Oil and other corporate boards in 1910, he stayed on at CFI because the family retained a controlling interest. The second-largest steel company and seventeenth-largest industrial firm in America, CFI still operated in the red, and Junior felt it his duty to engineer a turnaround, showing his father that he could solve a difficult situation. Prior to 1914, his papers reveal considerable correspondence about CFI matters—dreary, soulless letters filled with sterile talk about preferred stock, debentures, and dividends and far from the dismal reality of the miners. On January 31, 1910, when an explosion at a CFI mine killed seventy-nine men, Bowers blamed careless miners, even though the Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics charged the company with "cold-blooded barbarism."<sup>3</sup> When Junior wrote Bowers on February 7, he did not even allude to this atrocity and merely noted that CFI's growth had stagnated in recent years. The Rockefellers had no long-term commitment to the company, which Senior planned to sell to U.S. Steel as soon as he could wangle a fair price. Right on the eve of the Colorado disaster, Gates urged Rockefeller to slim down his investment, but he would not hear of it.



*William Lyon Mackenzie King (left) and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., don denim overalls at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, September 1915,*

Under Rockefeller rule, it was heretical for anyone in CFI management to concede any legitimacy to unions. To scare off union organizers, Bowers and CFI president Jesse Welborn resorted to terror, fielding spies and detectives and firing union sympathizers. At the same time, they tried to inoculate workers against unions through paternalistic measures, raising their wages 10 percent and introducing an eight-hour day. As a chastened Junior later said of Bowers, “He had the kindness-of-heart theory, i.e. that he was glad to treat the men well, not that they had any necessary claim to it, but because it was the proper attitude of a Christian gentleman. For example, he always argued in favor of company stores. He would say that the company owned the towns, why shouldn’t they own the stores.”<sup>4</sup>

If Senior’s philanthropies showed his broad-mindedness, his unrelenting opposition to organized labor brought out his more antediluvian side. He could never see unions as anything other than frauds perpetrated by feckless workers. “It is all beautiful at the beginning; they give their organization a fine name and they declare a set of righteous principles,” he said. “But soon the real object of their organizing shows itself—to do as little as possible for the greatest possible pay.” Workers were incorrigible spendthrifts who squandered surplus earnings. “They spend their money on picture shows, and whiskey and cigarettes.”<sup>5</sup> At Pocantico, he did not allow employees to take Labor Day as a vacation and fired one group that tried to unionize. Right before the Colorado troubles, he even tried to halt contributions to YMCA building projects that employed closed-shop union labor, but he was talked out of it by his staff. Gates, if anything, was even more obdurate about unions, warning that “it is clear that if they get the power, they have the spirit to rob, to confiscate, to absorb remorselessly, cruelly, voraciously, if they can, the whole wealth of society.”<sup>6</sup> When union organizers targeted CFI, Rockefeller, Junior, Gates, and Bowers treated it as the industrial equivalent of Armageddon.

For years, the Colorado coalfields had been scarred by labor warfare. This was raw capitalism such as Karl Marx pictured it: dangerous mines run by harsh bosses and policed by armed guards in a desolate, hellish place. During 1913 alone, 464 men were killed or maimed in local mining accidents. Blackened by soot from coke ovens, workers lived in filth, shopped in company stores, and were ripe for unionism. Nevertheless, in May 1913, Bowers reassured the Rockefellers that CFI workers were happy souls, prompting Junior’s naive response that it was “most gratifying . . . that a large industrial concern can treat all people alike, be open and above-board in all its dealings, and at the same time increasingly successful.”<sup>7</sup>

The United Mine Workers of America (UMW) spotted fertile soil in this arid country. In the polyglot mining communities, workers came from thirty-two countries and spoke twenty-seven languages; some of them were so ignorant of American ways that they imagined Rockefeller was president of the United States. As union organizers tramped the dusty foothills, they appealed to workers in English, Spanish, Italian, Greek, and Slavic languages. By late July 1913, a showdown appeared imminent as John Lawson of the UMW announced plans to unionize local miners, making a strike all but certain. In response, the three major coal companies, CFI among them, brought in gunmen from the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency and had them deputized by county sheriffs. Albert C. Felts took credit for designing a ghastly vehicle dubbed the Death Special, an early version of an armored car, topped with two machine guns that could be trained against strikers.

In September 1913, with a grisly confrontation imminent, the federal government tried to head off a strike. The Rockefellers’ unsympathetic response was colored by a belief that President Wilson was biased toward labor. Rockefeller lamented after Wilson’s election, “I wish some day that we might have a real businessman as President.”<sup>8</sup> When Wilson appointed a former UMW official, William B. Wilson, as the first secretary of labor, he implicitly committed his administration to the concept of collective bargaining. Wilson sent a deputy, Ethelbert Stewart, to New York to confer with Junior about averting the strike. Even with arsenals being stockpiled on both sides, Junior refused to see the emissary and shunted him off to Starr Murphy, who warned that “we here in the east know nothing about the conditions [in Colorado] and would be unwilling to make any suggestions to the executive officers.”<sup>9</sup> Junior hid cravenly behind L. M. Bowers, deferring to his judgment.

On September 26, 1913, nine thousand workers at CFI struck to demand union recognition, as well as better hours, wages, and housing conditions. In a bellicose letter to Junior, Bowers promised to resist until “our bones were bleached as white as chalk in these Rocky Mountains.” From 26 Broadway, Junior cheered this combative stance. “We feel that what you have done is right and fair and that the position you have taken in regard to the unionizing of the mines is in the interest of the employees of the company.” Then, in words that would resound with an eerie retrospective ring, he added, “Whatever the outcome, we will stand by you to the end.”<sup>10</sup>

In a move that served only to polarize the situation, the coal companies evicted strikers from company homes, forcing them and their families into a massive exodus. The outcasts pitched tent colonies beyond company grounds, with the largest concentration at a spot called Ludlow. By the end of September, more than 11,000 of the nearly 14,000 workers were on strike, bringing Colorado coal mining to a virtual halt. As both sides hoarded weapons, an air of violence hung over the tent colonies. Deputy sheriffs, supplied with guns and paid \$3.50 a day, cordoned off the grounds of CFI.

Afraid that the unions would trumpet any meeting as a concession, the mine owners refused even to talk with organizers. Back in New York, the Rockefellers received highly distorted pictures of events as Bowers fed them sanitized reports that made union organizers sound like common hoodlums. “When such men as these, together with the cheap college professors and still cheaper writers in muck-raking magazines, supplemented by a lot of milk and water preachers . . . are permitted to assault the businessmen who have built up the great industries . . . it is time that vigorous measures are taken,” Bowers fulminated in one letter.<sup>11</sup> Junior held aloof from these events, not wanting to second-guess management or perhaps reluctant to soil his hands with such filthy business.

On October 17, the situation veered toward open warfare as gunfire was exchanged between strikers and deputy sheriffs at a tent colony. By the time the battle ended, sheriffs had hurtled through the colony in a Death Special, spraying machine-gun fire and killing several strikers. To intimidate workers, CFI also strafed the colony with blinding searchlights. While Bowers kept Junior well informed about the Winchester rifles and revolvers being smuggled in by strikers, he remained mute about the company’s own ample cache of weaponry, including machine guns.

As the violence intensified, the well-meaning but indecisive Governor Elias Ammons sent in the Colorado National Guard to restore order. Instead of acting in an evenhanded fashion, the guard primarily protected company property from the miners. On October 30, President Wilson intervened, asking



Jesse Welborn of CFI to “submit a full and frank statement of the reasons which had led them to reject counsels of peace and accommodation in a matter now grown so critical.”<sup>12</sup> Instead of a temperate response, Bowers sent Wilson a shocking, six-page diatribe, dismissing union recognition as unthinkable: “We shall never consent, if every mine is closed, the equipment destroyed, and the investment made worthless.”<sup>13</sup> Since the UMW had now enlisted the legendary organizer Mary Harris Jones—better known as Mother Jones—Welborn retailed vicious scuttlebutt to the president about her alleged early career in a brothel. After reviewing this response, Junior, who was sure the trouble sprang from the strikers, extolled the “energetic, fair and firm way” that CFI had conducted itself. When Labor Secretary Wilson asked Junior for his cooperation, he ducked responsibility and expressed confidence in CFI executives who “have always been quite as solicitous for the well-being of employees as for the interest of stockholders.”<sup>14</sup> Workers had struck, he argued, only because they were terrorized by union organizers: “The failure of our men to remain at work is due simply to their fear of assault and assassination.”<sup>15</sup> Senior shared this grievous misperception. Junior informed Bowers, “I know that Father has followed the events of the past few months in connection with the Fuel Company with unusual interest and satisfaction.”<sup>16</sup>

That December, a terrible blizzard blanketed Colorado. Twenty thousand men, women, and children shivered in their tents, but Junior’s position only hardened. While egged on by his father, he was clearly the point man during the strike. For the first time, Junior was the target of a Rockefeller political controversy. Summoned to give testimony before the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining in March 1914, Junior saw himself perpetuating his father’s noble legacy. “Father was the greatest business witness ever on the stand,” he said. “No one could ever ruffle him or corner him and he never lost his temper. I had this great example before me and I felt I couldn’t let him down.”<sup>17</sup>

On April 6, 1914, Representative Martin D. Foster of Illinois questioned Junior before the subcommittee. Cool and poised, Junior made several admissions that critics thought damaging but that he submitted with pride: He had done nothing personally to end the strike; had not visited Colorado in ten years; had not attended a CFI board meeting since the strike; did not know of any valid worker grievances; and did not know the company had hired Baldwin-Felts detectives. For Foster, this seemed a damning self-indictment:

*FOSTER: “Now, do you not think that your duty as a director goes further than that?”*

*JUNIOR: “We spent ten years testing out . . . one of the men in charge.”*

*FOSTER: “Do you think your duty goes further than that? . . . Don’t you believe that you, looking after the welfare of other civilians of the United States, that somewhat closer relations between officers and . . . these six thousand coal diggers who work underground, many of them foreigners, ignorant and unacquainted with the ways of the country, would be an uplift to them to make them better citizens?”*

*JUNIOR: “It is because I have such a profound interest in these men and all workers that I expect to stand by the policy which has been outlined by the officers, and which seems to me to be first, last and always, in the greatest interest of the employees of the country.”<sup>18</sup>*

At a climactic moment, when Foster posed the question of whether Junior would willingly lose all his property and see all his employees killed to uphold the open shop—that is, the principle that every employee had the right not to join a union, even if it bargained collectively for other workers—Junior replied, “It is a great principle,” and then compared it to the sacred ideals of freedom for which the Revolutionary War had been fought.<sup>19</sup>

Thrilled by Junior’s defense of their privileges, businessmen swamped him with congratulatory telegrams. Almost tearful with joy at her boy’s performance, Cettie wired him that his testimony “was a bugle note . . . struck for principle.”<sup>20</sup> A no-less-exultant Senior told a friend apropos of Junior’s testimony, “He expressed the views which I entertain, and which have been drilled into him from his earliest childhood.”<sup>21</sup> Until this point, Junior had not owned any shares in the Colorado company and acted only as his father’s proxy. Now, Senior gave him ten thousand shares of CFI as a reward for his testimony. Before the month was out, the stock certificates would seem like a curse that he had myopically visited upon his son.

Two weeks after Junior testified in Washington, the inadequacy of his position became evident at the tent colony in Ludlow. Some thirty-five militiamen from the national guard—many of them, said the union, company gunmen sworn in as soldiers—were stationed on a ridge overlooking the camp when a shot was fired at dawn. Who fired it was never ascertained, and perhaps it does not matter, for both sides were heavily armed and ready to fight. After the shot, the militiamen pelted the gray and white tents with machine guns, the staccato fire tearing many tents to shreds, and by day’s end they had killed several strikers. Then the drunken guardsmen swooped down into the colony and, by some reports, spread a blaze from tent to tent with oil-drenched torches. The arsonists did not know that two women and eleven children were huddling for safety in a dirt bunker that had been scooped out by hand under one tent. As the canvas above them caught fire, they were overcome by smoke and promptly asphyxiated—a slaughter that was not discovered until the next morning.

When Bowers informed Junior of the so-called Ludlow Massacre, he gave it his usual self-serving gloss, describing it as an act of self-defense committed by outnumbered militiamen. Echoing the party line, Junior sent back regrets over “this further outbreak of lawlessness.”<sup>22</sup> Junior and Abby were doing landscaping at Kykuit at the time—Abby objected to the “rather cramped” proliferation of gardens, balconies, and terraces—so that the horrific news from Colorado seemed to arrive from some infernal, faraway world.<sup>23</sup> Having pledged his ardor in the wrong cause, Junior could not accept blame. Two months later, he wrote a strange memo for his files in which he seemed to lambaste the strikers for the deaths of their own wives and children:

*There was no Ludlow massacre. The engagement started as a desperate fight for life between two small squads of militia, numbering twelve and twenty-two respectively, against the entire tent colony which attacked them with over three hundred armed men. There were no women or children shot by the authorities of the State or representatives of the operators in connection with the Ludlow engagement. Not one. . . . The two women and eleven children who met their death in a pit underneath the floor of one of the tents, where they had been placed by the men, apparently for safety, were smothered. That such an outcome was inevitable as a result of placing this number of human beings in a pit 8×6 and 4½ feet, the aperture of which was concealed, without any possible ventilation is evident. . . . While this loss of life is profoundly to be regretted, it is unjust in the extreme to lay it at the door of the defenders of law and property, who were in no slightest way responsible for it.<sup>24</sup>*

However he might rationalize it, it was a nightmare for Junior, a huge stain on what he had hoped would be an immaculate life, and a reversion to the Rockefeller past. As one Cleveland paper said, “The charred bodies of two dozen women and children show that Rockefeller knows how to win.”<sup>25</sup> John Lawson castigated Junior for these “hellish acts” and sneered that he “may ease his conscience by attending Sunday school regularly in New York but he will never be acquitted of committing the horrible atrocities.”<sup>26</sup> Others regarded Junior as an errand boy for his father, and even Helen Keller, once helped so generously by Henry Rogers and Rockefeller, now told the press, “Mr. Rockefeller is the monster of capitalism. He gives charity and in the same breath he permits the helpless workmen, their wives and children to be shot down.”<sup>27</sup>

A show of penitence on Junior’s part might have placated the public, but his defensive moralizing invited a severe backlash. In late April, Upton Sinclair sent a “solemn warning” to Junior: “I intend this night to indict you upon a charge of murder before the people of this country. . . . But before I take this step, I wish to give you every opportunity of fair play.”<sup>28</sup> When Junior did not respond to his requested interview, Sinclair spearheaded a demonstration outside 26 Broadway, a “mourning parade” of pickets dressed in black armbands, their ranks swollen, at one point, by a delegation from Ludlow. “The harder we pound Rockefeller, the surer we are of winning,” Sinclair told his associates.<sup>29</sup> In this threatening environment, a woman with a loaded pistol was forcibly removed from Junior’s office. Senior had been unflappable in crises, but his son was shaken to the core. He now kept a Smith & Wesson .38 pistol in his office drawer and posted watchmen at Fifty-fourth Street, where another chanting contingent besieged his home.

As Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and other prominent anarchists and Wobblies flocked to Kykuit to protest, guards tried to seal off the estate against these interlopers, some of whom penetrated the grounds, smashed windows, and set fire to the dairy barn. Foolishly confident of his persuasive powers, Senior marched toward the wrought-iron gates, hoping to calm the protesters, but the Burns detectives urged him to go back into the house. The local fire department was summoned to train water cannons on demonstrators who were trying to clamber over the gates. So many journalists converged on the scene that Rockefeller was distracted at golf by the incessant glare of the photographers’ lights and had to alter his daily schedule. Before the summer was over, he had installed barbed-wire fences at Pocantico and strung out potentially lethal razor wire across the tops of walls. Dismayed by the fortresslike atmosphere of their compound, Junior told his father, “I am wondering whether so obvious an effort to make entrance to the place difficult at this time may not challenge attention and suggest a fear and apprehension on our part which might induce, rather than help, to keep out intruders.”<sup>30</sup>

All the Rockefeller wealth suddenly seemed insufficient beside the magnitude of the threat. During one rally outside 26 Broadway, a speaker denounced Junior and exhorted the crowd to “shoot him down like a dog.”<sup>31</sup> Such inflammatory rhetoric was not just political bombast. In May, several Wobblies were killed or injured when a bomb they were assembling blew up on the top floor of a Lexington Avenue tenement; it was widely thought that the explosive had been destined for Junior’s town house.

After the massacre, the coalfields witnessed a fresh upsurge in violence as southern Colorado degenerated into a lawless no-man’s-land, and President Wilson faced vociferous demands to dispatch federal cavalry troops to the area. To avert this, he wrote to Rockefeller and implored him to meet with Martin Foster before Foster left to tour the coalfields. Playing his sly old game, Rockefeller said he had not been to work in twenty years, but that his son would meet Foster in New York.

At this April 27 meeting, Junior was completely inflexible, telling Foster that CFI controlled a mere third of Colorado coal output and shouldn’t be singled out for criticism. Afterward, Junior informed the president,

*Dr. Foster was unable to make any suggestions which did not involve the unionizing of the mines or the submission of that question to arbitration. We stated to him that if the employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron had any grievances, we felt sure that the officers of the Company would be willing now, as they had always been, to make every effort to adjust them satisfactorily, but that the question of the open shop . . . could not be arbitrated.*<sup>32</sup>

Wilson was stunned by this brazen indifference to a presidential request, telling Junior, “It seemed to me a great opportunity for some large action which would show the way not only in this case but in many others.”<sup>33</sup> A few days later, Wilson sent federal troops to Colorado.

It was all a regrettable throwback to the days of Standard Oil, with Junior now cast as the villain of the piece. His inability to escape from this debacle stemmed from his own rigidity plus an unbending intolerance toward unions that was also exhibited by his father and Gates. “We are trying to move quietly, and patiently, under the trying ordeal,” Rockefeller told Harold McCormick, “but I repeat it is a matter for all of us to give earnest heed to, and we must all cooperate throughout the land for the maintenance of our rights.”<sup>34</sup> Supporting his uncle, Gates also refused to give an inch to save lives. “The officers of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company are standing between the country and chaos, anarchy, proscription and confiscation and in so doing are worthy of the support of every man who loves his country.”<sup>35</sup>

Surrounded by these retrograde views, this refusal to entertain new ideas, Junior was locked in an untenable position. The Ludlow disaster threatened to undo all his efforts to cleanse the family name. His father—so long his cynosure, guide, sage, and mentor—could not graduate to new wisdom in this area. The Ludlow Massacre forced Junior to admit that his father held some antiquated views and that he must take spiritual leave of him. To do so, he needed a confidant from outside his immediate circle, someone who shared his sense of ethics and could devise a practicable, honorable way out of the impasse. He found this providential personage in William Lyon Mackenzie King.

Mackenzie King exerted a tremendous influence upon Junior in part because they had similar styles and tastes but radically different knowledge of the world. The offspring of a renowned Canadian family, King had been a wunderkind of Canadian politics. After studying economics at Toronto, Chicago, and Harvard, he was named Canada’s first deputy minister of labor at age twenty-five and then minister of labor nine years later. A gently persuasive man, he had arbitrated many acrimonious labor disputes and espoused new government mechanisms for settling such disputes. In 1911, his luck expired when the Liberal government fell, depriving him of his ministerial post and throwing him into a state of acute anxiety about money. For three years, a rich British woman named Violet Markham helped him financially. King always claimed to find fault with high society, which he dismissed as petty,

false, and vain, but when he needed the money, he could be obsequious toward the rich.

In early June 1914, still fretting about his finances, he received a cryptic telegram from the Rockefeller Foundation, inviting him to New York to discuss a special labor project for its new economic-research unit. On June 6, he found himself closeted in a four-hour marathon session at 10 West Fifty-fourth Street with Junior, Jerome Greene, and Starr Murphy. By the close, Junior had asked him to head the foundation's new Department of Industrial Relations—which, in essence, meant serving as his personal adviser on Ludlow. Even though Junior publicly denied it, he was smart enough to see that he needed to grope toward some new innovation in labor-management relations. An ambitious, liberal politician, King was initially petrified by the potential repercussions of this association. As he confessed to his diary, "Once associated in any way with the Rockefeller concern, my future in politics would be jeopardized."<sup>36</sup> For two months, King wavered about accepting the job. But since it was being offered by the Rockefeller Foundation, not Standard Oil, he was emboldened to take the risk, especially when former Harvard president Charles Eliot strongly endorsed the move. At a second meeting with Junior at Pocantico, in Senior's presence, King accepted the job.

Just about the same age, King and Junior were both short and stocky, prudish and proper, and dressed in dark, old-fashioned suits. Something about King's platitudinous moralizing was highly reminiscent of the Rockefellers'. A fervent Presbyterian, King devotedly read the Bible and abstained from cards and tobacco, and these two reserved, rather solitary young men enjoyed an immediate rapport. Many observers saw in King the very strengths and weaknesses—a messianic nature combined with a lack of social ease—often attributed to Junior. Both young men idealized their mothers, and when King later drifted into spiritualism, he claimed that he had communicated with his dead mother's spirit in séances. According to Junior, King was "quite silly about women," yet some inhibition always kept him a bachelor.<sup>37</sup>

Junior considered King's arrival "heaven-sent deliverance" and later said, "Seldom have I been so impressed by a man at first appearance."<sup>38</sup> Normally surrounded by elders, Junior found in King a peer who had known firsthand the hurly-burly of the world. Within a year of their meeting, Junior told him, "I feel I have found in you the brother I have never had and have always wished to have."<sup>39</sup> Despite that, Junior called him "Mr. King" for the next forty years. An idealist with a wide streak of ambition, King saw in Junior a way to carry out social reform and be well compensated in the bargain. Despite his liberal politics and initial prejudice against the Rockefellers, King liked Junior instantly and thought him a kindred spirit. "Whatever his father may have done or is," King told a friend, "that man I have found to be almost without exception the truest follower of Christ."<sup>40</sup>

Except to his uninhibited wife, Junior never talked as candidly to anybody as he did to King. King bluntly warned him that the Rockefellers' philanthropic work could be destroyed by Ludlow and that it would be a "Herculean task" to overcome unfair public prejudice against the family. Only King could broach the dreaded topic of Senior's business ethics without seeming disloyal. He recorded in his diary that he told Junior *that he must recognize that we were living together in a different generation than the one in which his father had lived, and that it was possible, in building up an industry such as Standard Oil, to maintain a comparative secrecy as to methods of work, etc. and to keep business pretty much to those who were engaged in it. Today, there was a social spirit abroad, and it was absolutely necessary to take the public into one's confidence, to give publicity to many things, and especially to stand out for certain principles very broadly.*<sup>41</sup>

He made Junior see the need to depart from his father's legacy and chart an independent course.

By this point, Junior was touchingly frank in his need for advice about Ludlow. "He had vast experience in industrial relations and I had none," Junior said of King's influence. "I needed guidance."<sup>42</sup> Though supporting unions, King favored compromise, opposed strikes purely for union recognition, and insisted upon gradual reform. He thought that fair-minded investigations of the facts would suggest a common ground for capital and labor. Appealing to Junior's conscience, King argued that Christian brotherhood could be brought to the bloodstained fields of Colorado through greater worker-management cooperation. Under the Rockefeller Foundation aegis, King devised a plan in which CFI employees would elect representatives to boards for dealing with worker grievances. At best a halfway house on the road to true labor reform, the plan was a cosmetic modification rather than a sharp break with the past, and organized labor scoffed at it as another paternalistic trick. But it was a courageous departure from the prevailing business ethos, however timid it might seem by later lights. As proof of this, CFI management resisted it, fearing it would deliver the company into the union's hands. In the end, Senior looked on benignly and let these changes occur. It was a road that he could not have traversed himself, but his son found the way to do so.

King led Junior away from his father's orthodoxy while simultaneously charming the old man. When King pleaded for greater public openness, Rockefeller seemed deeply moved. "I wish I had had you the thirty or forty years I was in business to advise me on policies," he said.<sup>43</sup> King found Rockefeller far nicer than he had expected. As he told a friend:

*In appearance, [Rockefeller] is not unlike pictures one sees of the old popes. In manner he is singularly simple and natural and genuinely kindly. . . . I had the feeling I was talking with a man of exceptionally alert mind and great discernment of character. He is a good deal of a mimic, and in telling of people and his own feelings is apt to imitate the expression of the person or the attitude he is representing. He is full of humor, particularly in conveying a shrewd knowledge of situations and men. His whole nature is a gentle one and a sweet one.*<sup>44</sup>

By December 1914—eight months after the Ludlow Massacre—striking miners, their strike fund depleted, voted to end the long walkout, allowing federal troops to leave the area. With the end of the strike, Junior pressed his blueprint for labor-management cooperation upon CFI leadership with renewed vigor. Bowers and Welborn still worried that the plan might lend credence to union grievances, but Junior persisted despite their hostility. Far from fleeing criticism, he exposed himself to it. His old college classmate Everett Colby gave a dinner at the Union Club in Manhattan so that Junior could meet people who had pummeled him, including Lincoln Steffens and the socialist lawyer Morris Hillquit. During postprandial cigars, speaker after speaker reviled Junior's initial refusal to become involved in the strike. Then Colby said, "Do you want to say anything, Mr. Rockefeller?" "I certainly do," said Junior, slowly rising to his feet. Everyone expected a withering counterblast, but Junior confounded them by saying, "I want you gentlemen to realize how deeply grateful I am for this. I shan't forget any of it. My difficulty is that I can't find out the truth. A chap in my position is so used to being made a target for unjust accusations that his tendency is to disbelieve even those which may perhaps be justified."<sup>45</sup> It was a polite way of saying that his press critics had some truth on their side and was thus a major step forward from his earlier denials.

Unlike Senior, whose hide was thickened by abuse, Junior was traumatized by press invective. “I never read the papers when there’s apt to be any trouble,” he reflected years later. “I learned that in the old days during the strike out west.”<sup>46</sup> In May 1914, while still reeling from the Ludlow Massacre, Junior asked Arthur Brisbane to recommend someone who might burnish the family image, and Brisbane suggested thirty-six-year-old Ivy Ledbetter Lee, executive assistant to the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The son of a Georgia Methodist preacher, the slim, blue-eyed Lee had a southern drawl and willowy southern charm that would subtly seduce a generation of newsmen. After working his way through Princeton, he traced a career route that became commonplace in the news business: After stints at two New York papers, Hearst’s *Journal* and Pulitzer’s *World*, he went into corporate public relations, a budding field fostered by the dual impact of investigative journalism and government regulation of business. At their first encounter at 26 Broadway, Junior told Lee, “I feel that my father and I are much misunderstood by the press and the people of this country. I should like to know what your advice would be on how to make our position clear.”<sup>47</sup> Instead of buying press coverage, Lee expounded his belief that businessmen should present their views fully and frankly—then trust to the truth. Said a relieved Junior: “This is the first advice I have had that does not involve deviousness of one kind or another.”<sup>48</sup>

Still committed to an unfinished project at the Pennsylvania Railroad, Lee started out by working on a \$1,000-a-month retainer for Rockefeller, which was shortly increased to a handsome full-time salary of \$15,000 a year. Though he soon defected to set up his own consulting firm, he faithfully served the Rockefellers and Standard Oil of New Jersey from this outpost. So pervasive and trusted was his counsel that Junior later told a head of Standard of New Jersey: “Mr. Lee is very much more than a publicity agent. He is one of our advisers in regard to various matters of policy.”<sup>49</sup>

It is difficult to assess whether Ivy Lee had a beneficial effect upon the Rockefellers. His instructions to Junior sounded commendable enough: “Tell the truth, because sooner or later the public will find out anyway. And if the public doesn’t like what you are doing, change your policies and bring them into line with what people want.”<sup>50</sup> Excellent advice, to be sure, but did it reflect Lee’s own behavior? For several months in mid-1914, he issued a series of bulletins called “Facts Concerning the Struggle in Colorado for Industrial Freedom” that were broadly disseminated to opinion makers, giving the Rockefeller version of events. Many critics faulted Lee for playing fast and loose with the facts when he grossly overstated the pay given to strike leaders by the union, dished out scabrous stories about Mother Jones’s supposed early career as a brothel madam, and blamed the Ludlow Massacre on an overturned tent stove instead of militia gunfire. The literary fraternity skewered him: Carl Sandburg published an article called “Ivy Lee—Paid Liar”; Upton Sinclair memorably branded him “Poison Ivy”; and Robert Benchley later mocked him for suggesting that “the present capitalist system is really a branch of the Quaker Church, carrying on the work begun by St. Francis of Assisi.”<sup>51</sup>

Initially, Lee repeated the error that had landed the Rockefellers in trouble in the first place: He relied upon slanted reports from CFI executives. After some embarrassing gaffes, he traveled out West in August 1914 and returned with a more balanced picture. Lee discovered that Bowers and Welborn had issued distorted information and that CFI employees were too cowed to voice complaints. “It is of the greatest importance,” he advised Junior, “that as early as possible some comprehensive plan be devised to provide machinery to redress grievances.”<sup>52</sup> Whatever his truth-shading tendencies, Lee probably helped to bring about more humane policies at CFI.

Under the joint tutelage of King and Lee, Junior regained his equanimity and even launched a publicity offensive for improved labor relations, a transformation evident when he testified in January 1915 before the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations at New York’s City Hall. Assembled by President Wilson, the commission was composed of representatives of employers, employees, and the public. The hearing was chaired by Senator Frank P. Walsh, a reformist Missouri lawyer who had won his spurs defending Jesse James. With an impressive mane of hair and a histrionic manner, Walsh was gunning for Rockefeller. To coach Junior for this event, King gave him a brief reading list on trade-union history and issued a delphic warning: “I reported . . . to him, that there appeared no alternative so far as he was concerned, to his being either the storm centre of a great revolution in this country or the man who by his fearless stand and position would transfuse a new spirit into industry.”<sup>53</sup> For his part, Lee insisted that Junior not skulk around and behave guiltily. When the question arose of which door Junior would enter upon arriving at City Hall, Jerome Greene said, “Oh, the rear door of course.” At once, Lee jumped to his feet. “The days of the rear door philosophy are over. Mr. Rockefeller will have to enter through the same door as everyone else.”<sup>54</sup> When Junior, clad in derby and chesterfield coat, arrived at City Hall, looking pale and tense, he strode down the center aisle, pausing to shake hands with Mother Jones and other Colorado union organizers.

The next three days of arduous testimony provided a catharsis for John D. Rockefeller, Jr. During the first day’s testimony, he still professed ignorance of the CFI situation. He endorsed the right of labor to organize but also the right of capital to resist. At day’s end, when he strolled down Broadway to his office, he was trailed by masses of jeering demonstrators. Even though Police Commissioner Arthur Woods assigned special details to 26 Broadway and West Fifty-fourth Street, Junior declined this special protection. “Father never was afraid of anybody,” he explained. “He was the most completely fearless man I ever met, and I don’t want the public to think that I had to have police around me to protect me.”<sup>55</sup>

The second day held surprises for Junior’s detractors. He buttonholed Mother Jones—who had been jailed in Colorado for nine weeks and escorted from the state at bayonet point—and invited her to visit his office. Responding in a friendly manner, she told Junior that she had never believed he knew what “those hirelings out there were doing. I can see how easy it is to misguide you.” Junior kidded her about throwing compliments his way. To the delighted roar of press and spectators, Mother Jones retorted, “I am more inclined to throw bricks.”<sup>56</sup> On the stand that day, Junior delivered the mea culpa so long awaited by the public when he admitted that he had taken too narrow a view of a director’s responsibilities. “I should hope that I could never reach the point where I would not be constantly progressing to something higher, better—both with reference to my own acts and . . . to the general situation in the company. My hope is that I am progressing. It is my desire to.”<sup>57</sup> Mackenzie King later identified this testimony as the turning point in Junior’s life.

Such public confessions of error were alien to Senior, who interpreted criticism as the martyrdom of the just. In Junior’s place, he would have reacted with cool defiance or expedient forgetfulness. Yet he saw that his son was following King’s advice, exhibiting uncommon courage, and accomplishing a critical shift in the family’s public posture. Moved by his son’s strength, Senior bequeathed to Junior another eighty thousand shares of CFI stock, which gave him effective control of the company. If he had been scanning the heavens for a sign that his son was strong enough to carry the burden of a colossal fortune, this was it. He said later of his son’s testimony:

*They tried so hard to badger my son, to harrow him into saying something that they could use against him, against us. It was like the trial of Joan of Arc. I don't know where he got the answers, his language, so quick, so instant to every question. . . . He surprised us all. He seemed to answer like one inspired. Indeed, I believe that his sainted mother must have inspired him; he was so kindly, so right in his attitude and all his statements.*<sup>58</sup>

For most reporters, Junior came across as frank and sincere, if a trifle stuffy. Walter Lippmann, however, accused him of mouthing commonplaces.

*Those who listened to him would have forgiven him much if they had felt that they were watching a great figure, a real master of men, a person of some magnificence. But in John D. Rockefeller, Jr., there seemed to be nothing but a young man having a lot of trouble, very much harassed and very well-meaning. No sign of the statesman, no quality of leadership in large affairs, just a careful, plodding, essentially uninteresting person who justifies himself with simple moralities and small-scale virtues.*<sup>59</sup>

It was a savage indictment and one repeated frequently over the years. But it failed to appreciate how bravely this pedestrian young man at age forty had managed to appease both a venomous public and an all-powerful father. He had repudiated his father's principles without seeming to repudiate the man, an ingenious strategy that opened up fresh possibilities for the family. To see how far Junior had traveled beyond his reactionary mentors, one need only cite a hysterical memo that Gates wrote after the Walsh testimony, deploring Junior's leniency:

*I do not so understand Christ that he adopted any spirit of conciliation toward those who came to him in the spirit of these Unionists. . . . I would have engaged an array of the most brilliant and able counsel to be gotten in New York—men not afraid, if necessary, to make a scene in court. . . . If necessary I would have carried the matter so far as to invite arrest, and I would have resisted arrest, and been carried struggling—shrieking from the court room for the purpose of getting my case vividly, powerfully, before the people of the United States.*<sup>60</sup>

How much Junior had evolved beyond such die-hard opposition was also made clear when Mother Jones visited him at 26 Broadway. The eighty-four-year-old, cheerfully vulgar, Cork-born rabble-rouser liked to rally striking miners while outfitted in boots and bonnets and peering at them humorously through granny glasses. Now, having helped to turn the Colorado strike into an anti-Rockefeller vendetta, she stood face-to-face with Junior. She teased him that she had pictured him with a hard jaw and firm-set mouth, clutching for money. Mimicking this, she added, "When I saw you going on the stand, and listened to the evidence, and saw the kind of man you are, I was filled with remorse. I felt I had done you a great injustice."<sup>61</sup> Having paid tribute to Junior's sincerity, Mother Jones did not mince words about his employee-representation plan, which she called "a sham and fraud."<sup>62</sup> But after the bitter stalemate of past years, this meeting represented a major advance in mutual confidence. After the chat, Ivy Lee invited in reporters, and Junior, his face reddening shyly, said, "Gentlemen, I know it is my duty as a director to know more about actual conditions in the mines. I told Mother Jones that, of course, there should be free speech, free assembly, and independent, not company-owned, schools, stores and churches in the mine field. I am going to Colorado as soon as I can to learn for myself."<sup>63</sup> The promised two-week trip was made in September 1915, an overdue rite of passage that would complete the partial conversion begun in New York.

When Junior journeyed to southern Colorado, he betrayed the feverish urgency of a man on a spiritual quest. In a second round of hearings in May, Frank Walsh had released subpoenaed copies of correspondence that had passed between Junior and CFI executives during the strike. They showed Junior in his most militantly antiunion mood, implicating him more deeply in management than he had admitted and making the expiatory trip to Colorado even more essential. Having always shrunk from contact with his anonymous foes, Senior confided to a friend that he would give a million dollars to spare his boy exposure to peril in Colorado. He tried to prevail upon Charles O. Heydt to carry a gun, but Junior, determined to prove his courage, refused either weapons or bodyguards. The eight reporters who tagged along were requested, as a security precaution, to keep his itinerary a secret.

The trip pointed up critical differences between Senior and Junior. For Senior, vast wealth had permitted a retreat to his estates, whereas for Junior it underscored the need for greater openness. Instinctively, he behaved like a head of state, always cordial and generous in public—a style he transmitted to his children. Unlike his father, he did not wish to be eternally at war with the American public and had the courage to make the necessary midcourse corrections; in this last respect, he was a stronger person than his indomitable father, who had always dug in his heels and become intransigent when attacked.

Throughout his life, Junior had shadowboxed with unseen enemies who suddenly became three-dimensional human beings in the Colorado mining camps. Now, he would mingle with workers whose fate he had governed from afar. First, the caravan stopped at Ludlow itself, a haunted, windblown spot, now denuded of its tents. Emerging from their cars, Junior, King, and the reporters solemnly approached two railroad ties, nailed together in a black cross, marking the spot where the two women and eleven children had been suffocated in the pit. Afterward, they rode to the first of eighteen CFI coal towns, where they lunched on beefsteak, beans, and mashed potatoes. Entering into the spirit of the place, Junior and King responded to Ivy Lee's suggestion and bought two-dollar suits of denim overalls from a company store before descending a coal shaft.

At one coal-mining camp, Junior delivered a short talk to workers in the local schoolhouse then suggested, with uncharacteristic spontaneity, that they clear the floor and hold an impromptu dance. As a little four-piece band struck up "The Hesitation Waltz," he grabbed a miner's wife and gaily stepped onto the floor. Too well-bred for tokenism, Junior spent the evening dancing with each of the twenty or so women in attendance—an ironic sequel for a young man once so bashful at Brown that he hesitated to dance at all. Nobody was more flabbergasted than Abby, who tracked his progress in the press. "From the papers I gather that your dancing has been one of your greatest assets," she wrote to him. "I will never demur again."<sup>64</sup>

On October 2, 1915, in the town of Pueblo, Junior addressed two hundred CFI workers and managers. "This is a red-letter day in my life," he began. "It is the first time I have ever had the good fortune to meet the representatives of the employees of this great company, its officers and mine superintendents, together, and I can assure you that I am proud to be here, and that I shall remember this gathering as long as I live."<sup>65</sup> Preaching his gospel of cooperation, he laid out his plans for a joint labor-management grievance panel along with new committees for health, sanitation, mine safety, recreation, and education. Significantly, nobody would be fired for joining a union, and there were promises of new housing, schools, and recreation centers. Taking a down-home approach, Junior laid three heaps of coins on a table to represent workers, managers, and directors then tried to show how each group siphoned off coins, leaving nothing for dividends on the \$34 million Rockefeller investment. In the end, Junior must have been fairly

persuasive, for 2,404 of 2,846 miners voted for his plan in a secret ballot. On the other hand, possibly from disdain for this paternalism, 2,000 miners boycotted the vote.

Selling the plan to management was no easier. After initial resistance, Welborn accepted the grievance mechanism and introduced other innovations, but L. M. Bowers opposed this reform, and Junior realized he had to cashier Gates's uncle. "One of the most unpleasant tasks I ever performed was to get his resignation," he said. "I shall never forget the three or four hours I spent with him in my house here trying to get him to retire amicably—for he could be a nasty enemy."<sup>66</sup> At this point, Junior's relations with Gates began to cool forever. The tradition-minded Junior never formally deposed the old gods—his father and Gates—but instead staked out new directions with new advisers. When E. H. Weitzel, CFI's fuel manager, complained about his clemency toward unions, Junior shot back: "Your attitude in this respect is definitely paternalistic, an attitude which on general principles I am sure you will agree it is unwise for any corporation to maintain. . . . Paternalism is antagonistic to democracy."<sup>67</sup> Junior had defected, at least halfway, to the enemy camp. But his representation plan was, at best, only a middling success. In the following years, the company weathered four more strikes before the UMW finally won recognition in 1933. Junior's species of "company union" was outlawed by the Wagner Act in 1935.

For Junior, the Colorado trip was a trial by fire from which he emerged triumphant, converting the worst moment in the family history into something more promising. As King told Abby during the tour, "From now on he will be able to devote his time to advancing the vast projects . . . [relating] to human beings, without being thwarted at every step by . . . the voice . . . of popular prejudice."<sup>68</sup> Although much of what Junior had done was likely anathema to him, Senior cheered his son's journey of reconciliation. "Yes, it was excellent," he told an old friend. "I could not have managed it better myself."<sup>69</sup>

After the Colorado trip, Junior became a prophet for improved labor relations throughout American industry, an evangelical role he enjoyed more than browbeating unions. Seizing the high ground, he sold his stock in U.S. Steel during a 1920 strike when management would not annul its policy of twelve-hour days, seven days a week. Junior and King introduced employee-representation plans at both Standard Oil of New Jersey and Standard Oil of Indiana. Abby even contributed to trade unions and to funds for striking workers—which her husband thought was going a bit far. As a nationwide drive to retain the open shop swept American business in the 1920s, many industrialists looked upon Junior as a dangerous liberal, even though many trade unionists saw his company unions as traps for unsuspecting workers.

In one respect, Junior's work with Mackenzie King proved a setback for the family: It fueled popular suspicion of the Rockefeller Foundation. From the outset, the family had insisted that it would be a public trust, not a vehicle to promote Rockefeller causes. Because King's work was underwritten by the foundation, though, it looked as if the Rockefellers had exploited their philanthropy to lend a veneer of legitimacy to their business activities. After public hearings into the matter, the foundation decided to avoid economic issues and concentrate on public health, medicine, and other safe areas. To boost faith in the foundation's autonomy, in July 1917 Rockefeller waived his future right to make founder's designations.

If the Ludlow Massacre was a turning point in Rockefeller family history, much of the credit must go to Mackenzie King, who emancipated Junior from strict obedience to his father. He strengthened Junior's tenuous faith in his own judgment, making him feel that he was strong enough and fit enough to manage the family fortune. King probably did not exaggerate when he said of Junior in his diary: "I really think he feels closer to myself than to any other man he knows."<sup>70</sup> Politically, Mackenzie King emerged both well paid and unscathed from his detour into the Rockefeller universe. In 1919, he was elected leader of the Liberal Party in Canada and two years later became prime minister, serving in that post off and on for a record twenty-two years and forging much of the modern Canadian welfare state. Like many counselors to the Rockefellers, he had enjoyed the satisfaction of serving both his conscience and his bank account.

## Introvert and Extrovert

The Ludlow saga was intertwined with the final, troubled phase of Cettie's life. When demonstrators stormed the Pocantico gates, Rockefeller grew alarmed because, among other reasons, his wife lay terminally ill inside. Junior was about to make his trek of atonement to Colorado when his mother died on March 12, 1915, forcing him to postpone it until September. One of the first sympathy notes came from Mother Jones: "The sympathy of one whom thousands of men have called 'Mother' is with you at this time when your heart is filled with sorrow for her who called you 'Son.'"<sup>1</sup> A month later, Senator Aldrich, who had retired from the Senate in 1911, died of a stroke, steeping Junior and Abby in the thick gloom of double mourning.

Cettie had been withering away for many years. When she took up winter residence at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street in late 1909, she was already restricted to a wheelchair, so that Junior and Harold McCormick had to hoist her up the front steps. Largely bedridden, requiring round-the-clock nursing, she was inexplicably reluctant, like her husband, to consult the eminent physicians at the Rockefeller Institute. As her diaries show, she suffered from a gruesome host of afflictions, including pneumonia, shingles, pernicious anemia, and sciatica. She was pestered by so many ailments that it is impossible to come up with a single, clear diagnosis.

Senior's response to her chronic troubles was ambivalent. He was often loving and infinitely patient. At dinner parties, he would pluck a flower, excuse himself, tiptoe up the stairs, and present it to her, along with some amusing tidbit of table talk. "He was the most affectionate and thoughtful man in illness and sorrow I have ever known," said his son. "No woman could have been more tender."<sup>2</sup> During Cettie's siege, they remained an old-fashioned couple, sweet and unfailingly courtly with each other.

Yet for all his devotion, Rockefeller was often away, refusing to modify his seasonal rotation of houses. During the winter of 1909–1910 at West Fifty-fourth Street, for instance, Cettie inscribed in her diary: "John Sr. is at Pocantico coming down Sundays."<sup>3</sup> Though he stayed away for long patches—sometimes weeks at a stretch—Cettie expressed no bitterness.

During the summer of 1913 at Forest Hill, with Dr. Biggar in constant attendance, Cettie's condition deteriorated as lumbago, pleurisy, congestive heart failure, and bladder and rectal problems were superadded to her already long list of maladies. In this cheerless season, sister Lute grew ill and took to a wheelchair, though she recovered by the spring. When doctors warned Rockefeller that Cettie was too frail to leave Cleveland, he was caught in an excruciating predicament, for his seasonal rotation demanded his presence at Pocantico in October. If he stayed through February, he could be listed as a Cleveland resident and face severe tax penalties. Nonetheless, he repeatedly postponed the trip due to Cettie's frailty. Making the best of things, he drove Cettie around the grounds each day in an old-fashioned open phaeton or newfangled automobile. "John so very cheerful and comforting and glad I am slowly improving," Cettie told her diary.<sup>4</sup> During one visit to the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Rockefeller was addressing the congregation when his gaze alighted upon Cettie's pale, upturned face, and he was moved to a personal utterance. "People tell me I have done much in my life," he said. "I know I have worked hard. But the best thing I ever accomplished and the thing that has given me the greatest happiness was to win Cettie Spelman. I have had but one sweetheart and am thankful to say I still have her."<sup>5</sup>

In February 1914, John preceded Cettie to Kykuit to ensure that the remodeled house would accommodate her comfortably. Perhaps with a premonition that she would never see Cleveland again, Cettie postponed her departure for New York. When one employee softly prodded her, she balked. "I don't want to go yet," she said. "This is where the children used to be, and Mr. John's little rocking chair is upon the attic floor."<sup>6</sup> The journey east in February proved an unspeakable ordeal. When the train stopped at Philipse Manor in North Tarrytown, Cettie, attended by doctors and nurses, was lifted to a waiting automobile. Once she was settled in at Pocantico, Senior promptly resumed his self-imposed routine and rushed off to his Lakewood haunt for his usual spring retreat. Without reproach, Junior wrote him, "Mother misses you, but is glad to feel that you are having a good rest, and while she will welcome you home, realizes that you should have this change."<sup>7</sup>

Dismayed by his wife's sickness and perhaps feeling faintly guilty, Rockefeller tried to offset his absences with extravagant romantic gestures. On their golden wedding anniversary in September 1914, he brought a brass band to Kykuit, placed them on the lawn, and had Cettie carried from the house to Mendelssohn's "Wedding March."



During her last Pocantico winter, strengthened by a brew of barley, oatmeal, and milk, Cettie seemed to rally, so that Junior and Abby felt confident enough to join Senior at his new winter retreat in Ormond Beach, Florida. As workmen painted the master bedroom for John D.'s return, Cettie was in better spirits than she had been in for a long time. On March 11, 1915, she asked for a wheelchair, wanting to tour the garden and smell the flowers. During this fleeting reverie, she downed a glass of milk, pronounced it good, then wearily sank back on her pillow, feeling faint and weak. Lute and Dr. Paul Allen maintained an overnight vigil at her bedside, and the two sisters were clasping hands at 10:20 A.M. the next morning when Cettie expired. At Ormond Beach, Rockefeller received two telegrams in rapid succession: the first announcing that she was dying, the second her death. Though he had gotten accustomed, by degrees, to the possible imminence of her death, he was still stunned by the finality of the news. When he shuffled back to the breakfast table with the news, John and Abby saw something they had never seen before: Senior was openly weeping.

Returning by train from Florida with his son and daughter-in-law, Rockefeller was amazed by the many expressions of sympathy he received from railway officials and conductors along the route. As Abby said, "He was wonderfully calm and brave but it was a great shock to him."<sup>8</sup> At Pocantico, Rockefeller found Cettie laid out peacefully where she had died and for a long time stared pensively at the woman who had shared the unprecedented achievements and tumult of his life. Alta came to Pocantico but not Edith, who was studying with Carl Jung in Switzerland. Seven years later, Rockefeller reconstructed for her his impressions of Cettie's death, saying that "she triumphed gloriously when the end came, and to the last view we took of her, her face bore that angelic radiance."<sup>9</sup>

Rockefeller was always sentimental about his wife, and as he reminisced about their early married days on Cheshire Street in Cleveland, he would take out and lovingly handle the first dishes they had purchased. While grappling with both grief and wistful memory, he had to endure an infuriating tax battle with the city of Cleveland. He had been a legal resident of New York since the 1880s and paid all his taxes there. During the winter of 1913–1914, Cettie's illness had forced him to prolong his stay at Forest Hill beyond February 3—the tax-listing day that determined taxable residence in Ohio. Rockefeller's extended sojourn had been dictated solely by the medical emergency.

Nonetheless, his political enemies welcomed this chance to vex him. Declaring Rockefeller a legal resident for 1913, the Cuyahoga County tax office assessed him \$1.5 million in taxes. Having already paid taxes in New York, he refused to submit to this extortion, even after Ohio governor James M. Cox threatened to subpoena him if he crossed the state line. While Rockefeller stalled, the Cuyahoga commissioners threatened to slap on a 50 percent penalty. Later on, the courts declared that Rockefeller had been assessed wrongfully, but meanwhile he had no choice but to boycott the state.

The way Cleveland dealt with him had long been a sore point with Rockefeller, who believed that no other town so regularly abused him. He thought the city ungrateful for Standard Oil's economic contribution and railed against "low politicians" who tried to extract taxes from him. "Cleveland ought to be ashamed to look herself in the face when she thinks of how she treated us," he stated.<sup>10</sup> It irked him that local groups badgered him for money while he was being so mercilessly berated by local reporters and politicians. During his lifetime, he donated more than three million dollars to several local institutions—including the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Alta House, Western Reserve University, the Case School of Applied Sciences, and the Cleveland Orchestra—and gave the land for two spacious parks, Rockefeller Park and Forest Hill Park. Yet these gifts were extremely modest compared to what Cleveland would have received had it not antagonized him. Rankled, Rockefeller transferred his love and loyalty to his adopted town. "New York has always treated me more fairly than Cleveland, much more."<sup>11</sup> How many New York hospitals, museums, and churches would be enriched by Cleveland's blunder!

Because of the virulent tax dispute, Rockefeller could not bury Cettie in the family plot in Cleveland without facing a subpoena and had to postpone the burial. To the press, he contrived a saccharine story that he could not bear to part with her remains. "I want to keep her with me as long as I can," he told reporters.<sup>12</sup> For four and a half months, he stored her casket in the green granite mausoleum of the Archbold family at Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Tarrytown, which was patrolled at all hours by two armed guards.

The casket was finally moved to Cleveland under top secret conditions. During a pelting rain and hailstorm, two guards were sent down to the cemetery gate to pick up some decorative plants for the vault—a diversionary tactic that distracted them for twenty-five minutes. While they were away, a local undertaker named Vanderbilt drove up to the vault, peeled away the flower-covered pall, removed Cettie's casket from its container, substituted a new empty casket, then replaced the pall and flowers. Once he had executed this switch, Vanderbilt drove out the front gate with Cettie's coffin hidden inside a rough, plain, unmarked box. Driving to the Harmon station of the Lake Shore Railroad, the undertaker loaded the box into a baggage car amid the intermittent flashes of an electrical storm. Nobody associated with the railroad knew the identity of the cadaver, which was accompanied to Cleveland by Vanderbilt and two men from 26 Broadway. One conspirator recalled Rockefeller's peculiarly boyish pleasure at this intrigue: "To plan and carry out the removal of the body without the papers and the public discovering a thing until all was over, was a source of satisfaction to him."<sup>13</sup>

Perpetuating this intrigue at Lake View cemetery, only Senior, Alta, Parmalee, and Aunt Lute stood by when Cettie's coffin was lowered into the earth beside Eliza—with a gap left in between them so that Rockefeller could spend eternity flanked by his two favorite women. Rockefeller selected Christian verse to be read aloud at the gravesite, and this clandestine sunset burial filled him with emotion. "That was all so beautiful, so lovely," he said. "It was just as mama would have wished."<sup>14</sup> It also ended Rockefeller's association with Cleveland, since two years later the old Forest Hill house mysteriously burned down on a frosty December night. After a failed attempt to create a residential development with houses designed in Norman-château style, Junior transferred the remaining land to Cleveland for Forest Hill Park.

As part of the probate of her will, Cettie's wardrobe was inventoried and revealed her nunlike simplicity. The most costly item of clothing was a seal coat and muff, appraised at \$150. She had a dowdy collection of garments, with 15 suits valued at \$300 and 10 hats at \$50. Cettie had never replaced the thin gold wedding ring of 1864, which was now valued at \$3. As one dumbfounded reporter commented: "Able to have a wardrobe as extensive as Queen Elizabeth's, she was content with a supply which in quantity and quality could be duplicated by the wife of an ordinarily successful business man."<sup>15</sup>



Cettie's death elicited Rockefeller's last major philanthropic commitment: In 1918, he gave \$74 million to endow the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. To commemorate his wife, he stipulated that this foundation should promote various causes that she had championed, such as Baptist missions, churches, and homes for the aged. But the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial moved beyond the denominational giving she had favored. In 1922, under the direction of Beardsley Ruml, it began to pour nearly fifty million dollars into research in the social sciences. A husky, loquacious young man, always twinkling with ideas, the cigar-smoking Ruml stimulated the growth of many university research centers in social science and was a moving force behind the creation of the Social Science Research Council. By the time the memorial was folded into the Rockefeller Foundation in 1929, it had left an enduring imprint on the academic world in only a decade of existence. As Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago said, "The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in its brief but brilliant career did more than any other agency to promote the social sciences in the United States."<sup>16</sup>

By the time her mother died, Edith had already spent two years in self-imposed exile in Switzerland and was increasingly alienated from her father and siblings. Aside from a single meeting with Junior, she seemed to have no contact with the other Rockefellers during her years abroad. She kept up a sporadic, stilted correspondence with her father that was both warm and distant, loving and subtly hostile, as she tried to sort out her confused feelings toward him.

Edith and Harold McCormick had a close but tumultuous marriage. It was, in many ways, a classic mismatch: Harold was free and expansive, while Edith was aloof, imperious, and cerebral, very much the mistress of her emotions. Sometimes she found her husband too exuberant, while he criticized her for being standoffish. Their marital tensions were likely aggravated by the death of two of their children: four-year-old Jack in 1901 and one-year-old Editha in 1904, events that cast a shadow across Edith's life. To worsen matters, between 1905 and 1907 she suffered from tuberculosis of the kidney, which fortunately went into remission. Edith became more rigid, a stickler for a frosty sort of protocol, even forcing her children to make appointments to see her. When she went out driving, she planned the exact itinerary for the coachman then refused to speak to him again during the drive. She and Harold constructed a forty-four-room mansion in Lake Forest, Illinois, called the Villa Turicum, which they never occupied, and the unpacked crates of china and chairs lingered dustily in the storerooms. Once a brilliant society hostess, Edith became increasingly immured in their mansion at 1000 Lake Shore Drive, incapacitated by a terrifying agoraphobia.

In 1910, to investigate new sites for an International Harvester factory, Harold spent two summer months motoring through Hungary with Edith, a trip that sorely debilitated her. The following year, at the last minute, she canceled a cotillion ball for two hundred people without any explanation, fostering rumors that she had had a nervous breakdown. Around this time, she also suffered a crisis of religious faith, producing a breach with her father. For a long time, she had suspected that preachers dressed up their personal beliefs as gospel truth. "I never heard a Baptist minister say anything from a pulpit that convinced me he was Divinely inspired," she once remarked.<sup>17</sup> The upshot, she recalled, was that "as the minister finished his sermon one Sunday I walked from my pew and out into the air vowing never to return and I kept that vow."<sup>18</sup> For Edith, it was a bracing moment that allowed her to map her own route to salvation, yet it also estranged her from a family spoon-fed on simple Baptist pieties.

During the summer of 1912, in a ten-week stay at a Catskill Mountains clinic run by a Dr. Foord, she rebelled against the conventional regimen of fresh air and exercise being prescribed for her depression. She was ripe for some daring approach—"My object in the world is to think new thoughts," she once stated—ideally one with quasi-mystical ingredients that might substitute for her shattered religious faith.<sup>19</sup> She was primed, in short, for her first encounter with Carl Jung, the Swiss clinical and experimental psychiatrist who had treated Harold several years earlier.

While Jung was in New York in September 1912, Harold's cousin Medill McCormick—an editor and co-owner of the *Chicago Tribune* who had been treated by Jung for alcoholism—introduced Edith to him. As he began to analyze her, Jung liked her mental sparkle but thought her emotional state extremely precarious. Jung diagnosed Edith as suffering from "latent schizophrenia," a hypothesis confirmed for him when she told him about a dream she had of a tree struck by lightning and split in two.<sup>20</sup> Edith responded to analysis like a frustrated searcher who had at last found her destination. According to one version of the story, the bossy Edith urged Jung to move with his family to America, where she would buy him a house and help him to establish his practice. This grandiosity only strengthened Jung's misgivings about Edith as a woman who thought "she could buy everything."<sup>21</sup> Regarding American life as sterile and deracinated, Jung recommended that Edith come to study with him in Zurich instead.

Since Edith spent years under Jung's spell, it is worth noting his intense dislike of Rockefeller. On October 20, 1912, Jung spent the day with Edith at Kykuit, doubtless savoring the chance to study an archetypal figure such as Rockefeller up close. He glibly dismissed the titan as narrow, empty, and sanctimonious. "Rockefeller is really just a mountain of gold, and it has been dearly bought," he said.<sup>22</sup> He thought Rockefeller lonely, obsessed with his own health, and tortured by a bad conscience. At one point, Rockefeller told Jung that the Austrians were bad people. "You know, Doctor, perhaps, of my idea for a standardized price in favor of the Standard Oil Trust; you see what a great advantage it is to pay the same price for oil all over the world—it is for the good of the people—but the Austrians have made a separate contract with Rumania. Those people are very bad."<sup>23</sup> For Jung, who viewed Standard Oil as a monstrous operation, such talk corroborated his worst suspicions. As he later wrote, "We had three great organizations before the war, the famous trinity—the Germany army, the Standard Oil Company, and the Catholic Church. Each considers itself a perfectly moral institution . . . [yet] thousands of decent human beings have been destroyed by the Standard Oil Trust."<sup>24</sup>

Having failed to woo Jung to American shores, Edith consented to sail with him to Switzerland in April 1913. For weeks before sailing, Jung met with her daily, and he continued the analytic sessions on board. Sigmund Freud, who had grown increasingly disenchanted with his onetime disciple, believed that Jung was scheming for the Rockefeller money and told Sándor Ferenczi that March that "Jung has gone to America again for five weeks, to see a Rockefeller woman, so they say."<sup>25</sup> For the crossing, the Rockefeller-McCormick retinue included Edith's son Fowler and his tutor, daughter Muriel and her governess, plus a clutch of servants; Harold and their other daughter, Mathilde, stayed behind in Chicago. In Zurich, the group settled into a suite at the fancy Hotel Baur-au-Lac, where Edith spent the next eight years. At first, nobody, least of all Edith, thought in terms of such an extended stay. For Fowler, the Zurich summer proved intolerable. "This is a very queer place," he wrote to Rockefeller. "It has rained here this summer almost incessantly and some very peculiar weather phenomenons happen."<sup>26</sup> When autumn came, he returned to America to attend Groton, but Edith tarried in Zurich, consulting Jung daily. In October, Harold and Mathilde went to Europe, hoping to bring Edith back in November, but given her growing attachment to analysis, Harold knew this was impossible. Hence, their two daughters stayed in Switzerland: Muriel was placed in a strict German

school, while Mathilde, who suffered from weak health, stayed in a sanatorium.

By late December, lingering in Zurich with Edith, Harold saw the need to defend her protracted absence to her father. In a long letter to Rockefeller, he tried to explain some of Jung’s methods, though he was often reticent about the substance of Edith’s analysis. “Edith is becoming very *real*, and *true to herself* and is seeking and I am sure will succeed to find *her path*. . . . At any rate, she is in absolutely safe and trustworthy hands for no finer man ever breathed than Dr. Jung. He has an intense admiration for Edith and yet recognizes that she is the toughest problem he ever had to deal with.” To head off family criticism, Harold added, “It was a God-send that she met Dr. Jung and that *her family* stood back of her in her resolve and that she felt this assurance.”<sup>27</sup>

Served with this warning to be tolerant, Rockefeller tried to be forbearing, but for a nineteenth-century man, Jung’s modern approach to nervous jitters sounded like so much mumbo jumbo. In detailed, informative letters, Harold gamely outlined Jung’s theory of the unconscious and how he investigated that realm through dreams, reveries, and free association. Rockefeller was diplomatic but obviously befuddled. “I have not been able up to date to get down satisfactorily to all the underlying principles,” he apologized to Harold. “But so long as they exercise a beautiful, helpful, continuing influence for good over the lives, that is the thing.”<sup>28</sup>

On December 20, Harold sailed back to America without Edith. Beyond her veneration of Jung, she was immobilized by a travel phobia that made even brief train trips unbearable torments. The severity of her fears can be gleaned from a gossipy account written by her Zurich chauffeur, Emile Ammann, who was driven to distraction by her antics. He portrayed Edith as a vain, haughty, narcissistic woman with a slender waist and bright, piercing eyes. He said she was known for her eccentric behavior, her furs and diamonds, and her beautiful fashions straight from Paris and Wiesbaden. According to Ammann, she was indifferent to her family, brutal with servants, and preoccupied with punctuality in a way that mirrored her father. On his first morning, she ordered him to pick her up at 9:14. After he arrived, she checked her diamond-studded wristwatch. “Ammann,” she said, “I ordered you to be here at 9:14. You were here at 9:13. Naturally, that’s not the same thing.”<sup>29</sup>

Ammann claimed that Edith had been able to sail to Switzerland because Jung had effectively sedated her by putting her in a hypnotic trance. The chauffeur played a pivotal role in the therapy to cure her travel phobia. Jung recommended that Edith board a train and travel as far as she could; sometimes, however, she sprang from the train in terror before it even left the station. But if she could stave off the terror and stay aboard, Ammann would speed ahead in the Rolls-Royce and meet her at the next station; if she felt secure enough to go on, she waved from the train window and he raced to the next station. Sometimes these grueling exercises lasted three hours, leaving both Edith and Ammann exhausted. Jung evidently thought Edith had to conquer her haughtiness as well, for he had her kneel down in her luxurious hotel suite and scrub the floors. Like some self-flagellating penitent, she also walked hatless and dripping through the rain while Ammann trailed alongside her in the car.

If Rockefeller had hoped that Harold would rescue Edith from this life, he was soon disabused as his son-in-law was sucked into the vortex of the Zurich group with its quasi-religious intensity. Returning to Switzerland in September 1914, Harold grew so entranced by Jung that he decided to stay and resigned as treasurer of International Harvester, ceding control to brother Cyrus while remaining a board member. He knew that such an abrupt change required some explaining. “I am trying to learn to *think*, for I have always had a superabundance of ‘feelings’—With Edith it’s just exactly the other way,” he reported to Rockefeller.<sup>30</sup> Having grown up with both a mentally ill brother and sister, Harold was quick to brood about any deviant behavior in his children, especially the impetuous, twelve-year-old Muriel, who had started analysis with Jung that summer. The following year, Edith announced to her son, “Fowler, this question of analytical psychology is a very important one,” and he, too, was herded into analysis with a Jung associate.<sup>31</sup>

By October 1914, Edith had graduated from straight analysis with Jung and started a course of supplementary study. As Harold reported to his now-restive father-in-law, “She studies astronomy, biology and history, and music. She does not go to see Dr. Jung anymore.”<sup>32</sup> Whatever patience Rockefeller had shown began to evaporate in early 1915 when Edith failed to attend the wedding of Harold’s brother Cyrus in February and did not come to Cettie’s funeral service in March—despite Harold’s talk about all the progress she had made. Rockefeller began to grumble that Edith and Harold were “banqueting” in Switzerland, forcing Harold into extended self-defense: “This is not a tabernacle of joy,” he told Rockefeller, “but a shrine to which seekers only address themselves, and it is in this spirit that I have postponed again my sailing and that Edith still finds herself held.”<sup>33</sup> By this point, Harold had adopted Jung as his guru as well, accompanying him on mountain walks and idealizing him as being “as nearly perfect to my mind as a man can be.”<sup>34</sup> This all sounds rather starry-eyed given Jung’s limited success with Edith. In a letter to his mother, Harold admitted that Edith was still prey to agoraphobia, had not left the hotel grounds for almost a year, and could not travel on a train for more than twenty minutes—hardly a glowing testimonial to Jung’s method.

What complicated relations between Rockefeller and Edith was that in working with Jung, she was trying to extirpate the cool, controlling nature she had internalized from her father. Jung classified Harold as too extroverted and Edith, like her father, as too introverted. As Harold told Rockefeller, “In Edith, Father, I see the near counterpart of your personality. I think she is more like you than any other of your children all attributes considered. . . . She has your purpose and tenacity without one little diminution.”<sup>35</sup> Precisely for that reason, Edith knew the little devices by which her father cunningly walled himself off from people. As she wrote to her father after Cettie’s death, “There is warmth and love in your heart when we can get through all the outside barriers which you have thrown up to protect yourself—your own self—from the world.”<sup>36</sup> On another occasion, she repeated this leitmotif. “I wish sometimes that you would let me get near to you . . . so that your heart would feel the warmth of a simple human sort.”<sup>37</sup>

Such straight talk probably made Rockefeller squirm. The human psyche was a boggy, fetid terrain that he never cared to explore, and he had spent a lifetime trying to conceal his motives and emotions. He had been largely insulated from criticism within his own family, and Edith was the first child to press him, however gingerly, on taboo topics. It is testimony to his fatherly love that, despite his complete bafflement about her exile, he tried to respond to Edith with patient sympathy. To her plea for greater closeness, he replied, “I can think of nothing which I would more devoutly desire than that we should be constantly drawn closer and closer together, to the end that we may be of the greatest assistance to each other, not only, but to the dear ones so near and so dear to us.”<sup>38</sup> For the most part, he was too shrewd to try to induce outright guilt in Edith about her stay overseas and simply said how much

he missed her and that he knew her absence must be for the best.

In 1915, Jung recommended that his followers read Friedrich Nietzsche, especially *The Will to Power*, and Edith and Harold sent a copy to Rockefeller to promote self-awareness. “It cites the theory,” Harold explained excitedly, “you exemplify the practice.”<sup>39</sup> One can only picture Rockefeller’s puzzlement as he thumbed these pages. “I’m sure the book will prove very interesting reading, though it may be far beyond me,” Rockefeller replied. “I keep to a simple philosophy and almost primitive ideas of living.”<sup>40</sup> In a later letter to Rockefeller—having clearly forgotten the earlier one—Harold explained that Nietzsche was attempting to show how some people need to impose their wills on others. Yet for all their efforts to enlighten him, Harold and Edith never made much progress with Rockefeller, who was comfortable with himself and lived quite nicely with his own repressions.

Increasingly, Edith saw in Jungian psychology a mystic path as well as a therapeutic method. “You on your path have your philosophy and your religion which guide you,” she wrote to Rockefeller in words that would have sounded blasphemous to him. “I on my path have my philosophy and my religion which guide me.”<sup>41</sup> Edith wanted to use the Rockefeller fortune to proselytize for Jung, and she bristled that her father demoted her and Alta to a subordinate status behind Junior. With a protofeminist consciousness, she resented the flagrant inequality in the treatment of the son and daughters. In September 1915, she told Rockefeller of her wish to help with his philanthropies. “It is beautiful and enveloping work and John is privileged in a way which Alta and I as yet have not had the opportunity of being. I am sure that as women we are serious minded and earnest and deeply interested in mankind.”<sup>42</sup> When this produced no effect, Edith upped the pressure in January 1916. “As a woman of forty-three I should like to have more money to help with. . . . I am worthy of more confidence on your part.”<sup>43</sup> Rockefeller was not exactly punishing his daughter—he was sending her \$2,500 monthly and had already given her and Harold more than \$2 million in gifts—but his favoritism toward his son was clear.

What Edith could not admit was that she argued from a weak position. She had cut herself off from her family, skipped her mother’s funeral, often showed little interest in her children, had crippling phobias, and had no immediate plans to return to the United States. She was a spendthrift with a habit of running up debt, which would have only deepened her father’s doubts about her ability to manage money. As Rockefeller said, citing her stay abroad, he regretted that he could not be “more familiar with your benevolences as I have been with John and Alta in respect to their contributions to good causes. This contact and the more intimate knowledge of all that they are doing in this regard has afforded me much pleasure.”<sup>44</sup> Eventually, he doubled Edith’s monthly allowance to \$5,000 but went no further for the moment.

That Edith wanted additional money to advance the cause of Jungian analysis became clear in 1916 when she put up \$120,000—\$80,000 of it borrowed—to rent and renovate a posh Zurich mansion for a new Psychological Club, complete with a library, restaurant, recreation rooms, and guest rooms. The intention was to have a place where analysts and patients could socialize and listen to lectures. When the setting proved too costly, the club moved to more modest quarters on the Gemeindestrasse. Edith also sponsored translations of Jung’s work into English that significantly expanded his influence. Disturbed by this largesse, Rockefeller demanded that Edith send him a list of her chief charitable benefactions. In her reply, she showed that her gift to Jung far surpassed her donations to her two other main causes: the John McCormick Institution of Infectious Diseases and the Chicago Opera Company.

Upon learning of Edith’s contribution for the Psychological Club, Freud, who had since broken with his heretical disciple, greeted the news with a sneer. “So Swiss ethics have finally made their sought-after contact with American money.”<sup>45</sup> It is easy to understand Freud’s cynicism. After her gift for the Psychological Club, Edith was suddenly allowed by Jung to graduate from an analysand with unusually intractable problems to the role of analyst. That Jung had allowed the phobic Edith to function as an analyst raises some profound questions about Jung’s judgment. By the following year, Edith wrote to her father, “I am teaching six hours a day besides my own studies.”<sup>46</sup>

Edith was also subsidizing writers and musicians. Her most important patronage was of James Joyce, who had found sanctuary in neutral Zurich during the war. In February 1918, Edith set up a bank account for the financially beleaguered Joyce that allowed him to withdraw a thousand francs monthly. Eager to thank his anonymous patron, Joyce managed to ascertain her identity. When Joyce met Edith, she said to him, “I know you are a great artist” then bubbled over with talk about Jungian analysis.<sup>47</sup> In her typical domineering fashion, Edith decided that Joyce should undergo analysis with Jung and she would pay for it. Possibly because he spurned this offer, Joyce found his credit line abruptly terminated after eighteen months. The author did not welcome the volte-face. As Joyce’s biographer Richard Ellmann observed, “It is unlikely that Joyce would allow [Edith] to escape scot-free from artistic punishment; and in the *Circe* episode of *Ulysses*, Mrs. Mervyn Talboys, the society woman with a riding crop and a sadistic bent, may owe something to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, a noted horsewoman.”<sup>48</sup> Even Joyce’s wife, Nora, made Edith the butt of ribald jokes, wondering what kind of sumptuous underwear the rich American woman wore.

Edith certainly had her ridiculous aspects. She was an unlikely cross between the *grande bourgeoisie* and the impractical bohemian, a dreamer caught up in the cultlike atmosphere of Jung’s practice. Yet in the Rockefeller family, she was a pioneer, the first to peer into the mysteries of human nature and confront social inhibitions and moral restraints that had long been held sacrosanct by the family.

It seemed at first that the mutual interest in psychoanalysis might bridge the temperamental divide between Edith and Harold. He was patient, compassionate, and eager to see his wife freed from the demons that beset her. “I must tell you in a word how lovely Edith is developing,” a rhapsodic Harold wrote to his mother in September 1917. “You would not know her.”<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Edith seemed to be thriving in Zurich, her caseload of patients growing. “New patients are coming to me all the time and I have had some fifty cases now,” she told her father in 1919. “I hear in a year twelve thousand dreams.”<sup>50</sup> This pleasant interlude might have lasted forever if Harold had not been named president of International Harvester in 1918, pulling him back into the workaday world of Chicago.

Psychoanalysis had stimulated both Edith and Harold to experiment freely with their lives. Like other novices, Edith converted Jungian analysis into a license for wildly uninhibited behavior. Jung himself did not believe in or practice monogamy. “Ammann,” Edith told her chauffeur, “if your unconscious causes you to love several women, you need not feel any guilt. . . . Psychoanalysis will conquer all.”<sup>51</sup> She posted Emma, her private

secretary, at the threshold of her hotel suite to safeguard her trysts. One day, Harold showed up without warning and brushed past Emma before she could stop him. A startled Edith began to shout, “Harold, I . . . shan’t have it. You’re not to come to my rooms without first having Emma announce you.”<sup>52</sup> Now that Harold and Edith lived far apart, each had numerous opportunities for escapades.

Edith’s liaisons managed to skirt scandal until a young Austrian named Edwin Krenn came onto the scene. A man of shadowy antecedents—Edith described him as the son of a famous European painter—he was short, blond, chubby, and always foppishly attired. When he arrived in Switzerland and entered analysis with Edith, he did not have any apparent means of support. Edith not only financed him but helped him to obtain Swiss citizenship. She was convinced that he was an architect of genius, and they became constant companions, driving together in the afternoons, attending theater in the evening, then retiring to her hotel suite for private dinners. According to Emile Ammann, Jung warned her of the scandal that might erupt from this love affair. “This is my problem,” Edith replied curtly, “and I can do what I please.”<sup>53</sup>

Alone in Chicago, Harold was highly susceptible to alluring women. Since he and Edith had recently made a five-year commitment to support the Chicago Opera Company, many pretty, aspiring singers passed his way. In September 1919, when the Chicago Opera performed in New York, a Polish singer named Ganna Walska tracked him down at the Plaza Hotel. Even though he was now balding and pudgy, Walska claimed that she swooned over his “wonderful boyish blue eyes.”<sup>54</sup> A voluptuous woman with a hypnotic gaze, Walska wore ponderous jewelry and oversized hats and fancied herself a femme fatale; much like Edwin Krenn, she was a gold digger who wrapped herself in a cloud of exotic mystery.

In 1920, the two McCormick daughters, alarmed by their mother’s affair with Edwin Krenn, pleaded with Harold to come to Zurich at once. By this point, Harold was already smitten with Walska and had little incentive to terminate the match, but he perhaps went to Switzerland, in part, because of Rockefeller’s concern about the perilous state of Edith’s finances. Bent upon showing that she possessed her father’s business flair, she had blundered into one catastrophic deal after another. In late 1919, a German scientist had come to Switzerland peddling a secret process for hardening wood, which was supposed to make it usable for everything from railroad ties to telegraph poles. Even Jung initially encouraged Edith in the venture. She set up a company, appointed herself board chairman, and invested \$100,000, promising to boost that amount to \$1 million. Rockefeller pleaded with Harold to stop her. “I am opposed to Edith having anything to do with the project at all. I fear that it will result in great loss and trouble. I most earnestly entreat her to discontinue this not only but not to engage in any business schemes.”<sup>55</sup> There was a touch of the willful adolescent about Edith, chafing at daddy’s authority, and Rockefeller’s intervention probably backfired. He quickly proved to be prescient: After the German scientist left Switzerland, Edith could not reproduce his results, and eventually she had to write off a \$340,000 investment. Edith also piled up staggering debts to support the Chicago Opera and gave a \$300,000 piece of property to Cook County for a zoo; Harold, Rockefeller, and Junior first learned of this last act of munificence in the morning papers. By early 1920, Edith’s debts had ballooned to \$812,000, and her father was obliged to tide her over with a transfer of Standard Oil of New Jersey stock.

However sharp Rockefeller was in criticizing her finances, he was even more concerned about his daughter’s negligence as a mother, especially toward his favorite grandson, Fowler. As lovingly as he could, he prodded Edith to devote more time to her children. As he told her in April 1921:

*Edith dear, the financial question, while important, is not important when compared to the other question—the great question of your being present with your children. And how sadly they need your presence, and how very solicitous we are all for them! In this connection I may add that you could have been a great comfort and help to your mother and me. But this sinks into insignificance also, when we consider the dear children. . . . I am not lecturing. I am not scolding. I love you, Edith dear; and I am still hoping.*<sup>56</sup>

By late August 1921, Edith had sufficiently overcome her travel phobia that she was able to book passage for America, where she planned to visit her father upon arrival. She had not set eyes on him for eight years, yet when she docked in New York, she told him that she wanted to bring along two companions: Edwin Krenn and his old boarding-school chum, Edward Dato. Properly offended—and possibly privy to rumors about Edith’s affair—Rockefeller insisted upon seeing Edith alone. She grudgingly agreed to venture to Lakewood alone to see him. It took ten years for Edith to explain to her father why she never arrived on the agreed day. “When I got to the ferry, a terrific thunder storm broke the terrible heat and my nerves which had been sorely tried by the difficult divorce conditions of my arrival in New York added to the treatment of my children, broke down and I was forced to turn back instead of going to you.”<sup>57</sup> This was as close as father and daughter came to seeing each other during the last nineteen years of Edith’s life. Despite eight years of intensive study with Jung, Edith still could not fully conquer her travel phobia, at least when it came to seeing her father.

A month after Edith returned to Chicago, Harold filed for divorce. Like her father, Edith harbored hopes for a reconciliation, but Harold had the stronger legal case: His lawyer, Paul Cravath, had brought over from Europe a witness who had apparently observed Edith’s infidelities. This unidentified witness was convincing enough that Alta suggested that her sister make an early settlement. By Christmas, Edith was forced to sign a harsh divorce settlement, stipulating that she would receive no alimony and would pay Harold \$2.7 million for their homes, plunging her further into debt. (In 1922, Edith still owed \$726,000 to the banks, despite having received more than \$14 million from her father over the years.) As if to register sympathy for his son-in-law, Rockefeller sent Harold a \$1,000 Christmas check even as his daughter was signing the punitive papers. Though Edith pressed him to cut off communications, Rockefeller stayed in touch with Harold, but they saw each other less frequently as time passed.

Upon returning to Chicago, Edith planned to establish a center for Jungian psychology, possibly housed in the Villa Turicum. Not particularly modest about her aspirations, she explained, “It was pointed out to me that, psychologically, Chicago will be the greatest center in the world. That is why I have come back to live.”<sup>58</sup> Before long, Edith attracted one hundred patients to her private practice, many of them socialites enticed by the Rockefeller and McCormick names. Perpetuating her interests in astrology and the occult, she paid fantastic sums for horoscopes and hosted occasional séances; at one session, she swooned into a trance then announced that she was the reincarnated spirit of Tutankhamen’s child bride. Also feeding the curiosity of prospective patients was Edith’s rumored liaison with Krenn. As in Zurich, they made daily rounds together: They lunched together, then shared language tutors, followed by late-afternoon tea and evening movies. Some observers thought Krenn might be involved in a homosexual affair with Dato, although it is impossible to verify the truth of these assertions.

Still persuaded of her business acumen, Edith started a real-estate venture in late 1923, headed by her European companions and called Krenn and

Dato. Once again, she proved as gullible and impulsive as Rockefeller had feared. To float the venture, Edith deposited \$5.23 million (\$45 million in today's money) in an entity called the Edith Rockefeller McCormick Trust, naming Krenn and Dato as cotrustees. Seeing Edith about to step off another cliff, Rockefeller wrote to her, "I shall expect later on that you will have great disappointment in connection with these real estate transactions, and it would give us all great humiliation to find a duplication of the experience which you have already had in your business adventures with foreigners."<sup>59</sup> The warning was not heeded. Though Edith planned to build affordable housing for the poor near Highland Park, Krenn and Dato's flagship venture was to be a 1,500-acre haven for millionaires on Lake Michigan called Edithon, complete with a marina for owners' yachts. For the town's design, Krenn ransacked the styles of Atlantic City and Palm Beach. Trapped in Chicago by her travel phobia, Edith could not visit the building site or inspect the books or even stop by the Krenn and Dato offices. When Edith proudly mailed her father the firm's prospectus, he must have groaned inwardly, and he issued yet another jeremiad. "While you are a brilliant and mature woman of great mental capacity, I cannot forget you are my own flesh and blood. Therefore, it seems my duty to warn you of the pitfalls and vagaries of life."<sup>60</sup> Rockefeller had already heard reports that Edith was again borrowing heavily and that midwestern creditors were in New York, inquiring about her net worth. Yet Edith took umbrage at her father's well-meant concern: "I cannot refrain from telling you that I have been pained by your expressions of doubt as to the way my business Trust is managed and as to my two partners. Both Mr. Krenn and Mr. Dato are men of the highest integrity."<sup>61</sup> By 1927, as they lurched toward disaster, Krenn and Dato waded deeper into debt. The firm was not strong enough to withstand the 1929 crash, which left Edith with piles of unsold real estate. She never recouped her huge losses.

Throughout the 1920s, Edith kept reassuring her father that she would visit him but never made the trip. One is finally left to wonder whether her travel phobia provided her with a handy excuse to avoid a problematic relationship. Father and daughter often exchanged brief, loving letters and never lost touch, but they continued to disappoint each other. Edith wanted a modern father, not the antique figure she got. She tended to approach him as an oracle but then was hurt and baffled by the advice she received. Edith never expressed any remorse for having deserted her father during the last twenty years of her life. She had long been liberated from such outmoded concepts.



*John D. Rockefeller with his adored grandson David in the 1910s. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Confessional

If Rockefeller gave way to many lonely moments after Cettie's death, he was also liberated from the marathon ordeal of her illness. In the coming years, even as his shrunken frame grew spindly, he seemed lighter and more ebullient, more Bill's son than Eliza's. Though he lived a solitary life in many ways—Cettie and Bessie were dead, Edith was in Switzerland or Chicago, Alta was often at her Mount Hope farm, and Junior was busy disposing of his fortune—he assembled a substitute family around him.

Until her death in 1920, his prim, precise sister-in-law Lute pitched in as his hostess. But the most enduring presence after Cettie's death was the buxom Fanny Evans, Rockefeller's cousin from Strongsville, Ohio, who served as his housekeeper and companion. Rockefeller engaged in wry banter with Evans, who was thirty years his junior. As they sat at opposite ends of the dinner table, Rockefeller took a wicked old man's delight in both ribbing and flattering her. "I am constantly calling her an angel to her face," he told his son, "which causes her to throw up both hands and register somewhat of incredulity."<sup>1</sup> They saluted each other as "Mr. Rockefeller" and "Mrs. Evans," though he sometimes called her Aunt Fanny. They conspired in the fiction that he had to submit to her tyranny because she governed his social calendar—a useful device for getting rid of people who stayed too long. Among the supporting actors was the smartly attired Swiss valet, John Yordi, who did everything from overseeing his master's diet to entertaining him on the organ. (He specialized in hymns, of course.) Invested with dictatorial powers, Yordi was authorized to stop Rockefeller from engaging in anything too strenuous.

After all the agonizing effort expended by Junior and Abby on Kykuit, John and Cettie spent little time there. Cettie died soon after the renovation was complete, while he preferred his Lakewood hideout in the spring and Florida in the winter. His romance with the southern latitudes blossomed during his February golf vacations in Augusta, Georgia, where he could hop a trolley car or wander the streets without bodyguards. For all of Pocantico's magnificence, he felt caged and cut off from the outer world there, held hostage by his wealth. Had he not gotten too chilly on the golf course each morning, he might have selected Augusta for his winter home. When a friend then sent euphoric letters extolling the climate of Seabreeze, Florida, Rockefeller contacted the U.S. Weather Bureau and ascertained that Seabreeze regularly soaked up more winter sunshine than Augusta. Since this would extend his golf season, he made an exploratory trip there with Dr. Biggar in 1913 and found the weather just splendid. Rockefeller spent several winters at the nearby Ormond Beach Hotel, created by Henry Flagler, taking up a whole floor with his entourage, and then finally bought a house in Ormond Beach in September 1918. One must note a small irony. For years, Flagler had begged him to come to Florida, but only after Flagler's death in 1913 did Rockefeller regularly visit the state, again suggesting his tacit disapproval of his friend's divorce and ostentation in later years.

As he aged, Rockefeller felt the tug of his Puritan roots and made a fetish of simplicity. "I am convinced that we want to study more and more not to enslave ourselves to *things* and get down more nearly to the Benjamin Franklin idea of living, and take our bowl of porridge on a table without any table cloth," he wrote.<sup>2</sup> At Ormond Beach, a popular resort sprinkled with hotels, Rockefeller tried to return to comparatively humble living. He settled on a three-story, gray-shingled house across from the Ormond Beach Hotel that was called The Casements in tribute to its awning-covered windows. Afraid that the price would soar exorbitantly if his interest was known, he had an associate purchase it, and he took up winter residence there starting in early 1919. Simply furnished, the house was shaded by towering palms and had well-tended terraces sloping down to the Halifax River, an ocean inlet that paralleled the beach. Unassuming by Rockefeller standards, the house had eleven guest bedrooms to handle his growing brood of descendants, though it never teemed with as many family members as Rockefeller had hoped. Showing his old love of tinkering with houses, he would grab a walking stick and outline additions to the house in the wet sand or make quick sketches with a stubby pencil. A veteran sun worshiper, he installed an enclosed sunporch, which enabled tourists to view him, like some American waxwork, sitting inside. Most of all, he wanted to flood the place with music and furnished the house with a Steinway piano, a Victrola, and a lovely church organ. "I reverence a man who composes music," he once exclaimed after listening to the music of Richard Wagner. "It is a marvelous gift."<sup>3</sup>

Rockefeller liked to welcome visitors while sitting in Eliza's old rocking chair. The Casements had no guards or gatehouse, just a protective hedge, and reporters constantly marveled at its apparent lack of security. "It would have been the easiest thing possible for a Corsican to slip a stiletto into [Rockefeller's] side any minute," said one local reporter.<sup>4</sup> Though the house was not quite as unguarded as it looked—two watchmen stayed inside and another two patrolled the grounds, while Yordi also acted as a bodyguard—Rockefeller strolled around the town unattended, a geezer wrapped in a scarf and tweed cap on cool days. One day, a small boy called out to him, "Hello John D.," and Rockefeller commented, "It would have been nicer if he had said, 'Hello Neighbor John.'" <sup>5</sup> The townspeople thereafter catered to him by calling him Neighbor John, an honorary title that he cherished. As one reporter wrote, "At Ormond he is looked upon somewhat in the aspect of an idolized old mayor, or school teacher, or even minister."<sup>6</sup> He often motored the six miles to Daytona Beach, where he sat in a hooded white wicker chair, curtained from sun and breeze, watching racing cars speed over hard-packed sand.

Rockefeller indulged his two consuming pastimes: God and golf. Each Sunday morning, he donned a black derby and cutaway coat and attended the nondenominational Ormond Union Church, where he sat erect in a pew midway up the aisle, belting out hymns with gusto. Afterward, he lingered outside the church, courteously greeting fellow worshipers and passersby. He always trusted the citizens of Ormond Beach and mingled freely with them. Once a year, he deftly slipped into the pastor's hands an envelope that contained a check covering both his salary and church operations for the year.

At Ormond Beach, Rockefeller for the first time developed true friends, not just golf cronies or acquaintances. He was belatedly learning to live more fully, more freely, than ever before. His most frequent companion was the ancient Civil War general Adelbert Ames, a ramrod-stiff West Pointer who had been wounded at Bull Run, served as a Mississippi governor during Reconstruction, and returned to battle as a volunteer brigadier general during the Spanish-American War. On the golf course, Ames, who was four years older than Rockefeller, was amused by the petty economies practiced by his thrifty friend. Around water holes, Rockefeller insisted that they switch to old golf balls and marveled at profligate players who used *new* balls in these treacherous places. "They must be very rich!" he told Ames.<sup>7</sup>

Often in a lighthearted mood at Ormond Beach, Rockefeller did not mind mugging for newsreel cameras when celebrities made courtesy calls. Henry Ford dropped by without an appointment and was informed that Rockefeller appeared at the public golf course at exactly twelve minutes past twelve each day. The two men met and clasped hands at that precise instant. Ford was struck by Rockefeller's calm, leathery face and keenly observant eyes. "As soon as I saw his face I knew what had made the Standard Oil Company," he said.<sup>8</sup>

Rockefeller was also visited by humorist Will Rogers, whose dry, folksy quips were not unlike Rockefeller's own. Rogers had breakfast at The Casements twice, followed by golf. When Rockefeller gave him a souvenir dime, Rogers replied, "You know, after the company this little dime has been keepin', I'm afraid it's gonna be plumb lonesome in my pocket."<sup>9</sup> And when Rockefeller beat him at golf, Rogers said, "I'm glad you beat me, John. The last time you were beaten, I noticed the price of gasoline went up two cents a gallon."<sup>10</sup> That Rogers dared to joke about such matters—and that Rockefeller dared to throw back his head with laughter—says much about his growing relaxation. The fearsome corporate outlaw was fast becoming a beloved old storybook figure, a certified American character, and his more cheerful mood reflected that.

On Sunday evenings, resplendent in a well-tailored tuxedo, Rockefeller attended the weekly concerts at the Ormond Beach Hotel and often invited visiting divas such as Mary Garden to join him for golf the next morning. With Cettie gone, he could play the gallant openly and liked to disappear with his new lady friends for long afternoon drives.

Benjamin Franklin once observed, "I believe long habits of virtue have a sensible effect on the countenance," and Rockefeller's nature became engraved in his aging face. The finely wrinkled, papery flesh told of frugality, the steady gaze of resolute purpose, the masklike face of cunning and craft. He was an ideal subject for a portrait artist, but for a long time he betrayed an ascetic distaste for personal representation. Junior and Abby admired portraits of the Widener family executed by John Singer Sargent, and in 1916 they suggested to Rockefeller that they hire Sargent for five portraits—three of John senior, one of Junior, and one of Abby. The bookkeeper in Rockefeller promptly asserted itself. "What about Kohlbach?" he asked. "The price seems very, very high, but I am willing to consider this question further with you."<sup>11</sup> Junior noted that Sargent, who had studied in Florence and Paris and was the son of expatriate American painters, was possibly the greatest living portrait painter and that Kohlbach, a minor figure, was not in his league. For his part, Sargent was reluctant to do the great man—he was tired of portraits and wanted to devote more time to watercolors—and consented at first only as a favor to Junior.

When the sixty-one-year-old Sargent began to paint Rockefeller at Ormond Beach in March 1917, he discarded the stereotypical images. Instead of painting him in somber business black, he captured him in a casually elegant mood, wearing a blue serge jacket with a white vest and slacks. The face was thin but not yet gaunt, the eyes pensive, and the pose softer and more relaxed than in Eastman Johnson's 1895 painting. By setting Rockefeller against an unadorned backdrop, Sargent stressed his simplicity rather than his royal wealth. Rockefeller was so pleased that he sat for a second portrait at Pocantico. Sargent found Rockefeller highly evocative and reminiscent of strong-willed figures in ecclesiastical history: "He seemed to me most like an old medieval saint with a great deal of intellect. . . . I was struck first of all by his thoroughbred appearance, the fineness of his type, the fine, keen ascetic type, one might say, and his expression of benevolence."<sup>12</sup> The two men talked about the brickbats flung at Rockefeller over the years, and Sargent said that while Rockefeller felt their injustice keenly, he had attained a state of philosophic resignation.

Sargent recommended that Rockefeller hire the sculptor Paulanship, and they, too, developed an easy working relationship. At Lakewood and Pocantico, while Manship chipped away, Rockefeller diverted him with tales of his career and explained the heavenly sanction behind his wealth. "He would repeat to me several times how he considered the fortune that he had acquired as having been given to him as a responsibility, that he must not do with it except for the good of man."<sup>13</sup> Drawn to the busts of Roman emperors and Renaissance potentates, Manship also saw in Rockefeller the simple but august power of old Vatican prelates. "He struck me as being an extraordinary man, and I would say to myself, 'If he'd lived in the Middle Ages, he'd have been Pope at Rome.' You know, he had that kind of intensity and concentration and with his Baptist upbringing and intensity of belief and his genius, his power, I felt sure that would have been the case." Manship executed two busts of Rockefeller. In one, the titan seems a saintly figure, thin face upturned, eyes lifted meekly heavenward—a highly unusual bust for a magnate. And in the second bust, Manship sculpted Rockefeller's harder look, face stern and lips tightly compressed. The two sculptures side by side form a composite portrait of Rockefeller, forever torn between heaven and earth, earthly gain and eternal salvation.

As he loosened up in his later years, Rockefeller showed a real aptitude for image-making. His great brainstorm was undoubtedly his decision to dispense shiny souvenir dimes to adults and nickels to children as he moved about. On his morning rounds, Rockefeller dispensed dimes to household employees or caddies on the golf course. Contrary to myth, it was Rockefeller, not Ivy Lee, who dreamed up this gimmick. Lee's signal contribution was to get him to make this private practice a public trademark.

Rockefeller added his own symbolism to the coin distribution. He delivered brief sermons along with the coins, exhorting small children to work hard and be frugal if they wanted a fortune; the coins were for savings, not indulgence. "I think it is easier to remember a lesson when we have some token to recall it by, something we can look at which reminds us of the idea," he remarked.<sup>14</sup> He informed children that the nickel represented a year's interest on a dollar. For someone of Rockefeller's sententious nature, this was a very comfortable persona to adopt.

When he ventured forth in public, Rockefeller often had one pocket bulging with nickels, the other with dimes, while the faithful Yordi carried a backup mint. It has been estimated that Rockefeller distributed between 20,000 and 30,000 coins, and many recipients cherished these mementos, wove them into amulets, or displayed them at home. Because he hated signing autographs, which he thought a stupid custom, and was often ill at ease in public, the dimes gave him a handy ritual to smooth his dealings with strangers and enabled him to hide behind banalities. His grandson David noted, "Here was a means of quickly establishing a basis of conversation and rapport with people he saw, which he enjoyed."<sup>15</sup>

Rockefeller devised myriad uses for the dimes. Whenever somebody excelled at golf, out popped a dime. When Harvey Firestone slipped in a long, tricky putt, Rockefeller stepped over merrily, coin in hand. "Beautiful! Beautiful! That's worth a dime."<sup>16</sup> Dimes were given for well-told tales at dinner. If somebody spilled something, Rockefeller poured dimes over the stains as a tip for the person who mopped it up. Sometimes, he teased people

by holding back the dime or dropping a horse chestnut into their palms instead, telling them it was good for rheumatism. Old newsreels capture Rockefeller handing out dimes in papal fashion, saying in a reedy voice, “Bless you! Bless you!” as if dispensing communion wafers.

By the time Ivy Lee appeared, Rockefeller had become, implausibly, the darling of feature writers, who found him colorful and easy to dramatize. Lee ensured that the coverage remained understated and devoid of unseemly self-promotion. He perpetuated the policy of letting recipients announce large gifts from Rockefeller and was scrupulous that the titan not play favorites or grant an exclusive interview to one paper that might antagonize another. Such trust did Lee develop with the press corps that many reporters let him vet their stories for accuracy, permitting a more controlled portrait of Rockefeller. Nevertheless, Rockefeller retained a healthy skepticism about the press, and his new openness was largely a cosmetic adaptation of a basically suspicious nature. As one newspaper observed, “So averse is Mr. Rockefeller to being quoted, even indirectly, on public questions that he does not discuss such subjects even with friends, and it is an unwritten rule that guests content themselves with anecdotes and small talk.”<sup>17</sup>

If Ivy Lee enjoyed excellent rapport with Rockefeller, it was because he understood his operating style. He saw Rockefeller as a man of superior judgment who was far more adept in reacting to ideas than in initiating them. Whenever Lee laid any proposal before Rockefeller, he was required to list all opposing arguments. Faced with two sides of any question, according to Lee, Rockefeller had an unerring ability to make the right choice.

Encouraged by their ability to shape public opinion after Ludlow, Junior and Lee dusted off the long-dormant idea of an authorized biography of Senior. For Junior, refurbishing the family image was complicated by the fact that he did not know what had happened at Standard Oil and took his father’s integrity as an article of faith. When talking about the infamous South Improvement Company, Rockefeller made this startling confession in the 1910s: “Most of what my son knows of this situation is his memory of what he has read in [Ida Tarbell’s] book, with only here and there a statement of fact by me.”<sup>18</sup> That Junior had been kept ignorant of such critical matters might have been one reason that Rockefeller agreed to undertake the three-year interview with William O. Inglis. As Rockefeller told Inglis, “I have gone into it because my son, very conscientious, has heard all this talk and cannot answer it himself and wants to have all the facts at hand.”<sup>19</sup> The Rockefeller family had long been riddled by strange silences, especially about Standard Oil. Among other things, Inglis asked Rockefeller all the sensitive questions that Junior had never dared to pose himself.

With Rockefeller serenely confident about his place in history, Junior and Lee knew they would have to ease him by imperceptible degrees into any biographical project. In early 1915, Lee approached his old friend Inglis, a genial New York *World* editor who often golfed with celebrities and then published appreciative profiles about them. The Brooklyn-born Inglis wrote sports and feature stories, had an agile style, and was sufficiently malleable to toe the Rockefeller line. At first, Rockefeller refused to golf with him, even though Lee assured him that “you can be sure that anything he writes will be absolutely friendly.”<sup>20</sup> When this gambit did not work, Lee wrote to Rockefeller later in the year, “He would print nothing at all that he did not let us see in advance of publication.”<sup>21</sup> Rockefeller at last acquiesced, and Inglis produced, as expected, an admiring story.

In May 1917, a month after the U.S. entry into World War I, Rockefeller invited the newsman to golf at Forest Hill but did not commit himself to a biography. Inglis found him a bit more stooped and wrinkled but sunburned and radiating an air of command. He was amazed when Rockefeller announced out of the blue, “We shall not take up anything controversial. A great deal of mud has been thrown at me in the past. Much of it has dried and fallen off since then. To take up those questions now would only revive bitter controversy.”<sup>22</sup> For the next six weeks, Rockefeller golfed with Inglis and recounted innocent boyhood memories in a noncommittal fashion. At the end of this probationary period, Rockefeller agreed to sit for an unprecedented, open-ended private interview. “You have won the old gentleman’s confidence by keeping quiet,” Lee told Inglis, “and now you can go down to Lakewood and ask him any questions you like.”<sup>23</sup> If Flagler had not died in 1913 and Archbold in December 1916, Rockefeller might well have declined this chance to talk, for the proposed biography would violate their policy of never responding to critics. As Rockefeller told Inglis, “If my old associates, Mr. Flagler and others, were here, they’d say, ‘Why, John, what’s come over you?—wasting your time like this!’”<sup>24</sup>

Between November 1, 1917, and December 13, 1920, under conditions of the utmost secrecy, Inglis interviewed Rockefeller for approximately an hour each day, usually before breakfast or golf. (At one point, Rockefeller cooled on the project, which lapsed from July 1919 to November 1920.) Trailing Rockefeller from estate to estate, Inglis extracted a verbatim transcript of 480,000 words from his taciturn subject. His method was quite unusual. He would read aloud portions from Lloyd and Tarbell—both of whom Rockefeller professed never to have read—then record Rockefeller’s responses. With his usual conservation of energy, Rockefeller often reclined on a lounge, shut his eyes, and seemed inert as Inglis read a passage; just when Inglis thought he was fast asleep, his eyes would pop open and he would deliver an exact response to the selection. Inglis also roamed about upstate New York and Cleveland, gathering anecdotes about Rockefeller from his boyhood haunts of Richford, Moravia, Owego, Strongsville, and Cleveland.

At first, Rockefeller regarded the interview as a private record for the family archive, but he was galvanized as he articulated, for the first time, his own defense. By March 1918, Inglis reported this change to Lee: “He says that he now feels it his duty, no less to his family than to himself, to put on record the truth about so many incidents which have been falsely reported.”<sup>25</sup> The daily exploration transported Rockefeller back to his glory days. One morning, he told Inglis of a dream he had had: “I was back again in the harness, desperately in earnest and hard at work in the endeavor to meet embarrassing situations, to overcome the difficulties.”<sup>26</sup>

Junior was relieved by his father’s enthusiasm. “I had never even dreamed of your pursuing the matter with the persistence and continuity of which Mr. Inglis writes,” Junior told his father. “I thank you a thousand times for what you are doing.”<sup>27</sup> It tells much about Junior’s underlying motivation and insecurity that he specifically asked Inglis to quiz Senior about Ida Tarbell. “To be able to take the words out of her own mouth and prove the case against her is of the utmost value,” Junior instructed him.<sup>28</sup> In responding to Tarbell, Rockefeller alternated between biting criticism and his express desire to avoid unpleasantness. “But let us avoid anything controversial,” he told Inglis. “We don’t want to start another set of Tarbells and such people with their slanders.”<sup>29</sup> The Rockefeller that emerges from this transcript is alternately wry and genial, fiery and sardonic. An articulate man, he had worked out elaborate justifications for his actions that he had never shared with anyone, the vital inner reflections in which he reconciled his business and religious beliefs. The interview shows the extraordinary energy he invested in rationalizing those actions and forging exculpatory positions. If he felt no need to explain himself to the public, he had a powerful need to justify his behavior to himself. With Inglis, Rockefeller delivered an extended



defense of trusts probably unique among those who created them. Yet even in this confession-box setting, Rockefeller was often voluble rather than candid; the habit of secrecy was too deeply ingrained. He voiced no regrets about his anticompetitive practices and seemed incapable of true self-criticism. To hear Rockefeller tell it, Standard Oil was now a beloved organization, worshiped by the masses for bringing them cheap oil. “It is conceded today that the whole performance from beginning to end was one of the most remarkable, if not indeed the most remarkable, in the annals of commercial undertakings of all times.”<sup>30</sup> Never once in the three-year interview did Rockefeller refer to the 1911 dismemberment, and he bizarrely talked of Standard Oil as if the trust still existed. When Inglis volunteered to read aloud the 1911 Supreme Court opinion, Rockefeller declined. “No; I have never heard the decision read. I shirked it; left it to the lawyers.”<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the interview, Rockefeller contended that cooperation had triumphed over competition in American life—which might sound odd coming so soon after both the 1914 passage of the Clayton Antitrust Act—which outlawed unfair trade practices, such as interlocking directorates—and the 1915 creation of the Federal Trade Commission, which policed anticompetitive measures and enshrined competition as the central tenet of American economic life. But lest it seem that Rockefeller had succumbed entirely to self-delusion, we must recall that the Inglis interview commenced shortly after the United States entered World War I. In a reversal of past antitrust policy, the government urged the Standard Oil companies to pool their efforts, leading Rockefeller to gloat that “the Government itself has adopted the views [that the Standard Oil leaders] have held all these years, and notwithstanding the Sherman law and all the talk on the other side, the Government itself has gone further than any of these organizations dreamt of going.”<sup>32</sup> In February 1918, an Inter-Allied Petroleum Conference was created to coordinate oil supplies, and Standard Oil of New Jersey, which provided one-fourth of all Allied oil needs, worked closely with its bitter rival, Royal Dutch/Shell. Oil’s strategic importance was now universally recognized, and 80 percent of that oil came from American companies. When Lord Curzon, a member of the British war cabinet, rose at a postwar dinner in London and stated, “The Allied cause had floated to victory upon a wave of oil,” Rockefeller was elated, certain that his own pioneering work in the field had contributed materially to the victory.<sup>33</sup> In all, Rockefeller gave \$70 million to the war cause, including \$22 million from the Rockefeller Foundation to rescue Belgium from famine after the German invasion, and his generosity elicited loud hosannas from a once wary public. For Rockefeller, Germany’s defeat signified nothing less than God’s final blessing on Standard Oil. “There must have been a Providence ruling over these aggregations of great funds which have been used with such conspicuous benefit in helping to liberate the world from the bondage of the arbitrary military power which was threatening to crush out the liberties of mankind everywhere.”<sup>34</sup>

So the general backdrop to the Inglis interview must have strengthened Rockefeller’s confidence in his own rectitude. As Inglis waded through Lloyd and Tarbell, Rockefeller pounced on many errors but also listened to many long passages in silence, tacitly acknowledging their truth. As if unable to mouth the names Lloyd and Tarbell, he would refer mockingly to “the distinguished historian” or some other scornful description. He saw Lloyd as reckless, hysterical, and inaccurate. “Tarbell is much more dangerous,” he said. “She makes a pretence of fairness, of the judicial attitude, and beneath that pretence she slips into her ‘history’ all sorts of evil and prejudicial stuff.”<sup>35</sup> He largely responded to her charges with ad hominem attacks, dripping with a fair amount of male chauvinism. “Like some women, she distorts facts, states as facts what she must know is untrue, and utterly disregards reason.”<sup>36</sup> At first, Rockefeller noted how Tarbell would praise him to establish the credibility of her subsequent criticism, yet as the interview progressed, he had to concede that her impartiality was not just a pose. “Say, I’m amazed at her writing, all the time!” he exclaimed at one point. “There’s so much in it favorable to the Standard Oil Company. What with all her prejudices . . . it is really surprising that she would be willing to speak so favorably and give so much credit to the Standard Oil Company and its leaders.”<sup>37</sup> Without citing a shred of evidence, he manufactured a cockeyed fantasy that Ida Tarbell was now tortured by guilt for having defamed him. “And if she could only cause the general public to forget what she said and the venomous way she said it, would she not live a more peaceful life, and wouldn’t she die a more peaceful death? Peace to her ashes!”<sup>38</sup>

Though Rockefeller tried to sound statesmanlike, his anger leaked out around the edges. Even though the Lloyd and Tarbell exposés had led to the breakup of Standard Oil, he insisted of these critics that “their writing fell flat and proved a boomerang to them.”<sup>39</sup> The more he talked, the more bottled venom surfaced, until he was spewing hatred at “socialists and anarchists” who dared to attack him. “They are a stench today in the nostrils of all honest men and women. They are a poison; and I would have them go and colonize and live out their theories and eat one another up; for they produce nothing, and they subsist as suckers on what honest men, frugal and industrious, produce.”<sup>40</sup> This was a voice that Rockefeller’s family and closest confidants never heard—the raw, uncensored Rockefeller who had been so carefully muzzled by the Christian Rockefeller. In the last analysis, the Inglis interview was a talking cure as the titan dredged up buried pain whose existence he had long denied. He was not a Christian martyr but a man with a very human vulnerability and an understandable need for catharsis.

Inglis was taken in by Rockefeller’s charade of candor. Instead of engaging in extemporaneous discussion, Inglis stuck to the safe, prescribed format of reading from Lloyd and Tarbell then recording the responses verbatim. He expressed no discernible desire to examine Standard Oil files or Rockefeller papers and lazily received most of the history through the filter of Rockefeller’s memory. Though he interviewed many relatives and business associates, they knew that he had been sent by Rockefeller, and, not surprisingly, they tended to remember him in a rosy glow.

Junior soon saw that Inglis was being seduced by the easy life on the Rockefeller estates and would be tempted to prolong his work. Inglis later admitted that he had been lulled by the narcotic power of his boss’s monotonous but pleasant daily routine. Finally, in early 1924, after seven years of work, Inglis finished his biography, which presented a sanitized, adulatory version of Rockefeller’s life. Junior had the good sense to circulate it to reliable judges, including William Allen White, the Kansas newspaper editor, and George Vincent, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, both of whom delivered a damning verdict. White said it was “too toadying and reverential” and advised the Rockefellers not to publish it.<sup>41</sup>

Following a suggestion from Ivy Lee, Junior naively rushed the manuscript over to Ida Tarbell in her apartment on Gramercy Park in Manhattan. They had worked together at an industrial conference arranged by President Wilson in 1919 and developed a cordial relationship. “Personally I liked her very much,” Junior said, “although I was never much of an admirer of her book.”<sup>42</sup> Tarbell reciprocated this fondness, telling a friend, “I believe there is no man in public life or in business in our country who holds more closely to his ideals than does John D. Rockefeller, Jr. In fact, I will go so far as to say I do not know of any father who had given better guidance to a son than has John D. Rockefeller.”<sup>43</sup> Over the years, Tarbell had become more conservative and sympathetic to business—in 1925, she published a laudatory biography of Judge Elbert H. Gary of U.S. Steel—yet she found the Inglis biography evasive and one-sided and recommended that it be shelved. With immense disappointment, Junior consigned the manuscript to the Rockefeller

archives forever.



*An unusually ebullient John D. Rockefeller, Jr., returns* from Europe aboard the S. S. Mauretania, December 1925. *(Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Dynastic Succession

Though heir to the throne, Junior had now waited many years to assume his rightful place, and this had made it only more difficult for him to win the respect of others. H. L. Mencken, among other skeptics, was fond of pointing out that Junior's eminence was purely derivative. "He is attended to simply because he happens to be the son of old John, and hence heir to a large fortune. So far as the records show, he has never said anything in his life that was beyond the talents of a Rotary Club orator or a newspaper editorial writer, or done anything that would have strained an intelligent bookkeeper."<sup>1</sup>

Despite their mutual devotion and intertwined lives, father and son were separated by a reticence that neither could overcome. They corresponded frequently, embraced warmly when they met, and enjoyed a solid rapport; when his boy was to come for dinner, John senior evinced a visible eagerness for him to arrive. Yet their relationship was also hobbled by an old-fashioned reserve, with neither of them capable of any real ease or spontaneity. "Neither Father nor I had the temperament which gives itself freely," said Junior. "We talked about whatever we had to talk over—never discursively."<sup>2</sup>

One day at Ormond Beach, Inglis happened to mention to Rockefeller how much Ida Tarbell's account supported his own version of events, and it prompted this melancholic remark: "I wish you would tell that to my son. . . . I must say that I have never had time to become really acquainted with my son. He has been very busy always."<sup>3</sup> When Inglis transmitted this to Junior, Junior was touched but blamed his father for their constrained relationship. "There is no subject that I have not always been happy to discuss with Father," he explained to Inglis, "but as you yourself have observed, he is inclined less and less to discuss subjects which he does not himself initiate; hence our serious interchange of view is perhaps more limited than might otherwise be the case."<sup>4</sup> Rockefeller could not suppress his controlling nature even with the son he so dearly loved.

The tension latent in their relationship flared up when Junior displayed a serious interest in art. Enough of a Calvinist to consider artworks idolatrous, Rockefeller saw collecting as both wasteful and egotistical. Despite Abby's prodding, Junior could not stop feeling guilty about his new hobby. "When I first began buying art objects," he conceded, "I had a feeling that perhaps it was a little selfish. I was buying for myself instead of giving to public need."<sup>5</sup> Then he grew enthralled by the exquisite Chinese porcelains owned by J. P. Morgan that were being exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For Junior, they represented an ideal art form, for they were expertly crafted and devoid of any subversive themes or sensuality. After Morgan died in 1913, Joseph Duveen, the art dealer, bought the collection, put it up for sale, and offered Junior the first pick of any pieces. Junior coveted so many pieces that the total cost to buy them would have exceeded one million dollars. Like a trembling, sweaty schoolboy, he wrote to his father in January 1915 and asked to borrow the money. He tried to show that he had proceeded in the most painstaking Rockefeller style. "I have made many visits to the Museum and have studied carefully the most important pieces. I have also sought expert advice regarding them. Such an opportunity to secure the finest examples of Chinese porcelains can never occur again, and I want to avail myself of it."<sup>6</sup>

Instead of honoring or even gratifying this unusual request, Rockefeller played the proud philistine and turned it down cold. But Junior was now past forty and would not simply let the matter drop, as he would have in the past. In an anguished letter, he vented his frustrations:

*I have never squandered money on horses, yachts, automobiles or other foolish extravagances. A fondness for these porcelains is my only hobby—the only thing on which I have cared to spend money. I have found their study a great recreation and diversion, and I have become very fond of them. This hobby, while a costly one, is quiet and unostentatious and not sensational.* <sup>7</sup>

Faced with this unprecedented revolt against his judgment, Rockefeller not only had the good sense to relent but gave his son the money outright. Deeply touched, Junior responded with profuse, breast-beating gratitude. "I am fully conscious of the fact that I am in no sense worthy of such munificence on your part," he wrote his father. "Nothing that I have ever done or could do will make me worthy."<sup>8</sup> When Junior received the porcelains at West Fifty-fourth Street, he sat down on the floor and rolled them about, fondly studying them and searching for cracks or marks of repair. Had Junior not established at this point his right to collect art, free of parental interference, he might never have been emboldened to create The Cloisters or Colonial Williamsburg. To demonstrate that his new interest was not frivolous, Junior developed great expertise on Chinese porcelains and put together one of the outstanding collections in private hands.

The friction over the Chinese porcelains highlighted Rockefeller's pressing need to make some final disposition of his fortune. Even though Junior had a net worth of about \$20 million in early 1917, it was not generating much income. He had received large blocks of stock in American Linseed and Colorado Fuel and Iron, but the latter paid little or nothing in dividends and had only ensnared him in controversy. He also owned real estate in Cleveland and New York plus railroad and gas bonds. Junior's combined salary and allowance provided him with several hundred thousand dollars a year—which was a fantastic sum for any ordinary mortal but small beer for the son of the world's richest man.

It was likely the Ludlow Massacre that convinced Rockefeller that his son had the fortitude to manage the family affairs. "There was reason for Grandfather to feel uncertain in terms of how much Father could handle until Ludlow came along," David Rockefeller later observed. "I think it was a searing but very much of a learning experience for him as well as one that toughened him."<sup>9</sup> Rockefeller's decision to transfer the money was probably clinched in 1916 and 1917 when the federal government twice boosted inheritance taxes. Characteristically, Rockefeller had waited a long time to decide to transfer his money to his son, but once he began to strip himself of wealth, he acted with electrifying speed, as if pleased by this act of renunciation. On March 13, 1917, he gave his son 20,000 shares of Standard Oil of Indiana, inaugurating the biggest intrafamily transfer of money in history. On July 10, 1918, he gave 166,072 shares of Standard Oil of California; two weeks later came large blocks of stock in Atlantic Refining and Vacuum Oil. On February 6, 1919, Junior received 50,000 shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey, followed by another 50,000 shares on November 20. In 1920, Rockefeller bequeathed thick heaps of New York City and Liberty Bonds. These transfers occurred without poetry or preamble, accompanied only by terse, businesslike notes. For example, on February 17, 1920, Rockefeller wrote: "Dear Son: I am this day giving you \$65,000,000 par value of United States Government First Liberty Loan 3½% bonds. Affectionately, Father."<sup>10</sup>

In possession of these miraculous gifts, Junior was left staggered, dazed, speechless. Before 1917, Rockefeller had given \$275 million to charity and \$35 million to his children. (In November 1917, he estimated that if he had kept and invested all his money until that time, he would have been worth \$3 billion, or well in excess of \$30 billion today. That would have put Rockefeller second only to William Henry Gates III, with \$40 billion, among the billionaires listed by Forbes magazine in its 1997 ranking of the richest Americans.<sup>11</sup>) Between 1917 and 1922, he gave away another \$200 million to charity and \$475 million to his children, with almost all of the latter going to Junior. A profound dichotomy now opened in the Rockefeller family between the dutiful son and the wayward daughters and sons-in-law—a dichotomy so deep that the world would think of Junior’s descendants alone as the real Rockefellers. (Of course, they also had the Rockefeller name.) By keeping the fortune in one compact mass, Rockefeller enabled his son to magnify its impact. The poor little rich boy was now the planet’s foremost heir. Within the space of five years, Junior’s net worth soared from \$20 million to about \$500 million—more than the \$447 million that his father had given to the Rockefeller Institute, the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial combined—and equivalent to \$4.4 billion today. Thus, for all their public-spirited generosity, the Rockefellers still retained control over a great deal of the fortune, though much of it would be distributed to deserving parties over time. After disbursing so much, Rockefeller left himself with pocket change—somewhere in the neighborhood of twenty to twenty-five million dollars—for playing the stock market.

In 1917, Rockefeller formed special trusts at the Equitable Trust for Alta and Edith, depositing twelve million dollars apiece in their accounts (\$140 million apiece today) and terminating their allowances. This money, if more than enough to make them comfortable for life, seemed a bagatelle beside Junior’s cache. In defending this blatant imbalance, Junior later argued that his father had favored him because he could “carry on his philanthropic and charitable work in the same spirit which had activated him, and . . . anything he gave me would be administered with the same sense of duty and stewardship which impelled his giving.”<sup>12</sup> In a way that would have been impossible for Alta and Edith, Junior adopted his father’s principles and functioned as his surrogate. Rockefeller told his son, “What a providence that your life should have been spared to take up the responsibilities as I lay them down!”<sup>13</sup> Rockefeller was increasingly buoyed by the admiration of this son who viewed him as a heroic figure in business and philanthropy. As he told Inglis, “I really think I could not have had so good and true a son as he is if I had been half so bad as the prejudiced and interested ‘historian’ [Tarbell] would seek to make me out.”<sup>14</sup> For Rockefeller, only a good tree brought forth good fruit, and Junior’s virtue was therefore incontrovertible proof of his own.

By the time that Junior inherited his golden treasury, he and Abby had brought forth a large, energetic family of six children, having added Laurance (1910), Winthrop (1912), and David (1915). After Laurance’s birth, Junior and Abby decided that 13 West Fifty-fourth Street could not accommodate this growing tribe, and in 1911 they bought the property at 10 West Fifty-fourth Street. Having finished with Kykuit, William Welles Bosworth—the landscape architect whom John senior found so infuriatingly extravagant—constructed a nine-story mansion for the younger Rockefellers that resembled a miniature city. Lavishly appointed with a rooftop squash court and playground, an art gallery, a music room, two drawing rooms, and an infirmary, it was one of New York’s largest private residences. The family occupied the new domicile beginning in September 1913.

To escape the sultry Manhattan summers, Junior and Abby began to spend summers on Mount Desert Island in Maine in 1908. A favorite getaway of the rich since the 1880s, it was now colonized by several Rockefeller intimates, including Charles Eliot, Simon Flexner, and Christian Herter. John and Abby were so enchanted by the island’s rocky, rugged beauty that in 1910 they bought a hilltop house called the Eyrie in Seal Harbor on the quieter southern side of the island. Set on a granite bluff overlooking the harbor, the Eyrie was a heavily gabled, Tudor-style cottage in the same sense that Newport mansions were cottages—that is, it was a colossal affair. Starting with the original 65 rooms, Junior expanded the place to palatial scope until it contained 107 rooms, 44 fireplaces, 22 bathrooms, and 2,280 windows.

When Junior and Abby first visited Mount Desert Island, it was a pristine place that still banned autos, and they could explore any number of wild, unspoiled places on foot or horseback. Junior took special delight in constructing carriage roads on his property. During these Maine summers, he developed a special feeling for wilderness, which inspired in him feelings of religious awe and perhaps memories of the lakes and ravines of his Forest Hill boyhood. For a man sorely taxed by responsibility, these solitary haunts refreshed an overburdened mind.

In 1916, President Wilson created the Sieur de Monts National Monument on the island, which became Lafayette National Park in 1919—the first national park created in the East—and then was renamed Acadia National Park in 1929. To serve the cause of conservation, Junior not only donated thousands of wilderness acres to the park but personally charted fifty-seven miles of auto-free carriage roads (engineers calculated the grades), studded with charming stone bridges and gatehouses that blended seamlessly into the scenery. From his father, he had learned the art of opening vistas and making the roads as unobtrusive as possible. While some environmental purists faulted Junior for tampering with nature, he had a democratic vision of how the parks might be of use to ordinary people. Whereas he often seemed wearily dutiful at philanthropic board meetings, he showed an undisguised zest for scenic preservation. It was an early sign of what became a continuing interest: preserving ancient beauty from the encroachments of modern life. At the same time, he tried, whenever possible, to retreat from the chaos of modern urban life into the peace and dignity of an uncorrupted rural past.

Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, unlike her husband, was attuned to the modern, the daring, and the spontaneous. “Mother would love to have an idea and say, ‘Let’s go do it,’ ” said her son David. “She enjoyed the unexpected very much.”<sup>15</sup> She could be satirical or flippant and admired the saucy young flappers of the 1920s. “I love to see the old hypocrisies being shattered,” she said.<sup>16</sup> Never fearful or inhibited, she was pleased by impulsive behavior and once said of her grandchildren, “I love even their naughtiness, their funny wants and their plots to get them, which I can see lurking in their minds.”<sup>17</sup> Such an attitude perplexed Junior, who was irritated by the high jinks of small children.

Though she adhered to her father’s economic conservatism, Abby helped to broaden the political spectrum for the Rockefeller family. She was a liberal Republican who supported Planned Parenthood, the United Jewish Appeal, and the League of Nations. After the Ludlow Massacre, to improve labor relations, she contributed up to a third of the annual budget of the National Women’s Trade Union League. In the 1920s, she also teamed up with Standard Oil of New Jersey to create a community center, the Bayway Community Cottage, for refinery workers in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and frequently stopped by its baby clinic. After one trip, she told her daughter Babs, “I held twenty-five naked, squirming babies today in our new baby clinic at Bayway, some of them took the occasion to drench me thoroughly. Most of them were fat, rosy, and cheerful, but once in a while they all began

to howl at once. I had a wonderful time.”<sup>18</sup> She was the major benefactor of the Grace Dodge Hotel in Washington, D.C., a 350-room hotel for professional women operated by the YWCA and staffed entirely by women, down to the bellhops and elevator operators.

Abby was vocal in her passion for social justice, and this had a lasting influence on her descendants. While staying with Senior at Ormond Beach in 1923, she wrote a letter to her three oldest sons that throbbed with outrage at discrimination. “It is to the everlasting disgrace of the United States that horrible lynchings and brutal race riots frequently occur in our midst. The social ostracism of the Jews is less barbaric, but . . . causes cruel injustice. . . . I long to have our family stand firmly for what is best and highest in life.”<sup>19</sup> Though Junior subscribed to many of Abby’s views, he was guided more by abstract codes of conduct than visceral sympathy with the oppressed.

Abby made sure that her children did not flaunt their wealth, and she turned down one son who wanted extra travel money in college by telling him, “The boys who cannot afford to go away will feel restless and envious.”<sup>20</sup> Constantly vigilant against the disfiguring effects of wealth, she lectured Laurance when he was only thirteen on the perils of having too much money: “It makes life too easy; people become self-indulgent and selfish and cruel.”<sup>21</sup> Abby once told Nelson, “I am sure that too much money makes people stupid, dull, unseeing and uninteresting. Be careful.”<sup>22</sup> During World War I, Abby directed five hundred workers of the Red Cross auxiliary that operated out of 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, which Senior had obligingly vacated to aid the war effort. She stationed her white-uniformed children in the basement to roll bandages and had them tend victory gardens at Pocantico.

In running their various households, Abby often chafed at Junior’s niggardly style but submitted for the sake of marital harmony. She waited until the January white sales to buy new linen, and when the children went off to school, she had to telephone them clandestinely from the bathroom, since her husband considered these calls superfluous luxuries. One son observed pointedly, “His calls were business and therefore justifiable, hers were personal, and possibly frivolous.”<sup>23</sup>

If John junior and Abby had a marriage of passionate intensity, it was because his buttoned-down life required one great release. He beamed in her presence, could not take his eyes off her. “I never knew a man more completely attached to the woman he married,” said Tom Pyle, the game warden at Pocantico. “When they were grandparents, in the latter quarter of their lives, he still treated her with the adoration and devotion of a young lover.”<sup>24</sup> Many people found something unhealthy about his constant need for her, which one daughter-in-law later said “seemed almost primitive and uncontrollable.”<sup>25</sup> Even when traveling, Junior hovered over her with a proprietary air, refusing to share her company with others. Once when they were away, Abby wrote to a son, “Your father is afraid that I shall become intimate with too many people and will want to talk to them, so generally we eat in what I call the old people’s dining room where he feels I am safer.”<sup>26</sup>

Even at home, Junior tried to monopolize Abby, and he cast a jealous eye on his six children as potential competitors for her time. Always warm and natural with the children, Abby did not abandon their upbringing to servants and governesses. She played cards with them, read to them, took afternoon tea with them, and tucked them into bed at night. A convivial lady married to a professional homebody, she followed the example of countless other women in her position and tried to shape her sons into model husbands, devoid of the faults of her own husband. Junior, perhaps subconsciously, saw her attention to the children as time stolen from him, and this could make him seem to be a grouchy, schoolmasterish father. “We grew up realizing that we had to compete with Father for her time and attention,” his son David said. “He expected her to be available when he needed her and his needs seemed insatiable.”<sup>27</sup>

Whatever its drawbacks, it was generally a happy marriage. While they would have bruising quarrels over modern art, they were devoted to each other and shared many pleasures, including theater, concerts, and film as well as walking, riding, and driving. After evenings out, they loved to return home and sip hot chocolate in the intimacy of Junior’s dressing room. During these cozy moments before bed, they practiced the latest dance steps learned from their Arthur Murray teachers, read aloud from a Victorian novel, or sat back and listened to music on the Victrola. Whatever her frustrations with her husband, Abby thought him a man of sterling probity whom she respected as well as loved. As she once wrote, “I feel sorry for all the women in the world who haven’t as good husbands as I have.”<sup>28</sup> And for Junior, Abby added many brilliant colors to the palette of what might otherwise have been a monochromatic life.

For the six Rockefeller children, their grandfather was a boon companion whom they remembered in various guises: as a wit, a clown, an ace raconteur, a frisky codger on the golf course, a cracker-barrel philosopher. Already in his eighties when some of them entered their teens, he seemed a spry fellow who joined readily in their games, whether playing hide-and-seek in the shrubbery or bounding across the room in blindman’s buff. He was probably no less colorful a specimen for his descendants than Devil Bill had been to his grandchildren. Like his siblings, John III remembered grandfather’s playfulness: “A very wonderful person with a sense of humor; he loved to tell jokes, starting out with something serious. He was warm, friendly, and accessible, and he never preached.”<sup>29</sup>

Junior taught his children to venerate their grandfather, and as they grew up they were slightly astounded to discover that this jolly old eccentric had pulled off one of the biggest feats in business history. From an early age, they were aware that unusual controversy attached to the family name, since reporters and photographers were constantly caught vaulting the Pocantico fences. On May Day 1919, during a reign of anarchist terror, Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Jr., and other prominent Americans were sent letter bombs that were intercepted by the post office, yet no special guards were posted at Kykuit. “We always had to live with the fear that something would happen to the children,” Junior said, and he adopted a policy of never permitting them to have their pictures taken by strangers, lest it give ideas to terrorists or criminals.<sup>30</sup> He kept them out of the papers so assiduously that they remained faceless to the general public until they entered college. Sometimes, after receiving menacing calls, the children were shadowed by guards.

On Sundays, the six grandchildren often strode from Abeyton Lodge over to Kykuit to dine with grandfather, the five boys wearing mandatory uniforms of stiff Eton collars, dark coats, and pin-striped pants. Like a pastor receiving his flock, Rockefeller greeted each grandson as “Brother.” Seated at the head of the table, he spouted tales from his past and mimicked people, gesturing with a spotless white napkin. The grandchildren whooped at his deadpan humor. The contrast between the lighthearted Senior, who seemed so relaxed, and his intense, edgy son probably did not help Junior with

his children.

Yet Rockefeller's insouciance also masked deeper concerns. Breakfasting with his grandchildren, he dispensed a nickel and a kiss to each, accompanied by a little pep talk. "Do you know," he would ask, "what would hurt grandfather a great deal? To know that any of you boys should become wasteful, extravagant, careless with his money. . . . Be careful, boys, and then you'll always be able to help unfortunate people. That is your duty, and you must never forget it."<sup>31</sup> The grandchildren credited their conceptions of philanthropic stewardship as much to their grandfather as to their father.

Despite his rigidity, Senior had derived real pleasure from being a father, while Junior took it all too seriously. A number of factors made Junior an inflexible parent. The controversies around his father had molded him into a man of granite respectability who found it hard to lighten up with his own family. He was overly tense and disapproving when faced with unruly impulses in his offspring. Since they were to spend their lives in the public spotlight, he wanted his children to mirror his own starchy sense of rectitude. This mattered to him so desperately that he ruled his family with a quiet tyranny, inspiring more fear than affection. Sometimes, he lashed out unexpectedly, showing flashes of anger or ridicule that he screened from the world. He tried to imitate his father's style as a parent, but he could not do it with John D.'s good humor. "I was always so afraid that money would spoil my children and I wanted them to know its value and not waste it or throw it away on things that weren't worthwhile," Junior said. "That was why I insisted that my children keep accounts just the way I did and I think the effect has been good."<sup>32</sup>

On Saturday mornings, stomachs flutter, the children filed one by one into Junior's study and had their account books scrutinized. Although they received only a thirty-cent allowance—much less than their friends—they had to account for every penny. They were fined a nickel for omissions and awarded a nickel for scrupulous record keeping. They were expected to spend a third of their money, save a third, and donate a third to charity. Bound by these rules, the Rockefeller children acted like destitute waifs and constantly scrounged small change from friends. As Nelson lamented, "I can honestly say that none of us has ever had a feeling of actually being rich—that is, of having a lot of money."<sup>33</sup> Like Junior as a boy, they often dressed in old clothes and were denied ordinary trips to theaters or the movies until they were well into their teens.

In a repetition of his own upbringing, Junior gave the children opportunities to earn pocket change at Pocantico or Seal Harbor. They made money by killing flies (ten cents per hundred), buffing shoes, working in the garden, or trapping attic mice (five cents per mouse). The six children were taught to garden, sew, and cook—once a week, they had to prepare dinner together—and were encouraged to master hand tools. Each studied a different musical instrument, with one evening per week given over to hymn singing. Even family vacations became tutorials in personal responsibility, with one son assigned to buy railroad tickets, another to run errands, a third to handle the luggage, a fourth to book hotel rooms, a fifth to shine the shoes, and so on.

Junior naively imagined that he had a fine, open relationship with his children, but they saw him as a forbidding figure, and Abby had to defuse tensions festering below the surface. She ended up serving as interpreter for them, saving the day with straight talk, common sense, and wisecracking humor. She also helped the children to please Junior in practical ways. When he wished them to memorize biblical verse, she printed out extracts on flash cards for them, and she also tidied up their account books before the weekly paternal audit.

Junior wanted to saturate the children with sermons and religious tracts. Each morning at seven forty-five, even with guests present, the butler circulated a stack of Bibles on a silver tray. Junior read a portion of scripture and asked others to read aloud before they touched breakfast. Trying to keep alive the Sabbath tradition, he led his children, single file, on Sunday nature walks around Pocantico, lecturing them on trees and wildflowers and meting out fines for those who fell out of line. One Sunday in the 1920s, he deliberated long and hard about whether to allow his children to play tennis on the Sabbath. He consented only under pressure from Abby. The children were baptized, but they never turned into such regular churchgoers as their parents or grandparents, and the Baptist Church never formed the focal point of their lives.

*Past, Present, Future*

Blessed with his father's longevity, Rockefeller outlasted all his sib-lings. Though Frank was vice president of two Cleveland steel companies in his later years, he never got over his antipathy to John and raged against him till his dying day. In 1916, John gave a thousand dollars apiece to Frank's three daughters and contemplated forming trust funds to provide each of them with a lifetime income. Nevertheless, even on his deathbed, following a stroke in early 1917, Frank still ranted against his oldest brother. "I was with him constantly and was there when he died," said one of Frank's friends. "You can understand the depth of his feeling when I say that his greatest fear during those last days was that John might try to come and see him."<sup>1</sup> After Frank died in April 1917, John and William attended the Cleveland funeral at Lake View Cemetery, where Frank was lowered into the plot he had chosen apart from the rest of the Rockefellers. Frank's wife, Helen, and his three daughters had no plans to perpetuate his crazy vendetta and after the funeral cordially received John, who canceled his dead brother's outstanding loans.

In his last twenty years, Rockefeller felt the subterranean pull of tender boyhood memories. In June 1919, right before his eightieth birthday, he and William loaded up three Crane-Simplex touring cars and set out for the verdant Finger Lakes region of their boyhood. They returned to Richford, Moravia, and Owego and so cherished the memories that they reenacted the trip every year until William's death in 1922. The Moravia house, with its splendid view of Owasco Lake, now lodged convicts from the Auburn prison who were working, by a bizarre coincidence, on the nearby Rockefeller Highway. On Rockefeller's last visit, gazing at the old frame house, he doffed his cap, bowed his head, and declaimed with an actor's panache, "Farewell old home!"<sup>2</sup> Several days later came news reports that the house had burned to the ground, probably from a faulty chimney. Affected by the news, Rockefeller jotted down in a short-lived diary that he kept, "That was the scene of our first business venture, when we engaged in the raising of a flock of turkeys."<sup>3</sup> He had traveled so unimaginably far beyond his rustic boyhood world that his life seemed unreal to him at times.

In June 1922, following one of these upstate jaunts, William Rockefeller consulted doctors about his problems with a raspy throat and was diagnosed as having throat cancer. In this weakened state, he decided to canter briskly through Central Park one day, contracted pneumonia, and died shortly afterward. In a letter to Henry Clay Folger, Rockefeller eulogized his brother as a "strong, resourceful, kindly man."<sup>4</sup> Though always overshadowed by John, William left a sizable fortune of about \$200 million (\$1.8 billion today), eclipsing the estates of Payne Whitney and Thomas Fortune Ryan. Yet aside from a million-dollar gift for war relief, William had shown no charitable impulses, even though John had pleaded with him to endow educational or medical projects. Virtually all of William's estate went to his four children: Emma Rockefeller McAlpin, William Goodsell Rockefeller, Percy Avery Rockefeller, and Ethel Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge.

By 1922, Rockefeller had lost his parents, his four brothers and sisters, his wife, his eldest daughter, two grandchildren, and the vast majority of his old business partners. As he wistfully told Henry Clay Folger, "The ranks of the older associates are thinning out and we of the Old Guard naturally draw closer together."<sup>5</sup> He understandably dwelled on his own mortality. In July 1919, on his eightieth birthday, Junior wanted to give him a Rolls-Royce, but he asked how much it would cost and took the \$14,000 check instead. As part of the festivities, Rockefeller told the press that he devoutly wished to live to one hundred and credited his good health to golf and a daily tablespoon of olive oil. The white-haired Dr. Biggar repeated his long-standing prophecy: "Mr. Rockefeller will live to be 100 years old."<sup>6</sup> Rockefeller and Dr. Biggar shook hands on a pact that they would play a round of golf on July 8, 1939. Dr. Biggar, alas, canceled the appointment: He expired in the 1920s while his celebrated patient, touting the Biggar gospel of fresh air and five daily periods of rest, soldiered on. Because of Rockefeller's abstemious eating style, along with a substantial loss of bone mass, his weight dipped below one hundred pounds. Once tall and rangy, he was now a wizened little man, no taller than his son.

Despite his rather eerie, cadaverous look, Rockefeller still gazed shrewdly at the world, his eyes alert as he sized up newcomers. He tried to banish gloomy thoughts and admit only joy and pious gratitude for God's bounty. Though somewhat lonely and susceptible to occasional bouts of depression, he would rally and emerge more ebullient than before. Typically surrounded by six or eight people at golf or meals, he cultivated the company of younger people, especially younger women. On his eighty-sixth birthday, he wrote the following sugary verse:



***Four generations of Rockefellers in 1928. From left to right: John D. Rockefeller, Sr., John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Abby (Babs) Rockefeller Milton,***

*I was early taught to work as well as play,  
My life has been one long, happy holiday;  
Full of work and full of play—  
I dropped the worry on the way—  
And God was good to me every day.*<sup>7</sup>

Throughout his life, the mutable Rockefeller had continually re-created himself while adhering to certain core principles. As H. G. Wells wrote, “Manifestly he has grown and broadened at every stage of his career.”<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the most startling transformation came in his behavior toward women as he sloughed off the old Victorian inhibitions. Free from Cettie’s restraining influence, Rockefeller became positively ribald. When an old colleague, William T. Sheppard, introduced him to a Mrs. Lester one day, Rockefeller said suggestively, “Mr. Sheppard, your friend, Mrs. Lester, is very easy to look at.” Junior stood there aghast. “I beg your pardon,” he apologized to Mrs. Lester, “but my father has picked up some slang phrases without understanding their meaning.” Evidently no prude, Mrs. Lester shot back, “Oh, Mr. Rockefeller, you do not need to apologize for your father.”<sup>9</sup>

It was a rare golf party that did not include a lady golfer for Rockefeller’s delectation, and when he got off a good shot he erupted into a little mock Charleston, telling the lady, “You ought to kiss my hand for that.”<sup>10</sup> When crowds clustered about him in public, Rockefeller conspicuously waved at the pretty young women. “He was like a little boy in his playtime,” noted one photographer.<sup>11</sup> Rockefeller, for the first time, had an identifiable lady friend: Mrs. Ira Warner of Bridgeport, Connecticut, the stout wife, then widow, of an optical-instruments manufacturer and a constant visitor at both Kykuit and Ormond Beach.

Rockefeller increasingly used the afternoon drives as opportunities for hanky-panky. Wearing thick black or amber goggles to screen out the sun, he sometimes borrowed a veil from one of the lady passengers and laced it dramatically across his face and wound it around his ears. He sat tightly wedged in the backseat between two buxom women, usually neighbors or visitors, with their laps covered by a blanket, and he became notorious for his hot schoolboy hands roving under the blanket. The man who had been a model of self-mastery now seemed, on occasion, an itchy-fingered old satyr. Tom Pyle, the head gardener and gamekeeper at Pocantico, steered the second car in the daily motorcade and was often astonished at his employer’s outrageous behavior. When Rockefeller’s car stopped one afternoon at a traffic light, a young woman riding in the backseat with him suddenly burst forth and scrambled back to Pyle’s car. “That old rooster!” she said. “He ought to be handcuffed.” Pyle noted that some local matrons enjoyed the hot seat and frequently returned for more. “I never decided whether different women received different treatment or whether some found it acceptable to be pinched by a ninety-year-old multimillionaire.”<sup>12</sup>

As if he were living his life backward, Rockefeller belatedly entered adolescence in his ninth and tenth decades. It was as if, after all his preternatural exertions, he had attained the one thing denied him: a carefree childhood. Growing younger in spirit, he became something of a clotheshorse with an extensive wardrobe of dandyish costumes. He now owned sixty stylish suits and several hundred ties and sometimes changed outfits three times a day. To Junior’s astonishment, he squired ladies to concerts and dances at the Ormond Beach Hotel. “What a gay person you are becoming: An opera one night and the Governor’s ball another,” he wrote his father. “I do hope things will quiet down before Abby and I arrive.”<sup>13</sup> Around this time, Rockefeller also developed a strange fondness for antic behavior. One evening, when the dinner talk turned to corns, Rockefeller said, “I never had one and to prove it I will show you my foot”—then he peeled off his shoe and stocking and placed a bare foot on the table.<sup>14</sup>

As he and his guests drove through the Florida countryside one afternoon, they nearly ran out of gas but found a rural filling station nearby. When a husky country woman appeared, the chauffeur asked for five gallons—which struck her as too small for this mammoth vehicle. Where were they going? she asked. Leaning forward in the backseat, Rockefeller piped up, “My dear woman, we are on our way to heaven. And we’ll get there sooner or later.” She peered at him dubiously. “Yer may be on yer way to heaven, whoever you are,” she told Rockefeller, “but I warn yer you’ll never get there on five gallons o’ gas!”<sup>15</sup> It became one of Rockefeller’s favorite tales. Often, if there were empty seats in the car, he picked up hitchhikers or pedestrians to keep the stream of conversation flowing.

Each year, Rockefeller threw an annual Christmas party at Ormond Beach for his neighbors. The Casements was illuminated with a radiant star of Bethlehem over the door and glowing candles twinkled in each window. Rockefeller appeared in a tuxedo, bowed, pronounced seasonal greetings, and distributed gifts. He then led the group in Christmas carols and tooted party horns along with the children. Rockefeller increasingly warmed to strangers. One day, George N. Rigby, the local newspaper editor, wrote an article titled “Ormond the Different,” a panegyric to the town’s friendliness. When Rockefeller went to congratulate him, they chatted outside the newspaper office, beside a railway siding. As people on the train recognized Rockefeller, they pressed their faces to the windows and started taking pictures. Far from minding this attention, Rockefeller seemed to bask in it. Back in the car, Mrs. Evans reproachfully asked whether he had not made a spectacle of himself. “Of course,” he said. “But I wanted to prove that the article Mr. Rigby wrote, ‘Ormond the Different,’ was true.”<sup>16</sup>

After a life spent fleeing the press, Rockefeller proved an instinctive master of the new cinematic medium. Curt Engelbrecht, a photographer for the Hearst newsreel company, Movietone News, pursued Rockefeller until he agreed to pose for the cameras. On his ninetieth birthday in 1929, Rockefeller donned a foppish light-gray cutaway suit, white vest, and boutonniere and spent two hours slicing an oversize cake and ad-libbing before the cameras. As Engelbrecht recalled, “He had a lot of fun playing the star of the production, and he was not ready to stop until the last foot of film had been used.”<sup>17</sup> In movie theaters across America, audiences saw John D. Rockefeller on the screen, walloping golf balls with a fierce but clumsy stroke and leading cronies in a rousing medley of hymns. People suddenly found something endearing about this anachronistic old gentleman who had graduated to the status of an American legend.

Why the sudden change in Rockefeller’s image? The titan was always a touchstone for American attitudes toward money, and the nation worshiped it in the 1920s. The passage of time had also spread a mellow glow over his depredations, which seemed to belong to an earlier, half-forgotten era. He



also represented an increasingly honored American type: the practical, thrifty, laconic men who had established the country's industrial base. Now succeeded by salaried managers and corporate bureaucrats, these first-generation industrialists retrospectively took on a new heroic sheen. Perhaps the most obvious reason for Rockefeller's enhanced stature was that the public now associated him far more with philanthropy than with Standard Oil. The press, once hostile to him, formed his biggest cheering section. "It is doubtful whether any private individual has ever spent a great fortune more wisely than Mr. Rockefeller," Pulitzer's *World* editorialized in 1923, while the Hearst press, not to be outdone, stated, "The Rockefellers have given away more money and to better advantage than anybody else in the world's history since the ark stranded on Ararat."<sup>18</sup>

Even as Rockefeller became sporty and dapper in the Roaring Twenties, keeping up with the times, his son clung to dark business suits and starched white shirts. Now in his fifties, graying and bespectacled, Junior began to look like a museum piece. In 1923, as if taking refuge in a more comforting past, Junior had his office at 26 Broadway renovated by Charles of London, who installed oak paneling from an English Tudor mansion, bookcases with leaded glass panes, an Elizabethan conference table, and a Jacobean refectory table. While the Standard Oil companies raked in money from the auto boom, Junior preferred horse-drawn carriages and balked at setting foot inside an airplane.

Nothing made both father and son seem so old hat or controversial in certain quarters as their emphatic support of Prohibition. Not only had they never tasted liquor in their lives, but they had steadily supported the Anti-Saloon League and given it \$350,000 since its founding in 1895. Before enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1920, Rockefeller had doubted that prohibition would work. "It is a vile agent of destruction," he said of drink, "yet men will go on making it and selling it. It is the right hand of the devil."<sup>19</sup> Yet whatever their private skepticism, the Rockefellers were strongly associated with temperance. To connoisseurs of bathtub gin, Junior seemed a rich, stuffy prig who denied the worker a glass of beer. "One glass of beer may lead to another," he declared. "Therefore, I say one glass is one glass too many."<sup>20</sup> By 1926, Junior had sufficient doubts about the course of Prohibition that he withdrew his support from the Anti-Saloon League, but it was several years before he entirely retracted it.

Saddled with the burden of managing half a billion dollars, Junior had little time left over for diversion. An unexceptional man thrust into exceptional circumstances, he accepted his fate with reluctance. As Frederick Gates said, "He would have preferred . . . to cut loose from his father's fortune and make for himself like other men a wholly independent career. But he was an only son, the heir of colossal wealth, dedicated from his birth to overwhelming burdens, not to be evaded."<sup>21</sup> The constant pressure of the Rockefeller philanthropies was a responsibility from which he could never escape, and he continued to be plagued by stress symptoms, including migraine headaches, stomach ailments, and sinus infections. Very often, he came home from work with dreadful headaches and had to lie down in his bedroom for an hour, his brow covered by a soothing compress. As his father had feared, the weight of the Rockefeller fortune often seemed to overwhelm him.

In late 1922, tormented by headaches, nervous exhaustion, and even temporary deafness, Junior checked into the Battle Creek Sanitarium of Dr. John H. Kellogg, an eccentric visionary who prescribed a vegetarian diet and spartan regimen for patients. Junior heard the inevitable: He worked too hard, suffered from strain, and should set aside more time for recreation. Upon leaving the sanitarium, he was still too weak to return to work and contracted a severe flu; to recuperate fully, he went down to Ormond Beach and spent several months with his father. For the next twelve years, unable to release the nervous tension inside him, Junior seldom went for more than two days without an excruciating headache.

The demands of spending his father's fortune were never-ending. During the 1920s, Junior's annual income fluctuated between \$35 million and \$57 million. Since he diverted 30 to 40 percent for charitable purposes, he was dispensing, on average, \$11.5 million per year—or more than the Rockefeller Foundation's annual grants.<sup>22</sup> Junior had to grapple with the increasingly unwieldy structure of the overlapping Rockefeller philanthropies. This fragmentation had partly come about in order to head off the political criticism that would have greeted a single, all-encompassing foundation. In a sweeping and long-overdue reorganization in 1929, Junior supervised the absorption of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the science and humanities programs of the General Education Board into the Rockefeller Foundation.

Just when he needed advisers most, Junior was abruptly deprived of them. By 1923, Frederick T. Gates was taking insulin treatment for diabetes at the Rockefeller Institute and had to resign from the foundation; he died of pneumonia in Phoenix in February 1929 after acute appendicitis. He had given the Rockefeller philanthropies much of their fervent vision as well as their tenacious attention to detail. After Starr Murphy died in 1921, Junior needed a new general counsel and three years later drafted his old fraternity brother Thomas M. Debevoise, a man of such daunting formality that Junior's sons christened him "the Prime Minister." But Junior still needed a strategic thinker of the stature of Gates or of Mackenzie King, whom he still saw periodically but who was now too busy for frequent consultations. Junior found his ideal theoretician in Raymond B. Fosdick, who served as his trusted friend, lawyer, adviser, and finally biographer. The two had met in May 1913 when Junior was forming the Bureau of Social Hygiene and Fosdick was a crusading mayoral aide who had worked with Lillian Wald at the Henry Street Settlement. After World War I, Fosdick sailed to France with Woodrow Wilson and served as a civilian aide to General Pershing before being appointed Under Secretary General of the League of Nations by Wilson. After the Senate vetoed U.S. participation, an embittered Fosdick resigned and lobbied for the global body, advocating a "planetary consciousness" and "collective intelligence."<sup>23</sup>

As a good Republican, Junior had initially refrained from endorsing the League, but under Fosdick's tutelage, he shed his isolationism and gave two million dollars for its new library and liberally endowed its health organization. To foster international harmony, he undertook projects ranging from support for the new Council on Foreign Relations, which was founded in 1921, to creating International Houses at four universities. (Each Christmas, he and Abby hosted a reception for one hundred students from the International House at Columbia University.) Junior's largest single donation of the decade was a twenty-eight-million-dollar gift to create an International Education Board that would grant fellowships in the natural sciences and transpose the work of the GEB to a global plane.

During a trip to France in June 1923, Junior and Abby were startled by the deteriorating state of the Versailles palace: Iron fences rusted, water dripped from the ceiling, statues were crumbling in the garden. Junior offered the French prime minister, Raymond Poincaré, a million dollars to refurbish the Versailles roof and gardens; make emergency repairs at Fontainebleau; and restore the splendid Reims cathedral, scarred by wartime bombing—an offer the French could not very well refuse. Though shocked by his preference for Perrier over champagne, the French adored Junior's self-effacing manner, so at odds with their cartoon image of the bumptious American millionaire. When he drove to Versailles from Paris late one

afternoon, the guards at the visitors' entrance told him that the palace was closed. Refusing special treatment, he got back in his car and returned to Paris—a modest act that won him plaudits across France and helped to offset some controversy over his purchase of the famous Unicorn tapestries. Junior spent millions more in France and contributed to a new building for the American Church overlooking the Seine. Suddenly an omnipresent philanthropist, he restored the library of the Imperial University of Tokyo after the 1924 earthquake; paid for the excavation of the Agora, the ancient Athenian marketplace; set up an oriental institute at the University of Chicago; and financed the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem to conserve biblical artifacts.

After his mother's death in 1915, Junior also widened his sights in the religious arena and adopted a more experimental, open-minded approach. As early as the tainted-money controversy, the Rockefellers had tried to shed their exclusively Baptist orientation. After seven religious-service organizations pooled their resources to aid American troops during World War I, the atmosphere seemed auspicious for interdenominational work. Senior believed that denominations had value but should all report, on the Standard Oil model, to one centralized governing body, whereas Junior believed that churches could operate more efficiently if they were not broken up into denominations. He sponsored studies that showed surplus churches in rural communities and proposed consolidation to trim excess capacity. Starting in 1920, he spearheaded the Inter-church World Movement, which encouraged unity among the various Christian denominations. Like an electioneering politician, he went on an exhausting fund-raising tour of twelve cities. This ecumenical effort turned into a fiasco when he raised only three million dollars—one-third of that coming from the Rockefellers; most of the denominations cynically exploited the movement to siphon off money for their own sectarian purposes.

In December 1917, Junior delivered a speech at the Baptist Social Union that struck orthodox folk as rank heresy. Sketching out a new, unified church, he said, "It would pronounce ordinance, ritual, creed, all non-essential for admission into the Kingdom of God or His Church. A life, not a creed, would be its test; what a man does, not what he professes; what he is, not what he has."<sup>24</sup> Adopting a position that would have sounded blasphemous to his mother—and that he would never have voiced while she was alive—Junior now believed that people who manifested Jesus' moral spirit were religious, whether or not they practiced Christian rituals.

In the early 1920s, the Baptist Church was rent by vitriolic clashes between southern fundamentalists and northern liberals over the proper interpretation of the Bible, a heated debate that culminated in the 1925 Scopes monkey trial. Throwing off his diffidence, Junior inveighed against the "narrow and medieval creed" of the fundamentalists, whom he accused of breeding enmity and division. This was sharper, more self-confident criticism than Junior had ever expressed and by the mid-1920s he openly doubted the literal interpretation of the Bible, regarding it as incompatible with modern science. By this point, even Senior was coming around to figurative interpretation. For fundamentalists, such heretical views diluted religion to a watery form of social work, and in 1926, in a mounting reaction, the Southern Baptist Convention reaffirmed the Genesis account of creation and unequivocally rejected the theory of evolution.

Junior was backed up in his views by a new influence: Harry Emerson Fosdick, the older brother of Raymond B. Fosdick. In 1924, when Cornelius Woelfkin retired as pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church (which had moved to Park Avenue two years earlier), Junior saw an opening for a charismatic leader who would courageously lead the congregation toward interdenominationalism. As a young pastor, Fosdick had championed the Social Gospel and preached to the dispossessed in lower Manhattan slums and Appalachian shantytowns. Even something of a muckraker in his early days, he had admired the work of Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, and other colleagues of Ida Tarbell. In 1922, he delivered a controversial sermon, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" that was such a strong, unadulterated statement of modernist beliefs that he was nearly tried for heresy by the Presbyterian Synod. Sometimes tagged a socialist and once branded "the Jesse James of the theological world," Fosdick denied the virgin birth, the inerrant Bible, and the conventional version of the Second Coming.<sup>25</sup>

In 1925, Fosdick, who was actually a Baptist, left the First Presbyterian Church because of his iconoclastic views. Junior wooed him at the height of this controversy. It was very rare for Junior to court trouble, and Fosdick was thunderstruck by his invitation to him to head the Park Avenue Baptist Church. During their meeting, the left-leaning Fosdick confessed to misgivings about becoming the pastor of such a swank church. To entice him, Junior floated the idea of creating a new church to serve a more heterogeneous community. Still, Fosdick demurred. When Junior pressed him for a reason, Fosdick blurted out, "Because you are too wealthy, and I do not want to be known as the pastor of the richest man in the country." Embarrassed silence ensued. Then Junior replied, "I like your frankness, but do you think that more people will criticize you on account of my wealth, than will criticize me on account of your theology?"<sup>26</sup> Both men laughed, and a close relationship was started.

Even before the ground breaking for a new church began, Fosdick threw open the Park Avenue Baptist Church to new members, including those not baptized by immersion. A year after his arrival, Junior initiated a project that had long tantalized him: building a great interdenominational church in New York City. With Junior himself chairing the building committee and donating ten million dollars to the project, a site was selected in Morningside Heights for what would become the Riverside Church. The Gothic building, designed by Charles Collens and Henry C. Pelton, was inspired by the cathedrals of Chartres and Laon.

Formally dedicated in 1931, the church was an ecumenical shrine that seemed to bridge both the spiritual and temporal worlds. Instead of saintly statues lining the chancel screen, one found scientists, doctors, educators, social reformers, and political leaders, including Louis Pasteur, Hippocrates, Florence Nightingale, and Abraham Lincoln. Statues of Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed, and Moses stared down from archivolt above the main portal, while Darwin and Einstein occupied honored niches. After a few years, the congregation was both interdenominational and interracial, with fewer than a third of the members coming from Baptist backgrounds. Once exponents of the old-time religion, the Rockefellers had now advanced into the vanguard of liberal Protestantism and were loudly denounced by conservative theologians for desecrating the true church. The Baptist Bible Union said of Riverside Church that it was "obviously part of a plan to extend to the whole Baptist denominational life the influence of the Rockefeller Foundation, which already had succeeded in converting nearly all our educational institutions into hotbeds of modernism."<sup>27</sup> Thirty years after left-wing social reformers had vilified the Rockefellers, the family, under Junior's influence, was now being excoriated from the right. In 1935, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had been the principal lay donor to the Northern Baptist Church, made his last annual gift. "What gives me pause," he said in his valedictory letter, "is the tendency inherent in denominations to emphasize the form instead of the substance, the denominational peculiarity instead of the oneness of Christian purpose."<sup>28</sup>

In 1924, John Jr., Abby, and their three oldest boys made a swing through the American West in a private railroad car, stopping to camp along the way. Outside the Northeast, Junior was seldom recognized, and he thrived on the anonymity of the open road. When they arrived at Yellowstone National Park, the family was greeted by park superintendent Horace Albright, who was startled to see the Rockefeller boys pitching in to assist the porter with the luggage. As Albright escorted them around the park, Junior and Abby were chagrined by tree stumps and fallen timber that littered the roadside. Later, in a letter to Albright, Junior offered money to clean up and beautify these thoroughfares. On their second day, Albright drove the Rockefellers to see the craggy, snow-capped Grand Tetons. Struck as with the sudden force of an epiphany, Junior decided to preserve this exquisite view for posterity.

On a subsequent visit to the Grand Tetons in 1926, Junior and Abby recoiled at the creeping blight of hot-dog stands, gas stations, and gaudy billboards that were beginning to clutter the countryside around Jackson Hole. As Albright recorded in his journal, “I believe Mr. Rockefeller had a genuine distaste for the garish advances of civilization—and what’s more he feared them. So he took every opportunity he felt possible to step in and save his fellow humans from the onslaught of the crippling effects of industrial society.”<sup>29</sup> The son of America’s foremost industrialist now worked assiduously to save nature’s monuments and preserve the spirit of America’s preindustrial past. It was a propitious time to do so: The National Park Service had been created by Congress in 1916 with a large mandate to promote and regulate national parks and monuments but without an adequate budget to accomplish this. The first two directors, Stephen Mather and Albright, cultivated philanthropists as a way to rectify this.

Lacking his father’s hostility toward government and imbued with a Wilsonian sense of public service, Junior, under Albright’s tutelage, formed a unique partnership with Washington to save wilderness areas. Upon returning home, Junior began to buy thousands of acres in the Jackson Hole Valley with an eye to creating a new park—an idea anathema to many local cattlemen, hunters, and dude-ranch operators who saw this as meddling in their businesses. To minimize political opposition and keep land prices down, Junior made the land purchases through a front group, the Snake River Land Company. Though he accumulated 33,562 acres and yearned to hand them over to the National Park Service, his bountiful gift was consistently spurned due to fierce, shortsighted local opposition. Only in 1943 did President Roosevelt create the Jackson Hole National Monument and accept the Rockefeller land, which was merged into an expanded Grand Teton National Park in 1950. Once infected with preservation fever, Junior gave money to buy vast acreage for the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee, plus a major tract to connect them via the Skyline Drive threaded through the Blue Ridge Mountains.

If Horace Albright was one of Junior’s environmental gurus, the other was Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History. As founder of a group called the Save-the-Redwoods League, Osborn sounded the alarm about the impending destruction of redwood forests in northern California, which were being felled rapidly by lumber companies. When one company started to chop down redwoods on Bull Creek Flat, an especially fine stand, Junior supplied one million dollars to stop the logging and save the virgin woods. He later gave money to save other redwood forests, along with \$1.5 million to preserve thousands of pristine acres of sugar pines in Yosemite Valley. Closer to home, he assembled seven hundred acres of land along the New Jersey shore of the Hudson River that he donated to the Palisades Park Commission. What makes these conservation efforts notable is that Junior was putting his own stamp on Rockefeller philanthropy and having a striking national, even global, impact. His conservationist impulse was quite different from the forward-looking, scientific spirit that his father had exhibited in medical research and education.

Junior’s veneration of the past and implicit discomfort with the modern era were exemplified by several restoration projects in his later years that again marked a break with his father’s legacy. He seemed at times not so much to want to study the past as to inhabit it, taking on its recaptured dignity. His most celebrated exercise in time travel came through the Reverend Dr. William Goodwin, a professor of sacred literature at William and Mary College, who met Junior at a Phi Beta Kappa banquet in 1924. Goodwin tried to pique Junior’s interest in his personal obsession: restoring the old colonial capital of Williamsburg, Virginia. A monomaniac on the subject, Goodwin often ambled about the town in a moonlit reverie, communing with eighteenth-century ghosts. Though Junior turned him down, the Episcopal clergyman sensed that he had stumbled upon the one man in America willing and able to implement his fantasy. For the next two years, Junior had to steel himself against Goodwin’s maddeningly persistent entreaties.

In the spring of 1926, when Junior decided to speak at the Hampton Institute, Goodwin saw a chance to waylay him to Williamsburg. When John Jr. and Abby arrived, he took them about town, a clinging, heavy-breathing cicerone. At one point Junior asked innocently whether plans existed to preserve the old buildings; at this, the minister must have seen a ray of divine sunlight. As he sheepishly said, “I found it exceedingly hard at the time not to burst forth in the presence of Mr. Rockefeller into unfolding my cherished dream.”<sup>30</sup> He soon swamped Junior with artistic renderings of how the restored town might look.

When Junior consented to underwrite the project the following year, he estimated it would cost five million dollars and he faced the familiar dilemma of buying up land without triggering a real-estate boom. With the Rockefeller involvement concealed, Goodwin referred to his patron by the code name “Mr. David.” As lawyers, real-estate agents, and property owners flocked to Goodwin’s office in suspicious numbers, the rumor mill churned with guesses about the project’s rich backer: Henry Ford, George Eastman, J. P. Morgan, Jr., and Otto Kahn were all mentioned. When this speculation grew counterproductive, Goodwin gathered the local citizenry and announced, “It is now my very great privilege and pleasure to announce that the donors of the money to restore Williamsburg are Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of New York.”<sup>31</sup>

As always, the Rockefeller method was to start slowly, test the concept, and then expand. True to this approach, Junior planned to redo one building at a time. He never dreamed he would resurrect the whole town, but the idea of meticulously restoring the past cast a potent spell over his mind, and he became fantastically engrossed in the most minuscule details. As he told his subordinates, “No scholar must ever be able to come to us and say we have made a mistake.”<sup>32</sup> At one point, the resident architect reminded Junior that everything wasn’t spotless in the eighteenth century. “But Mr. Rockefeller did not like that at all,” he recalled. “He wanted everything to be perfect.”<sup>33</sup> Junior had a special affinity with this lovingly retrieved world. “I really belong in Williamsburg,” he once said. He and Abby bought an elm-shaded manor house, Bassett Hall, where they spent two months each year and where Abby created a first-rate collection of American folk art.<sup>34</sup>

As a form of recreation rich in social value, Colonial Williamsburg captivated Junior and grew into such a passion that he eventually spent fifty-five million dollars on it. “I gave more time, thought, and attention to Williamsburg than I did to any other project I ever undertook—far more than I gave to

Rockefeller Center. . . . The more I did the more complete the project became and the greater my interest became.”<sup>35</sup> Senior never discussed Colonial Williamsburg with his son and, in solipsistic fashion, tended to edit out of his mind what he himself had not originated, even though Junior’s projects were perpetuating his legacy and enormously enhancing the Rockefeller image. Nevertheless, when Junior was later honored by the Virginia legislature, he became choked up and departed from his prepared text to say, “How I wish my father were here! I am only the son.”<sup>36</sup> Such self-abnegation had become a habit—never mind that John D. had ignored the project. In 1934, President Roosevelt opened Colonial Williamsburg to the public.

Another project conceived in an analogous spirit was The Cloisters museum, which reflected Junior’s long-standing interest in medieval art, with its hierarchy, exacting craftsmanship, and strong spiritual content. His West Fifty-fourth Street home was decorated with gorgeous medieval tapestries, including the Hunt of the Unicorn, and his collection expanded after William Welles Bosworth introduced him to a highly romantic sculptor named George Grey Barnard. Barnard traveled through France and Italy each summer, scooping up Gothic statues and other medieval treasures and bearing his trophies back to New York. The Cluny Museum in Paris gave Barnard the idea for a medieval museum in upper Manhattan which came to be known as The Cloisters (later the Barnard Cloisters). In 1914, this one-man museum opened on Fort Washington Avenue in a small brick building. Barnard created for visitors a full-blown medieval fantasy: Robed figures would lead visitors through a shadowy, churchlike interior perfumed with incense and echoing with medieval chants. By the time Barnard put up his entire collection for sale in the 1920s, Junior had already purchased one hundred Gothic pieces from him, storing most of them in delivery tunnels at Pocantico.<sup>37</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art took the entire collection, with money provided by Rockefeller.

As a boy, Junior had frequently taken horseback rides along the Hudson to a high, wooded point that enthralled him. Even then he had vowed that he would someday buy the land and give it to the city. Now such an opportunity presented itself. Having bought the Cornelius Billings estate and other parcels near Barnard’s museum, he offered them to the city for a park. Five years later, the city accepted this gift for a new Fort Tryon Park and honored Junior’s proviso that four elevated acres be set aside for a new museum, The Cloisters, to house the medieval art collection of the Metropolitan Museum.

As with Colonial Williamsburg, Junior loved the demanding scholarship that went along with the creation of the medieval museum. He paid for a building that ingeniously blended cloisters from five French monasteries as well as many pieces that he had previously bought from Barnard. As he was reviewing plans for The Cloisters one day, he noticed a room marked “Tapestries” and asked James Rorimer, the curator, what he had in mind. “Oh, something like the Unicorn Tapestries,” Rorimer said airily. Junior grimaced. But, in an act of supreme sacrifice, he eventually parted with his precious tapestries. By the time the Cloisters opened in 1938, Junior had donated or underwritten the cost of more than 90 percent of the art displayed.

The greatest friction between Junior and Abby arose over the subject of modern art, which exposed fundamental differences in their personalities. Junior seemed to be unnerved by the outlaw, bohemian side of modern art, its free experimentation with form and content. While he was stubbornly mired in the past, as if escaping the strife associated with his father’s career and the Ludlow Massacre, Abby embraced change and responded to the freedom and spontaneity of the new European art. She was enamored of German Expressionist paintings, with their bold colors, grotesque themes, and nightmarish sensuality. When she began to collect such works, Junior found them raw and harshly unappealing. Banishing the forbidden art to an upper-floor gallery at 10 West Fifty-fourth Street, he often struck a patronizing tone when talking about Abby’s picture collection. “These were strange, irresponsible objects that she was bringing into his home,” said their son Laurance. “He did not approve of them.”<sup>38</sup>

Many things about modern art—including the sometimes garish colors, dreamlike imagery, and violent or distorted forms—disconcerted this inhibited man. “I am interested in beauty and by and large I do not find beauty in modern art,” Junior said, preferring the classic beauty of, say, Chinese porcelains. “I find instead a desire for self-expression, as if the artist were saying, ‘I’m free, bound by no forms, and art is what flows out of me.’”<sup>39</sup> Junior must have identified the freedom inherent in modern pictures with Abby’s emancipation in collecting them, for otherwise it is hard to account for his vehement resistance to her avocation. Frustrated by her husband’s hopelessly blinkered vision, Abby found compensation in her sons, especially Nelson, who shared her love of these threatening objects.

For once heedless of her husband’s wishes, Abby joined with Lillie P. Bliss and Mary Sullivan in 1929 to found the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), which provided an outlet for the talents of many wealthy New York women. It was a brave act at a time when most Americans still sneered at such artistic innovation. At first, the museum rented gallery space in the Heckscher Building before moving to a West Fifty-third Street house owned by the Rockefellers. Even as the museum grew in popularity, Junior kept up his deprecating tone. “I showed Papa the pictures and the gallery today,” Abby wrote to Nelson, “and he thinks that they are terrible beyond words, so I am somewhat depressed tonight.”<sup>40</sup> Filling the breach left by his father, Nelson was named chairman of the museum’s Junior Advisory Committee in 1930—he was only twenty-two and still in his last semester at Dartmouth—and ended up as its president.

Notwithstanding his hatred of modern art, Junior became the museum’s chief benefactor, donating a total of six million dollars in endowment grants and land. So considerable was the Rockefeller largesse behind MoMA that one historian has written that “since the beginning” it has “been a Rockefeller responsibility, a protectorate, one might almost say.”<sup>41</sup> Modern art nevertheless remained contentious at home. Distressed that her budget allowed her to buy just one small Matisse painting and drawing, Abby instructed an intermediary, “Please tell him [Matisse] the only reason I have no more is my inability to acquire them.”<sup>42</sup> To remedy this, Abby invited Matisse to dinner in December 1930 and the French master grew impatient that someone of Junior’s cultural attainments could be so insensitive to the beauty of Cézanne, van Gogh, Picasso, and Braque. One editor present, Frank Crowninshield of *Vanity Fair*, registered Junior’s tactful response, saying that “the philanthropist, who had listened very politely, regretted quite as politely, and in the most polished French, that he must still appear adamant. Then, with an engaging burst of confidence, he added that Mr. Matisse must not altogether despair, because, though he might still seem to be stone, he suspected that Mrs. Rockefeller, thanks to her very special gifts of persuasion, would eventually wear him down to the consistency of jelly.”<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, this charm was strictly for public consumption and Junior kept up his stony obduracy.

Overriding Junior’s objections, Abby served as MoMA’s first treasurer and gave the museum its first fund for acquiring art. She was a blithe,

energetic, ubiquitous figure in the museum's maiden years. All this prodigious work only alienated Junior further, a disapproval so noticeable to the young director, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., that he once told Abby, "Remember me cordially to Mr. Rockefeller (who I find hard to forgive his granite indifference to what interests you so much)." <sup>44</sup> Philip Johnson was no less scornful: "He was a bulldog, a very strong man, one who would say, 'As my wife you can do this and not that.'" <sup>45</sup> Since Abby's involvement with MoMA coincided with the years in which her children graduated from college, married, and started jobs, it grated on Junior that he could not now have his wife all to himself. "We children, who had been his competition, were on our own now—presumably our needs were no longer a threat to him," said David. "But here was the museum, more complex than ever, demanding her energy, and it rankled." <sup>46</sup> Having bequeathed a stunning 181 artworks to MoMA in 1935 alone, Abby attained a new celebrity status and was featured on the January 1936 cover of *Time* magazine, which named her "the outstanding individual patron of living artists in the U.S." <sup>47</sup>

Abby's work gave the family an important presence in art patronage that it had largely lacked to date because of Senior's conspicuous indifference to painting, inherited by his son. However much he inwardly writhed with displeasure, Junior kept the money spigot open. After Lillie Bliss died in 1931, her collection came up for sale—brimming with twenty-four Cézannes, nine Seurats, eight Degases, and so on. She had left it to the museum with the proviso that it have an endowment fund sufficient to ensure its permanence; Junior gave \$200,000 and Nelson \$100,000. In 1935, to encompass this swelling collection, the trustees voted for a new building to be fashioned by Philip L. Goodwin and Edward Durell Stone in the International Style. For the site, the Rockefellers provided land on both West Fifty-third Street and West Fifty-fourth Street and contributed 60 percent of the building-fund money. The homes of Senior and Junior were razed to make way for the museum and the adjoining Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden. In early 1938, Junior and Abby moved into a new apartment at 740 Park Avenue. For Junior, it must have been the ultimate affront that his nine-story mansion had been demolished to make way for modern art.



*A soaring nocturnal vision of Rockefeller Center. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

## Heirs

Senior's worst forebodings about the fates of his grandchildren seemed to materialize during the 1920s, especially with the McCormicks. He had long doted on his grandson Fowler, who had become a friend, acolyte, and traveling companion of Carl Jung, whom he lauded as a "God figure" in his life.<sup>1</sup> Having weaned Fowler away from conventional mores, Jung might have inadvertently prepared the ground for Fowler's unorthodox marriage. In 1921, the tabloid press feasted on the racy divorce of James Stillman, Jr., and Anne "Fifi" Stillman. Fifi—a striking redhead with a flirtatious manner and volatile temper—was a siren to young men, and Fowler became smitten with her when he roomed with her son Bud at Princeton. Scenting danger, Edith warned her father in 1922, "There is always a pitfall for a rich young man in a much older, designing and fascinating woman."<sup>2</sup> To Rockefeller's horror, Fowler later married Fifi, a divorcée who was eighteen years his senior and had four children. Although he occasionally received the couple (who remained childless), Rockefeller was heartsick over the match and doubtless blamed Edith's self-absorption for her children's troubles.

Beautiful and temperamental, Edith's daughter Muriel had her mother's headstrong nature. When Rockefeller sent her a birthday check in 1922, she mailed it right back, professing outrage that he would express his "loving feeling in such a materialistical manner."<sup>3</sup> Since her parents were leading patrons of the opera, Muriel decided to become a diva and appeared with her mother at a fund-raising luncheon. "Following the luncheon," reported one Chicago paper, "after the coffee had been drunk and the men guests were lighting up their cigars, Miss McCormick drew a slender ebony cigarette holder and cigarette from her gold mesh bag and joined the smokes."<sup>4</sup> Adopting the stage name of Nawanna Micor, Muriel studied opera with Ganna Walska, acted briefly on the New York stage, and even tried her luck in Hollywood before turning to interior decorating and marrying Elisha D. Hubbard, the son of a former bank president.

Rockefeller received more warmth from her sister, Mathilde, a bright, winning young woman and the only McCormick child exempted from analysis with Jung. Fearful that Mathilde would fall prey to some scoundrel in Switzerland, Rockefeller told her: "We want you all to be true Americans and to love your own country and not to be enamored with the allurements that come especially to our American girls sometimes by the fortune hunters of the world."<sup>5</sup> Rockefeller had the talents of a sibyl in these matters. In 1922, Mathilde, seventeen, decided to marry her Swiss riding master, a forty-five-year-old widower named Max Oser. Having paid for Mathilde's expensive riding lessons, Edith felt betrayed and was sure the treacherous Oser was out to bilk them. As she told her father, Oser had only taken an interest in Mathilde because she was "the daughter of wealthy parents and the granddaughter of the wealthiest man in the world. As we unfortunately all too well know, all of the children are flattered and toadied to by people of none too worthy characters, who hope thereby to get money from them."<sup>6</sup>

Forgetting her own recent escapades, Edith mounted her high horse and sounded like a conservative, self-righteous mother, suggesting that Rockefeller withhold money from his grandchildren to make it "less possible for them to be taken in by swindlers and by evil minded people."<sup>7</sup> "We have our sorrows," Rockefeller replied to Edith. "How thankful I am that dear mother is spared them."<sup>8</sup> He was sufficiently swayed by Edith's argument that he discontinued many of the annual gifts he had routinely been making to his grandchildren.

Refusing to accept the match with Oser, Edith attempted to scare the daylights out of Mathilde, telling her that the twenty-six-year age difference between her McCormick grandparents had yielded a terrible legacy of mental illness among their seven children. "Two died young and two are insane," she pleaded with her daughter. "Do you not see how unjust it is to bring children into the world doomed to insanity?"<sup>9</sup> Not relenting after Mathilde's marriage in 1923, Edith refused to see Max Oser or even her own grandchildren for many years. When the couple visited America in 1929 in an attempt to close this breach, Edith told Mathilde that she still had no desire to see her grandchildren. "Children really aren't at all important," she informed her daughter, "they're just necessary for procreation."<sup>10</sup> Edith grew so spiteful that when Mathilde and Max planned to visit Senior, Edith telegraphed ahead to her father: "I would appreciate very much if you did not receive the fortune hunter Mr. Oser in your home."<sup>11</sup> About to celebrate his ninetieth birthday, Rockefeller was in no mood to snub a beloved granddaughter, so he graciously received Max, Mathilde, and their children at Lakewood. Rockefeller even slipped into a confidant's role with Mathilde, who poured out her troubles about Edith. After being reviled as a robber baron for so many decades, he enjoyed playing the sage, soft-shoe grandfather.

Rockefeller continued to feel highly protective toward his granddaughter Margaret, who reminded everybody of Bessie as she grew up, making her an object of special concern. She had grown up in a lonely, bookish atmosphere with her father, Charles Strong, who kept Margaret away from America—to Rockefeller's everlasting dismay. Paralyzed from the waist down by a tumor on his spine, Charles was confined to a wheelchair cushioned with a rubber pillow, and this made his life only more cerebral. While staying in his Paris apartment or his villa at Fiesole, Charles and his close friend George Santayana shared a paternal solicitude toward Margaret, who was always encircled by suitors. Her marital plans provided grist for speculation between these two weighty philosophers.

It was Santayana, not Strong, who gave away the bride when Margaret married the fashionable George de Cuevas in a Paris church in 1927; Margaret thought that her father would disapprove and got married while he was out of town. After her solitary, repressed home environment, Margaret was swept up in de Cuevas's warmth, spontaneity, and charm. Almost invariably labeled a Spanish nobleman, de Cuevas was neither Spanish nor noble but the scion of a Chilean banking family that was richer in land than cash, and he was clever in plotting ways to remedy that deficiency.

In January 1929, Margaret gave birth to a baby girl named Elizabeth (followed by a son, John), and later in the year she and George headed off to America "to see the old man Rockefeller, now 90 years old," as Santayana described their plans. "He has already treated Margaret generously—she has \$75,000 a year—but gratitude is the hope of favors to come, and no doubt they will do their best in Florida to make a good impression, to be passed on from the old gentleman to John D. Jr. who now holds the purse-strings."<sup>12</sup> Later on, George de Cuevas jested that he had trekked off to the Florida jungles to play golf to provide for his children. He knew the proper line to take with Rockefeller and portrayed Margaret as a poor waif who needed protection. Margaret and George moved to America with their two children in the 1930s, a stay punctuated by return trips to Paris and Florence, and for

several years they lived near Rockefeller in Lakewood, much as Charles and Bessie had done three decades earlier. In his will, Rockefeller offered striking proof of his concern for the welfare of Bessie's daughter. Since he had already distributed almost all of his money to his philanthropies and children, he left an estate of only \$26.4 million, with \$16.6 million of that skimmed off by state and federal taxes. In a decision that took many people by surprise, the chief recipient of the remaining money was Margaret Strong de Cuevas—a tribute both to Margaret and to her now sainted mother.

With Junior's six children, Rockefeller suffered much less anguish, for they were brought up under their father's unswerving discipline. In his desire to have a shining, spotless family and cleanse the Rockefeller name, Junior became a hard and often unforgiving parent. Of the children, Babs, the sole daughter, was most often at loggerheads with her parents. She felt that Abby doted on her sons and that Junior singled her out for a disproportionate share of pent-up rage. Junior was poorly equipped to fathom youthful revolt, especially when it came from an emancipated daughter. Tall, lithe, and slender, a true child of the Jazz Age, Babs looked terrific in flapper outfits and cloche hats, enjoyed high-speed chases in her sports car, adored tennis, and patronized Harlem jazz clubs. She also adroitly managed to evade her chaperons, and on the night Uncle William died in 1922 it took time to track her down at a Long Island party. She hated churchgoing and mockingly recalled "the fannies waving" during morning prayer.<sup>13</sup> In keeping her accounts, she settled for a slapdash job and refused to follow tradition and hustle for pocket change. "I can always get a dollar from Grandpa," she boasted to her brothers, knowing her grandfather's weakness for the ladies.<sup>14</sup> At Brearley and Chapin Schools, she showed little initiative and resented her father's caustic comments about her report cards, not to mention his meddlesome calls to school to check up on her progress.

Junior offered his children a \$2,500 reward if they did not smoke before age twenty-one, and for Babs he tossed in a car as well, yet she started to sneak cigarettes at fifteen. After inhaling a single cigarette in October 1922, Babs, nineteen, sat down and wrote to her father as if confessing to some monstrous crime: "This is going to be the hardest letter I have ever had to write. . . . I've smoked, thereby losing my car. Mama told me to take it up to Tarrytown tomorrow and put it away." When Babs brazenly continued to smoke, Junior volunteered to double her allowance if she abstained in the future. Even after she set her bed ablaze while smoking in bed, she still was not cured of the habit, and Junior was horrified when she added a taste for bootleg liquor.

Babs saw her father as a tense man who converted everything into a test of morality and his personal authority. Like her brothers, she found redeeming qualities in her grandfather, including good-humored sympathy, that were sorely missing in her father. Twice during the winter of 1923–1924, Babs was dragged into traffic court for speeding, and twice she pleaded guilty. While Junior would not countenance this, Senior dropped her a comforting note, admitting that he was partial to fast cars himself. The clashes with her father scarred Babs. As Laurance's daughter later said of a talk with Babs about her upbringing,

*I cannot convey the tone of bitterness that crept into her speech. . . . She constantly said that [her father] meant well and expressed her admiration for [him], and yet it is clear that she feared and hated him. He never got angry in the sense of raising his voice or losing his temper. When he got angry, he would get very sarcastic as she recalled. She viewed him as a man who was incapable of enjoying himself.<sup>15</sup>*

On May 14, 1925, Babs married a young lawyer and childhood friend: the handsome, easygoing David Milton. Twelve hundred people, including Governor Al Smith, attended the wedding at 10 West Fifty-fourth Street, with Ivy Lee hovering in the background, making sure photographers did not snap pictures of Babs in her wedding gown, lest anyone accuse the Rockefellers of ostentation. In the press, the story was predictably served up in hackneyed prose as a fairy-tale union of the "world's richest bride" and a "penniless law clerk."<sup>16</sup> Later, with more truth than diplomacy, Babs pronounced the day after the wedding "her first day of freedom." As a vast, expectant throng craned their necks outside, Babs and David slipped out a back door. When Junior saw the crowd standing outside, he asked if they would like to come in and see where the wedding had taken place. Pretty soon, he and his sons were squiring curiosity seekers, twenty at a time, to tour the flower-filled rooms. Eighteen years later, following in Edith's footsteps, Babs divorced her lawyer husband. She then married Dr. Irving Pardee, a neurologist, and, after he died, Jean Mauzé, a senior vice president of the United States Trust Company. In her later years, she was a substantial contributor to the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center and other New York City institutions.

From his first breath, John D. Rockefeller III had grown up in the long shadow of dynastic expectation. When he was born, one New York paper joked that Wall Street brokers were debating whether the event would "buoy the market or merely hold it steady."<sup>17</sup> Tall and lean, with a long, craggy face, John had a tightly wound personality, which he inherited from his father. Shy and introspective, he was severely self-critical. Like his father, he aspired to be a paragon of virtue and, also like his father, paid a terrible emotional price for it. For all their similarities—or perhaps because of them—Junior and his eldest son had a relationship fraught with tension. John III felt overshadowed by his father and dejected by a sense that he could never measure up to his lofty standards. Babs claimed that John III was the most keenly injured by Junior's "primly correcting supervisory stance."<sup>18</sup> John chafed at his father's limitations, noting once in his diary, "F[ather] always has own way. He is . . . broad in business relations, but so narrow in some of his family details."<sup>19</sup> Unlike Babs, John showed no flashes of rebellion and swallowed his anger.

John went through several private schools, including the Roger Ascham School, the Browning School, and the Loomis Institute, but, unlike his younger brothers, he was not allowed to attend the progressive Lincoln School, which had been started in 1917 with a grant from the General Education Board. Embarrassed by his large jaw and convinced that the right side of his face was deformed, he began to manifest in adolescence the same litany of psychosomatic ailments (headaches, stomach pains, and so forth) that afflicted his father. In early 1922, he developed such torturous earaches that he had to spend the winter with his grandfather in Florida, where he enjoyed the old man's waggishness on the golf course. Senior added a bright touch of eccentricity to his dour world. He filled up his diary with dreary self-deprecation: "I have no personal attraction. Nobody wants to sit next to me at the table or anything." "I have no real friends here at school." "Wish I was more popular." "I wish I was different in many ways than I am." "Am much too self-conscious at all times."<sup>20</sup> He had inherited Eliza's puritan conscience without Big Bill's saving levity.

As an adolescent, John saved or donated half his income to charity and had little inkling of the magnitude of the Rockefeller fortune. According to legend, he was steering a decrepit rowboat at Seal Harbor one day when a neighbor's son said, "Why don't you get a motor boat?" Taken aback, John replied, "A motor boat! Gee whiz! Who do you think we are—Vanderbilts!"<sup>21</sup> At Princeton, he was not among the few hundred students who owned a

car. One tale, perhaps apocryphal, claims that John was derided when he tried to cash a check at an Italian restaurant on Nassau Street in Princeton; he had accepted checks signed by George Washington and Julius Caesar, the owner explained, but he was not such a dunce as to take one signed by John D. Rockefeller. Although the 1920 appearance of F. Scott Fitzgerald's first novel, *This Side of Paradise*, had certified Princeton's reputation for fast living, John III did not drink, smoke, curse, or study on Sunday. During receptions at his eating club, he would only brush the silver loving cup against his lips when it was passed around in order to avoid contaminating contact with liquor. While his classmates drank themselves into oblivion, John taught English to immigrants at a local settlement house or volunteered at the YMCA. Even at Princeton, he was already serving on the board of the Dunbar National Bank, a black-managed bank in Harlem supported by his father and other businessmen. Probably more popular at Princeton than he realized, John nonetheless portrayed his undergraduate years as a lonely purgatory. Crippled by his conscience, he dwelled morbidly on his own imperfections in his diary. "Am afraid I have an inferiority complex— really know I have. Never feel as if people—both boys and girls—wanted to be with me."<sup>22</sup> "Can't keep smile on my face which is most embarrassing. Muscles tremble. Give anything to be over it."<sup>23</sup> In his final bleak college entry, John recorded, "Guess the reason I am glad to get through college is because I have made rather a mess of it; also haven't really made hardly any friends."<sup>24</sup>

After graduating, John traveled around the world before taking up his duties at 26 Broadway, where he placed himself at his father's disposal. The family office was now an enormous bureaucracy staffed by more than one hundred people, including lawyers, accountants, money managers, and real-estate experts. If Rockefeller had let Junior wander confusedly during his early years at 26 Broadway, Junior handled his son in a much more direct and stifling manner. During John's first day at work on December 2, 1929, Junior held a press conference to introduce his son then proceeded to dominate the discussion. Each time the reporters posed a question for the lanky, fidgety young man, Junior answered for him. Though Junior had soon placed his son on fifteen boards, including the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute, and given him a small, adjoining office, John seldom saw his father. Obsessive and driven, John III worked around the clock, six days a week, delving into everything from juvenile delinquency to population control. Like his father in his early years, John III was often the token Rockefeller on charity boards, and all the responsibilities took their toll.

This high-strung young man needed a woman who could save him from his nervous system, as Abby had with Junior, and he found an ideal partner in Blanchette Ferry Hooker. The Vassar-educated Blanchette was a beautiful heiress, sweet and charming, who behaved with a dignified but unaffected manner. Her father had founded the Hooker Electrochemical Company while her mother had inherited money from the Ferry retail seed business. John III was such a bashful wooer that to speed things up, Junior gave him the key to a private cottage at Seal Harbor and encouraged him to take Blanchette there. The couple were finally married on November 11, 1932, before 2,500 guests at the Riverside Church.

During their courtship at Seal Harbor, Blanchette learned just how guilt-ridden John was when he handed her a comprehensive list of his faults then asked her to reciprocate. She saw that her future husband was bowed beneath the weight of the family name and fortune, and she helped him to strike out on his own. It was not easy. Like his aunt Edith, John III had suffered from intermittent bouts of agoraphobia in school, a condition that worsened after his marriage. When he and Blanchette went into society, he occasionally submitted to dizzy spells that nearly sent him into a dead swoon. Though the condition eventually subsided, as long as it lasted John and Blanchette seldom ventured out to public functions.

The least-known of the brothers, John was the most conscientious philanthropist. Besides the Rockefeller Foundation, he chaired Lincoln Center and the Population Council and became the most significant force behind the Asia Society. Avoiding limousines and luxury hotels whenever possible and often traveling under the fictitious name John Davison, he refrained from any self-aggrandizement. Oddly, like his father, John could not abide his wife's fondness for modern art and, taking a leaf from Abby, Blanchette firmly defied him and became president of the Museum of Modern Art. Also like his father, John reacted to the controversial Rockefeller legacy by acquiring a conscience that was a punishing taskmaster. His daughter said, "He was someone who suffered from never doing things just for enjoyment."<sup>25</sup>

If John III seemed imprisoned by the abundant family rules, Nelson seemed heedless of the inhibitions that ruled their father's life. Nelson's brash exuberance only sapped John's confidence further. As the latter recorded in his diary, "Nelson dances very well. I am rotten." "Nelson always makes a big hit."<sup>26</sup> While his brothers were rangy, the young Nelson had Junior's short, square frame. Named after Senator Aldrich, he inherited the Aldrich charm and extroversion, and alone of the six children he exhibited a flamboyant craving for publicity, a cheerful egotism in a family that frowned on self-assertion. A naturally commanding figure, Nelson behaved less like a student at the Lincoln School, where he zipped about in a flashy Ford roadster, than a principal. He accosted one startled new teacher with an invitation to call on him if she needed any information because "you're new here and I've been around for quite a while."<sup>27</sup> Not since Big Bill had there been such a fun-loving, narcissistic Rockefeller. Junior often winced at Nelson's cocky antics, while Abby strongly identified with his "frank and outspoken" nature and clearly favored him over the other children.<sup>28</sup>

A popular student at Dartmouth, Nelson made the soccer team and was elected vice president of his junior class. Even then, he was ingratiating himself with people, sharpening his political skills. With his worn corduroy pants and sagging sweaters, he tried to blend into the crowd, but he was a star in sack-cloth and converted the Dartmouth president, Ernest Hopkins, into a pal. He did not drink, taught a Sunday-school class, got high enough grades to make Phi Beta Kappa, and humbly rode a bike instead of a car.

After his parents scotched his dream of becoming an architect, Nelson majored in economics. For his honors thesis, he wanted to write an essay that would vindicate his grandfather and Standard Oil and was eager to hear the story from the patriarch's own lips. A wonderful raconteur about so many events, Rockefeller carefully avoided serious discussion of his business history. "I was thinking the other day that Grandfather has never mentioned the Company to us," Nelson wrote to his father, "nor has he ever told us anything about his stupendous work in organizing the Company and leading it for so many years."<sup>29</sup> To remedy this omission, Nelson asked if his father could set up a talk, saying it "would be an outstanding and unforgettable experience in our lives."<sup>30</sup>

While Rockefeller mulled this over, Junior mailed his son the hagiographic Inglis manuscript, which Nelson found engrossing. "It was thrilling!" he told Junior. "For the first time I felt that I really knew Grandfather a little—got a glimpse into the power and grandeur of his life."<sup>31</sup> Nelson did not realize that he was only reading a pretty family fiction; the Rockefeller children were being duped, inadvertently, by family public relations. As for Rockefeller, though flattered by the request, he declined to speak to his grandson, leaving Nelson—like Junior and the other Rockefellers—no better



informed about Standard Oil than any well-read stranger. Senior’s behavior guaranteed that anxiety over the fortune’s legitimacy would spread to his descendants, strengthening their guilty consciences. In his thesis, Nelson, coached by Inglis, flatly denied that Standard Oil ever drove competitors from business unfairly. “These companies were treated with extreme fairness and in many cases with generosity,” he wrote, dismissing as mythical that Standard Oil had amassed power “through local price discrimination, bogus independents and espionage.”<sup>32</sup>

In 1929, Nelson turned twenty-one on the same day that Rockefeller reached ninety. “The 90 makes my 21 seem mighty small and insignificant,” he wrote his parents, “just like a little sapling standing by a mighty fir. But the sapling still has time to grow and develop and someday it might itself turn into a tree of some merit. Who knows?”<sup>33</sup> Nelson leaped at any chance to golf with Rockefeller in Florida and was an attentive audience for his yarns and witticisms. After one 1932 visit, Nelson told Junior that Rockefeller “certainly is an extraordinary man, about the finest I know. There are few people that I really admire as being all-round success, but he leads the list. His point of view and outlook on life are so perfectly grand. And what a sense of humor!”<sup>34</sup>

In the autumn of 1929, in his can-do, take-charge style, Nelson declared that he would marry a childhood friend, Mary Todhunter Clark, known as Tod. Thin and aristocratic in manner, she was a granddaughter of George Roberts, a former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Junior was irate that Nelson had not consulted him and consented only after Abby lobbied him. Nelson and Tod went to Ormond Beach to see Rockefeller, who gave his blessing after golfing with this young lady from the Main Line suburbs of Philadelphia. Tod struck observers as witty and intelligent, an excellent mimic and fine sports-woman, if rather cool and self-contained. On June 23, 1930, Nelson married her in Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania, while police restrained a thousand spectators outside. At the last minute, Rockefeller could not come and sent \$20,000 in securities instead. More and more, he refrained from trips that might threaten his health.

For their honeymoon, Nelson and Tod spent two weeks in Seal Harbor, where they were attended by twenty-four servants. As a wedding gift, Junior treated them to a nine-month around-the-world trip that took on the trappings of a state visit. At each port of call, they were escorted by Standard Oil officials who introduced them to prime ministers and other dignitaries. For Nelson, the meeting with Mahatma Gandhi in India had one severe shortcoming: “He showed no interest in me whatever,” he complained.<sup>35</sup>

During the summer of 1931, Nelson started work at 26 Broadway, where he felt crowded out by Junior’s phalanx of advisers. In an abortive venture, he launched a company for marketing merchandise and discussed the project at length with Rockefeller in Florida. “Every morning we’d take turns reading Psalms before breakfast, which consisted of floods of orange juice,” said Nelson. He made his mark by hustling tenants for Rockefeller Center and ended up as the project’s chief panjandrum. During his eventful career, he served as an assistant secretary of state for Latin America under Roosevelt and undersecretary of health, education, and welfare under Eisenhower. When sworn in as governor of New York in 1959, he took the oath of office on the Bible of his great-grandmother Eliza. After thirty years and five children, the marriage to Tod ended in divorce in 1962. When he married Margaretta “Happy” Murphy the following year, many people thought his marital history had irreparably harmed his presidential ambitions, and he had to settle for the vice presidency under Gerald Ford.

When Laurance was born in 1910, the family chose this strange spelling of his name to honor the ailing Cettie. “This we do so as to make it as much like Laura as possible,” Junior told his mother.<sup>36</sup> Everybody said the thin, sharp-featured Laurance looked more like Senior than any of the other children did. Bright and laconic, with an incisive wit, he also had his grandfather’s enigmatic detachment. However, he lacked the “power to concentrate on difficult and routine tasks,” as Junior said when Laurance was at the Lincoln School.<sup>37</sup> The boy took up photography, built a wooden auto powered by a motorcycle engine, and showed a flair for gadgetry. As a philosophy major at Princeton, Laurance shed many of his boyhood religious beliefs in the face of rational scrutiny. While studying at Harvard Law School, he developed pneumonia during his first semester and had to spend the winter with Senior at Ormond Beach. Because he had qualms about the social philosophy of the law and had to struggle to get through his finals, he decided to drop out without taking his degree.

In 1934, Laurance married Mary French in Woodstock, Vermont. A charming Vassar graduate of quiet strength, Mary was the granddaughter of Frederick Billings, a president of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Mary’s brother had roomed with Nelson at Dartmouth. Laurance had his grandfather’s sound instinct for business opportunities and the same unwavering confidence in his own judgment. When he inherited Rockefeller’s New York Stock Exchange seat, he became the youngest member of the exchange. At twenty-eight, with his friend Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, Laurance joined a syndicate to buy Eastern Airlines, eventually becoming its largest shareholder. He also took a sizable stake in the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation, which surged ahead on the strength of aviation contracts during World War II. He was later involved in the Viking rocket and other aerospace projects, and enjoyed flying his own plane. After the family made its first trip to the Grand Tetons in the early 1920s, he became entranced by conservation no less than his father had been. “I was the youngest one there, and therefore the most impressionable,” he said. He later created vacation resorts in places of unspoiled scenery, managing them through a company called Rockresorts that eventually owned some of the world’s most gorgeous vacation spots.

Winthrop’s life nearly started out with an embarrassing blunder. Junior and Abby were about to christen him Winthrop Aldrich Rockefeller (after Abby’s brother) when they realized what his initials would spell and scrapped the middle name. He was a chubby, maladroitness boy who bore the brunt of Nelson and Laurance’s sadistic urges. When he developed kidney trouble, his two older brothers considerably reminded him that another young cousin named Winthrop had died of kidney disease.<sup>38</sup> Abby felt protective toward her vulnerable son and once said of him, “Abuse only makes him angry and much worse, while for love and kind treatment he will do anything.”<sup>39</sup>

There was something ineffably sad about Winthrop’s youth. Squirming under his father’s stern rigor, he longed for escape to a less-taxing world. Easily distracted, he did poorly at Lincoln and Loomis, where he enjoyed playing practical jokes and chasing girls. A big, handsome, hulking boy—at sixteen he was six-foot-one and weighed 185 pounds—he lacked the energy and drive that came so effortlessly to his more dynamic brothers. Winthrop later admitted that as a Yale undergraduate, he had mastered only two subjects: how to smoke and how to drink. At first, he could not keep down more than three drinks without getting sick: “Unfortunately, I later got over that.”<sup>40</sup> At Yale, he played cards and—committing one of the cardinal Rockefeller sins—began to neglect his account book. In the middle of his freshman year, Winthrop realized that his prodigality might cost him his allowance, and he

negotiated a large rescue loan from Babs.

During the 1933 summer vacation, he toiled as a roustabout in the Texas oil fields for Humble Oil, which was now owned by Jersey Standard, and he felt more at home doing manual work among these rough, simple men than he had among his Yale classmates: “That was what I had been looking for! . . . men working with their hands, producing something real. . . . I was fascinated by everything I saw—I wanted to become part of it, to do what they were doing, to prove to myself that I was as good a man as any of them.”<sup>41</sup> If a tonic for his morale, the Texas adventure did not enhance his school performance, and he continued to favor booze and cards. At one point while Winthrop was in Texas, a New Haven publican named Curly Levine made the mistake of sending him a telegram at West Fifty-fourth Street. Junior read the message and secretly contacted Yale president James R. Angell, who informed him that Curly was mixed up with gambling and shady elements. When confronted, Winthrop broke down and confessed to his horrified parents, “Curly is a Jewish bartender in a speakeasy in New Haven where I have gotten liquor while I was at college.”<sup>42</sup> In his junior year, Winthrop was expelled from college after being discovered in the shower with a young lady.

After Yale, Winthrop resumed work for Humble Oil in the Texas fields. When he announced the news, Rockefeller, whatever his reservations, expressed pleasure at a family member being back on the Standard Oil payroll. When Winthrop visited Lakewood to tell him about Humble’s advanced production methods in Texas, the old man listened patiently, then said, “Well, brother . . . I appreciate that—but I must remind you that the important thing is the figures.”<sup>43</sup> In his amiability, Winthrop reminded people of Rockefeller, and perhaps for that reason he was very sensitive to the contradictions of the old man’s personality: “There was always an indefinable aloofness, a detachment that I cannot describe. He was warm, human and real—his every act was an act of warmth—and yet this other quality was there.”<sup>44</sup> The other brothers did not see this subtle discrepancy between the inner and outer man.

For three years, Winthrop enjoyed the camaraderie of the Texas roustabouts and smoked, drank, and philandered. Winthrop was “big and broad-shouldered, like a friendly young Koala,” said one contemporary magazine writer.<sup>45</sup> In this schizoid existence, he worked and ate with other workers during the week and lived on seventy-five cents an hour, then dined on weekends at a country club with the company president. Winthrop welcomed his transient experience of ordinariness in Texas. As he once noted with regret, if your name is Rockefeller, “you can almost feel the prices rise when you walk into a store.”<sup>46</sup>

Returning to New York, Winthrop trained at the Chase National Bank, worked for the Socony–Vacuum Oil Company—the former Standard Oil of New York—and served as a vice chairman of the Greater New York Fund. These jobs drew less press attention than his evening prowls through café society. As one reporter remarked, Winthrop “handled all the night life” for the Rockefellers.<sup>47</sup> As his drinking and womanizing crept into gossip columns, Junior scolded him, but Winthrop resented his father’s autocratic manner and attempt to perpetuate what seemed an obsolete way of life. After one quarrel, Winthrop said bitterly, “By God, if I ever have children, I’m going to *talk* to them, not just make an appointment to see them and then get up after five minutes to go get a haircut.”<sup>48</sup>

In 1948, after dating actress Mary Martin, Winthrop married a voluptuous blonde named Barbara “Bobo” Sears—née Jievyte Paulekiute, the daughter of Lithuanian immigrants. Junior and Abby boycotted the Florida wedding, and the marriage scarcely lasted the year. When Winthrop later bought a large spread, Winrock Farm, in Arkansas, Junior found one excuse after another not to visit. Much to the surprise of his family, Winthrop was elected Arkansas governor in 1966, the first Republican to manage that feat in ninety-four years.

Like Winthrop, David was pudgy as a child but was spared the rough attention of his older brothers. Like a miniature banker, he moved with serene self-confidence and punctiliously kept his account books. Smart, docile, and cherubically round-faced, he was adored by Rockefeller, who loved to croon carols with him at The Casements. As Rockefeller told his son after one of David’s holiday visits, “He is a worthy son of worthy parents, and his grandfather dotes on him.”<sup>49</sup> David reciprocated the affection, calling his grandfather “the least dour man I’ve ever known, constantly smiling, joking, and telling shaggy dog stories.”<sup>50</sup> Senior once told John Yordi that David was the grandchild who most resembled him.

As the youngest son, David was solitary, yet he compensated for this by creating a self-contained world, collecting butterflies, moths, beetles, and grasshoppers. (Eventually, he developed a world-famous trove of forty thousand beetles.) By the time he graduated from the Lincoln School, he was, like Rockefeller, outwardly genial and inwardly reserved. Steady and methodical, he experienced no scandals or crises at Harvard, graduating cum laude in 1936 after having written his senior thesis on Fabian socialism. After a postgraduate year at Harvard and another at the London School of Economics, he completed a doctorate in economics at the University of Chicago. Though his thesis, “Unused Resources and Economic Waste,” dealt with issues of corporate concentration that had preoccupied his grandfather, David arrived at free-market conclusions and criticized monopolies as counterproductive. While paying tribute to Standard Oil for imposing order on an anarchic industry, he agreed with the court’s 1911 decision to break up the trust. As he later argued, “Some units [of Standard Oil] are now bigger and better than grandfather could ever have imagined even the whole company would be.”<sup>51</sup> This preference for neoclassical economics reflected changes both in the Rockefeller family and in the American business community.

Upon leaving Chicago, David worked for eighteen months as an unpaid secretary to Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York. He had the wisdom to marry a feisty, red-blooded woman, Margaret “Peggy” McGrath, who complemented his more detached personality. She came from a comfortable but not blue-ribbon family and had little tolerance for grandiosity like Nelson’s. With a sometimes fiery temper and activist bent, she donated her time to worthwhile causes, including saving the Maine shoreline, raising cattle, and working on behalf of farmland conservation. David dedicated his career to the Chase Manhattan Bank, rising to the chairman’s post and becoming an eminent, peripatetic international banker. As he told an interviewer, he was “the first member of the family since Grandfather who has had a regular job in a company and has devoted a major part of his time to being in business.”

## See You in Heaven

The world's richest man never lost the thrifty boyhood habits that had made him the nonpareil of American business. One day at Ormond Beach, he was studying the blazing hearth when he turned to Michael, the butler, and asked, "How long are those sticks of wood?" Fourteen inches, Michael replied. "Do you think they would do just as well if they were cut twelve inches in length?" Michael conceded this was possible. "Then the next time the wood is being sawed have it made twelve inches in length."<sup>1</sup> Since twelve inches gave sufficient light and heat at less expense, it became the new household standard. His frugality was deeply rooted. One Christmas, he was delighted when his son gave him two dozen golf balls and some fountain pens—his idea of wonderfully practical gifts.

Rockefeller had now lived so long and grown so famous that a number of promoters sought to cash in on his fame. In 1930, Sarah S. Dennen, secretary of the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce in Brooklyn, New York, tracked down the Richford house in which the titan had been born. Wind now blew through the chinks of this tottering clapboard dwelling. She had a vision of sudden riches: She would dismantle the house and ship it to Coney Island, where an estimated five million annual paying customers would tour this new shrine of American capitalism. Cringing at the thought, Rockefeller took legal steps to stop the commercialization of his name. After Dennen had bought and dismembered the structure, Rockefeller's lawyers marshaled state and local authorities to prevent the house from moving over public highways; the heap of numbered planks made it only as far as Binghamton.

During the Wall Street boom of the 1920s, Rockefeller took a guilty thrill in playing the stock market, despite Junior's reproaches. If his son was present when somebody alluded to his trading, Rockefeller, like a naughty child, would shift the subject. As the market surged, he jovially passed out dollar bills as bull-market dividends to companions. After breakfast, he often announced, "Well, I guess I'll see what I can do to keep the wolf away from the door," then scurried over to his office to get fresh quotes by telephone or telegraph.<sup>2</sup> When the market either swooped or soared, a messenger tracked Rockefeller down on the golf course to deliver a folded sheet with share prices. Aside from cash, railroad securities, U.S. bonds, and Wall Street loans, Rockefeller retained most of his money in Standard Oil companies and could quote the precise number of shares he held in each of his stocks, even when they ran to five digits.

Partial to old habits, Rockefeller continued to trade by buying each time a stock declined an eighth of a point or selling on each eighth-point rise. Having relinquished most of his money to Junior, he often borrowed up to twenty million dollars to execute these transactions and occasionally cadged loans from his son. "John," he said to him one day, "I've been following the stock market carefully. I think that if I had a little money, I could use it to make some more. Do you believe you could lend me several hundred thousand dollars?" "Well father," said Junior wryly, "do you think you are old enough to use it wisely?"<sup>3</sup>

The Rockefellers fared handsomely in the effervescent market of the Roaring Twenties. As the market soared, Junior more than doubled the \$450 million he had received, and his assets approached the billion-dollar mark. When the market crashed in October 1929, the Rockefellers were caught by surprise. Ivy Lee convinced Junior of the publicity value of a calming statement from his father. After buying a million shares of Standard of New Jersey, Rockefeller issued a press release that had been scripted by Lee: "These are days when many are discouraged. In the ninety years of my life, depressions have come and gone. Prosperity has always returned, and will again." In his peroration, he said, "Believing that the fundamental conditions of the country are sound, my son and I have been purchasing sound common stocks for some days."<sup>4</sup> When the comedian Eddie Cantor was informed that the Rockefellers had resumed buying stocks, he responded with the wisecrack, "Sure, who else had any money left?"<sup>5</sup>

After the crash, Junior and Tom Debevoise worried about the financial health of the Equitable Trust, which had operated under Rockefeller control since 1911. They plucked Abby's brother, Winthrop Aldrich, from the law firm of Murray, Aldrich, and Webb and placed him in charge of the Equitable. A few months later, Aldrich orchestrated a merger with Chase National, creating the world's largest bank and one henceforth referred to as "the Rockefeller Bank"—even though the descendants of James Stillman and William Rockefeller steered the rival National City Bank. Some years later, Aldrich also effected a merger of his old law firm with that of Bert Milbank (Junior's old friend from the Browning School) to form the firm known today as Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy, which would be closely associated with the Rockefellers.



*A poetic picture of John D. Rockefeller taken on his ninety-first birthday at Pocantico Hills, July 8, 1930. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)*

Junior was dispatched to Chicago to salvage what he could from the wreckage of Edith's business affairs—which did not endear him to Edith, who

saw this as more high-handed meddling. At Junior's behest, she moved from her Lake Shore mansion into a suite at the Drake Hotel, where she was provided with a family allowance. Then, in early 1930, she was diagnosed with cancer in her right breast and underwent a mastectomy and radiation therapy. While convalescing, she tried to stave off bankruptcy by selling her pearls and emeralds to Cartier for nearly one million dollars, begging Junior for a million-dollar loan for her real-estate business, and asking her father to buy the Villa Turicum for more than two million dollars. Having had more than enough, Rockefeller declined to advance her additional money.

In 1932, after she developed a chronic cough, doctors found a dark spot on Edith's lower ribs; she tried, to no avail, to cure this cancer through psychological techniques. Until the end, she promised that she would try to see her father, but these ritual assertions had become a polite fiction between them. Her children and even her ex-husband, Harold, made repeated visits to her bedside. On August 25, 1932, Edith died in her suite at the Drake Hotel. For all her unconventional ideas, Edith had never renounced the possibility that Harold would leave Ganna Walska and return; like an old-fashioned wife, she had long kept his room at 1000 Lake Shore Drive untouched, with the furniture unchanged and his clothes hanging in the closet. It was a strange clutch of pallbearers who carried her coffin to the grave: Harold, Fowler, Junior, and Edwin Krenn. When Junior tried to exclude Krenn from the funeral, Harold, in deference to Edith, overrode his objections. In her will, Edith left more money to Krenn— five-twelfths of her estate—than to any of her three children. The Rockefeller lawyers furiously battled the bequest to Krenn until he capitulated and settled for a \$24,000 annuity for life. At the news of her death, James Joyce struck a belated note of forgiveness. "I'm sorry to learn of the death of Mrs. McCormick," he told a friend. "She was very kind to me at a difficult moment and was a woman of considerable distinction."<sup>6</sup>

For all his financial savvy, Senior was democratically dragged down in the crash along with lesser mortals and saw his rump fortune of \$25 million dwindle to a mere \$7 million, prompting grandson Winthrop to exclaim, "For grandfather, that was being practically broke!"<sup>7</sup> In 1932, in a passing, persnickety moment, Rockefeller told Debevoise that Junior should give him \$3.5 million as an "equitable adjustment" for all the money he had spent on the Rockefeller family office during the previous ten years. Rockefeller soon retracted his request, but his momentary pique showed that he was unnerved by his thin cushion of cash.

Junior also had unaccustomed money worries after the crash, as his net worth was slashed from almost \$1 billion in 1929 to less than \$500 million in 1934. The damage to his annual income was still more savage: From a peak of \$56.7 million in the 1920s, it dropped to \$16.5 million by the second year of the New Deal. Because he had made so many charitable pledges during the 1920s boom, his expenditures began to outpace his income by the early 1930s. Right before Roosevelt's inauguration, Junior had to liquidate large positions in Standard of New Jersey and Indiana and borrow almost eight million dollars to meet prior commitments.

Throughout the Roosevelt years, the Rockefellers struggled with an ideological dilemma. As longtime donors to Republican causes, they found much of the New Deal abominable and feared, like many other rich Americans, that Roosevelt was giving away the country. At the same time, they had a patrician sense of obligation toward the poor. While Hoover was still president, Senior and Junior gave two million dollars to the Emergency Unemployment Relief, a private charity. When Roosevelt became president in 1933, Rockefeller was nudged by his son into issuing a patriotic statement in praise of "the courage and progressive leadership of President Roosevelt."<sup>8</sup> (Setting an amusing example of austerity for the masses, he started to give out nickels instead of dimes.) In 1933, Junior even broadcast a radio appeal for the ultraliberal National Industrial Recovery Act. Yet despite the lip service paid to Roosevelt's policies, the Rockefellers continued to prefer private charity to public-works programs. At Pocantico, Junior charted fifty miles of new carriage trails to create extra jobs and gave generously to the American Red Cross and other relief agencies. Senior quickly cooled on the New Deal, and when the Social Security Act was enacted in 1935 he was sure it would destroy America's moral fiber.

As Junior's net worth tumbled after the crash, he began to feel the financial strain of Colonial Williamsburg and a new real-estate project in midtown Manhattan that was at first known as Metropolitan Square. With this last project, Junior became entangled in the sort of high-stakes maneuvering that had distinguished his father's career but had played no part in his own. The genesis of the project dated back to 1928 when the Metropolitan Opera Company decided to abandon its old quarters and create a new opera house on a site owned by Columbia University between Forty-eighth and Fifty-first Streets and Fifth and Sixth Avenues. Flanked by the Sixth Avenue elevated train and studded with speakeasies, pawnshops, bars, and other such sleazy haunts, the area was an unlikely choice for an opulent new opera house. Otto Kahn, a Kuhn, Loeb partner and chairman of the Metropolitan Opera Company, convinced Junior that he could render a community service and turn a tidy profit (an irresistible combination for a Rockefeller) by leasing the surrounding parcels from Columbia and building a showcase setting for the opera. After Charles O. Heydt canvassed five real-estate experts, Junior, seized by an impulse and without consulting a lawyer, authorized Heydt to close the deal with Columbia for a lease that would cost more than three million dollars per year.

The Metropolitan Opera could not fetch a high-enough price for its old building to construct a new one and suggested to Junior that he pay for half the cost of its new eight-million-dollar home. Feeling used and blackmailed, Junior turned them down, and when the Metropolitan Opera withdrew from the project, he was suddenly saddled with 229 shabby old brownstones amid the worsening economic environment. Without the opera, the development seemed to lose both its centerpiece and *raison d'être*, yet bills kept pouring in, and by the spring of 1930 Junior had paid out ten million dollars. Each year he was liable for another four million dollars in leases and taxes, and the rentals scarcely covered a tenth of that amount. One option was simply to scuttle the development. But Junior had always had a nagging sense of being patronized by the business community, and perhaps he now saw a chance for vindication, a chance to prove that he was really his father's son. In his most audacious career decision, he decided that he would personally finance a new complex of office buildings and round up the corporate tenants himself. As he persevered, he endured gales of ridicule and was even mocked in a Broadway play, *As Thousands Cheer*, where the hapless Junior was depicted as trying to palm off Rockefeller Center as a birthday gift on his unsuspecting father.

As might be expected, Junior suffered dreadful tension and insomnia over the midtown project. "I walk the floor nights," he told architect Wallace Harrison, "wondering where I'm going to get the money to build these buildings."<sup>9</sup> A novel situation for a Rockefeller, indeed. In the spring of 1931, recognizing the telltale symptoms, doctors advised him to take a vacation with Abby in Arizona. At the Arizona Inn in Tucson, a lady sitting at a nearby table in the restaurant waved to Junior, and only later did he discover that it was Ida Tarbell. By the 1920s, her famous history of the Standard Oil Company could be found only in secondhand bookstores, and when reissued in 1925 it failed to sell.

Returning to New York, Junior endured a debilitating case of shingles, which the doctors blamed on nervous exhaustion. He was also suffering such frequent colds that tests were performed at the Rockefeller Institute to see whether a serum could be developed from his germs that might prevent future colds. Despite his medical problems, Junior displayed a new toughness in dealing with the midtown complex. First, he had to settle the vexed question of a name to supersede the now obsolete Metropolitan Square. Like his father, Junior hesitated to employ the Rockefeller name, but a team of advisers, from Ivy Lee to son Nelson to managing agent John Todd, convinced him that “Rockefeller Center” would be the most potent marketing tool—an indication of how far the family image had advanced since the dark days of the muckrakers. To lend the complex a forward-looking image, the managers decided to create a “radio city” as its linchpin. In July 1931, after RCA, NBC, and Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO) agreed to lease one million square feet of office space for \$3 million a year, Junior broke ground on the first of fourteen projected buildings.

Junior supervised Rockefeller Center with a command he had never shown before in any moneymaking venture. Each morning, he arrived at work by eight o’clock, a golden five-foot ruler wedged into his back pocket. Taking huge blueprints off the table, he would unroll them on the floor and crawl about, taking measurements with his ruler. Construction during the Depression had distinct advantages, most notably in lower costs for labor and building materials, and Rockefeller Center provided work for 75,000 unionized building workers.

From the outset, Junior told John Todd that the cluster of buildings had to be architecturally distinguished and harmonious. Wallace Harrison, who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and his colleagues turned to European modernism to endow Rockefeller Center with a sleek, futuristic look. Junior’s one—and quite major—concession to contemporary taste had a canny commercial rationale behind it. Had the design of the complex been stodgy and old-fashioned, it would have undercut the Radio City marketing approach and the technologically advanced aura of the project. Ornamented with Art Deco motifs, the tapered towers of Indiana limestone, steel, glass, and masonry shot 850 feet into the air yet were spaced widely enough to create an airy sensation at plaza level. Though critics eventually labeled Rockefeller Center the world’s finest skyscraper ensemble, they almost universally carped at it at its inception.

To lend added artistic distinction to the project, Diego Rivera was commissioned to paint a mural for the prestige spot in the RCA Building lobby. Despite his left-wing politics, Abby had bought Rivera’s watercolors, exhibited his frescoes at MoMA, and invited him and his wife, Frida Kahlo, to 10 West Fifty-fourth Street. Nelson negotiated the coveted commission, and the Rockefeller Center overseers chose a suitably momentous and ostensibly noncontroversial theme: “Man at the Crossroads Looking with Hope and High Vision to the Choosing of a New and Better Future.”<sup>10</sup> In the spring of 1933, Rivera began to sketch his vision of capitalist society as a diseased world of brutalized workers and scrofulous, card-playing capitalists, contrasting it with a hopeful, revolutionary world, symbolized by red flags and crowned by Lenin’s saintly visage. His wife and assistants begged him to delete the head of the Bolshevik leader, but Rivera was determined to *épater les bourgeois*, and the press gloated over the Rockefeller predicament. “Rivera Perpetrates Scenes of Communist Activity for R.C.A. Walls—and Rockefeller Fools the Bill,” one paper said.<sup>11</sup> After Rivera refused to delete Lenin’s head, he was paid in full and dismissed from the job. He had told Nelson that he preferred the destruction of his piece to any tampering with it, and his mural was in fact reluctantly dismantled. “The picture was obscene and, in the judgment of Rockefeller Center, an offense to good taste,” Junior hastily explained to his father. “It was for this reason primarily that Rockefeller Center decided to destroy it.”<sup>12</sup>

With the completion of the RCA Building in 1933, Junior moved the Rockefeller family offices from 26 Broadway to the fifty-sixth floor of the new skyscraper. Henceforth, room 5600 would be the seat of the Rockefeller empire, with several hundred employees. Nelson, who was still in his twenties, got a real-estate license and soon became a frenetic salesman for empty office space at Rockefeller Center. To woo tenants, he offered attractive rents and agreed to assume their old leases. Several companies in the Rockefeller fold—including Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony-Vacuum, Standard Oil of California, and Chase National Bank—took space in the new midtown complex. In 1938, the first year it turned a profit, Nelson was named president of Rockefeller Center. By the time Junior hammered in the last of some ten million rivets in 1939, he had transformed the project from the butt of malicious jokes into one of the Depression’s outstanding business triumphs.

Even as his son created one city in midtown Manhattan and re-created another in Williamsburg, Virginia, Rockefeller remained curiously indifferent toward the urban complex that would so lastingly perpetuate his name. Amazingly enough, he probably never set foot in Rockefeller Center. “He wasn’t interested in things of that sort,” said Junior, “and I don’t think we ever discussed Williamsburg and seldom discussed Rockefeller Center. . . . He was broad-minded and tolerant but this kind of thing didn’t enter his life. He might conceivably have asked about questions of financing or labor troubles at Rockefeller Center or Williamsburg, but that would be the only type of question that he would be interested in.”<sup>13</sup> Senior might have followed its progress more closely than Junior realized, for Nelson remembered him waking from a nap, motioning him over to his Morris chair, and firing penetrating, detailed questions about the midtown project. Nevertheless, absorbed with his own creations, Rockefeller tended to screen out his son’s accomplishments and overlook what he himself had not initiated. For all that, Junior remained slavishly devoted to his father. A wire that he sent on the eve of a visit seems to sum up this reverence: “Am not coming because I think you need me but because I know I need you.”<sup>14</sup>

In his nineties, Rockefeller radiated the cheer of an elder statesman. The spindly little man weighed less than one hundred pounds and looked as if he had been shrunk by a witch doctor. He was scarcely affected by the recrudescence of Rockefeller-baiting books that appeared in the left-wing atmosphere of the Depression. In such polemics as *The Robber Barons* by Matthew Josephson, critics returned to the view popularized by Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell that Rockefeller had been the greatest corporate brigand of his day and owed his success to his ruthlessness and dishonesty, not to his business acumen. Yet this resurgence of old resentments was short-lived. The surge of patriotic feeling that accompanied World War II led to a renewed appreciation of the iron men of American industry who had bequeathed such military might to the country—a view very much in evidence in the authorized two-volume biography of Rockefeller that was published by Columbia University historian Allan Nevins in 1940 and in revised form in 1953. Rockefeller was always either lionized or vandalized according to the temper of the times.

Still vigorous, Rockefeller could send a golf ball sailing 165 yards down the fairway. In 1930, he marched through six holes in twenty-five shots. Then, his strength began to wane, and he gradually had to curtail his game. With typical precision, he reduced his number of daily holes from six to four to two; after contracting a severe cold in 1932, he had to abandon golf altogether. The ninety-three-year-old Rockefeller bounced back from this ill health with renewed good humor. One paper reported, “He was so delighted to be out in the warm sunshine again that once he stopped and sang a hymn

as he gazed with twinkling eyes at the myriad of brilliant flowers and shrubs.”<sup>15</sup> He reiterated his wish to live to one hundred, viewing it as God’s final verdict on his life. “Many folks believe I’ve done much harm in the world,” he told Ormond Beach’s mayor, George N. Rigby, “but on the other hand I’ve tried to do what good I could and I really would like to live to be a hundred.”<sup>16</sup> As Rigby described it, Rockefeller grew even more detached from material things as he approached the end of life:

*I recall one day we were sitting on his front porch at Ormond watching a most elaborate yacht winding its way down the Halifax River toward Palm Beach. He expressed his wonder at the possible pleasure a man could get out of such show and pretension. Then, after a moment or two, the whole expression of his face changed and he asked enthusiastically, “Wasn’t that a beautiful rain we had last night?”<sup>17</sup>*

Rockefeller’s improbable love affair with the movie camera flourished. In 1930, he was invited to attend festivities in Cleveland to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of Standard Oil of Ohio. Too frail to go, he agreed to shoot a newsreel that would be shown at the celebration. Sitting on his sunlit porch as the cameras rolled, Rockefeller delivered a congratulatory message in a thin voice. “And the gesture of his removing his glasses when he finished reading and turned to regard me where I stood behind the camera revealed a natural actor,” said his handpicked cameraman, Curt Engelbrecht. Two weeks later, when a Standard of Ohio executive flew down to Ormond Beach, Rockefeller was shot playing golf and greeting the executive as his plane alighted on the green. Showing surprising spunk, the ninety-one-year-old Rockefeller boarded the airplane and was eager to fly off, cameras rolling, when his vigilant valet, John Yordi, called off the flight as subjecting him to too much excitement. In a compromise, the monoplane taxied up and down the runway, with Rockefeller inside waving to the cameras. “You make me feel like a movie actor,” Rockefeller told Engelbrecht.

Though free of self-pity, Rockefeller often seemed forlorn in the 1930s. Too proud to plead for visits from descendants, he dropped hints and tactful suggestions that he would like to see them more, but this did not seem to work. He craved some human warmth that he never fully got from his own family or perhaps had never really allowed to flower. Engelbrecht noted Rockefeller’s strange fascination with a little girl named Lucille, who was the daughter of his chauffeur, Vincent Frasca.

*She somehow filled a tremendous gap for him, and it may be safely asserted that he demonstrated an affection for her that he was never known to manifest for one of his own blood. Never a day passed but she paid a visit to him or he came looking for her. In her presence everything else was forgotten. She was a charm for him. He talked with her and told her stories. His face brightened to her responses, and his eyes warmed in his glances in her direction.<sup>18</sup>*

As the Depression progressed, Junior found himself in the same uncomfortable position that his father had been in a generation before: His children were restive and wanted him to make some final disposition of his money. It infuriated them that they were now married grown-ups still living on allowances who had to go hat in hand to father for a new car or trip abroad. In May 1933, Junior heard the first murmurs of outright rebellion when his children complained in a collective letter that too much of their time with him was taken up with money squabbles that jeopardized family relations, and they petitioned him for larger allowances. To mollify his mutinous offspring, Junior gave his three oldest children—Babs, John III, and Nelson—200,000 shares of Socony—Vacuum apiece, providing each with about \$3.2 million.

The following year, Congress sharply boosted tax schedules. Rates jumped for the top income bracket from 55 to 63 percent, while the estate tax soared from 45 to 60 percent for estates valued beyond \$50 million and the gift tax rose from 33 to 45 percent for sums beyond \$10 million. Junior decided to set up trusts for his wife and children before the steeper gift tax took effect at year’s end. To safeguard this money, which would be managed by the trust department of the Chase National Bank, he stipulated that the children could draw income, but that principal withdrawals had to be approved by trustees. (Junior made an invidious exception for Abby and Babs, who could not touch principal under any circumstances.) Since the trustees included such intimates of Junior as Raymond Fosdick, Tom Debevoise, and Winthrop Aldrich, he did not forfeit total control. The largest single trust went to Abby, who received \$18.3 million and the full freedom to purchase modern art with her income. Babs, John III, and Nelson got \$12 million apiece and Laurance, Winthrop, and David smaller amounts. The following year, Junior added money to these last three accounts to equalize the trusts.

In all, Junior transmitted \$102 million—or more than \$1 billion in 1996 dollars—to his wife and children through the trusts. As he explained the operating philosophy behind them to Laurance:

*They have been created in accordance with the policy which your Grandfather Rockefeller adopted with his children and which I hope your children will ultimately follow. . . . As you know, Grandfather and I have always been keenly alive to the responsibilities inherent in the possession of wealth. He believes, as I do, that these responsibilities and the opportunities which they bring for useful living and unselfish service to mankind should be shared with those of the next generation when and as soon as they have reached such an age and attained such a maturity as justifies their being entrusted with them.<sup>19</sup>*

The \$102 million that Junior bequeathed to his heirs was a stupendous sum, yet it represented only a fraction of the money he had inherited. Between 1917 and 1960, Junior gave away \$537 million directly, plus another \$540 million indirectly through organized Rockefeller philanthropies. (Junior did not leave himself a pauper. He was left with about \$200 million in the 1950s, while his descendants, wisely investing their inheritances, were worth more than \$6.2 billion in 1996.) He also paid \$317 million in taxes to federal, state, and local governments. So whatever Rockefeller’s plunder, the great bulk of the gain was ultimately plowed back into worthwhile projects and the public purse. Such was the indignation aroused by Standard Oil, however, that perhaps only generosity on this extraordinary scale could have softened memories of the ravening monopolist.

Rockefeller inspired many premature reports of his demise, and his habitual secrecy about his medical condition kept the press on high alert. In 1934, at ninety-five, he suffered a bout of bronchial pneumonia that threatened to thwart his goal of reaching one hundred, but he managed to recover. His weight dropped below ninety pounds, and he decided to abandon Kykuit for good. He loaded up a private railroad car with fruits, vegetables, cultured milk, and oxygen canisters and traveled to The Casements, where he settled permanently. Determined to eke out five more years, he drastically restricted his routine to conserve energy. No more golf, no more afternoon larks in the car, no more garden walks. He took off his expensive silver wigs, never to don them again. As his pace slackened, the servants marched to his slower tempo, and a twilight hush seemed to descend over the Ormond Beach house.

Watchful and alert, the wizened little man sat for hours on the sunporch. To maintain muscle tone in his legs, he mounted a stationary bicycle in his room every day and slowly cycled. When he reached ninety-six on July 8, 1935, his insurance company, abiding by an old custom, had to pay him five million dollars, the face value of his policy. According to contemporary actuarial tables, only one person in 100,000 lived that long.

Always ready to embrace change, the old man liked to watch Hollywood movies at home, especially those with shapely blondes, such as Jean Harlow. His life, however, still revolved around religion, and when he was too weak to go to church, he listened to sermons on a bedside radio. His thoughts turned toward eternity. When Henry Ford was leaving one day, Rockefeller said to him, “Good bye, I’ll see you in heaven,” and Ford replied, “You will if you get in.”<sup>20</sup> Yet Rockefeller seemed to know for certain that the Lord was not a radical critic of society and would reward him in the hereafter. He started a new routine, singing hymns accompanied by a violinist who came to the house. For all his religious certitude, however, death remained the one unmentionable subject for Rockefeller. “Never did he speak of death in relation to himself; rather did he speak always of life, of activity, of accomplishment,” said Junior.<sup>21</sup>

In early 1937, as Rockefeller approached ninety-eight, his body was feeble, but his mind was lucid. “Father is very well,” Junior wrote an old friend in March 1937, “better even than for the past year or two. We are having a delightful time here with him, and the weather is beautiful.”<sup>22</sup> He still gambled in stocks and enjoyed his unvarying comedy routine with Mrs. Evans. On Saturday, May 22, he was taking the sunlight when Evans said to him, “Mr. Rockefeller, the sun has given you some color. You look so much better.” When he just flashed a wordless smile, she added, “Mr. Rockefeller, you haven’t said anything about how I look.” In his chair, he made a chivalric bow and said, “Mrs. Evans, that is because I am never able to do the subject justice.”<sup>23</sup> That same day, he paid off the mortgage of the institution that had so profoundly affected him: the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church.

Before the day was over, Rockefeller had a heart attack. At 4:05 A.M. on the morning of May 23, he lapsed into a coma and died in his sleep. The official cause of death was sclerotic myocarditis, a hardening and inflammation of the heart wall, although it is probably more accurate to say that he died of old age. Rockefeller drifted off peacefully, six weeks short of his ninety-eighth birthday. His placid end disappointed critics who were still hoping for some earthly retribution.

As news of Rockefeller’s death spread, crowds gathered outside his compound and the sexton of the Union Baptist Church tolled the steeple bell. After a private funeral at Ormond Beach for staff and friends, a motorcycle guard accompanied the casket to the railroad station, where it was placed on a private car for the northward journey to Pocantico. When the train arrived at Tarrytown, Junior and his five sons were waiting on the platform in identical homburgs. On May 25, the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick delivered a brief, touching eulogy at the Pocantico funeral while Dr. Archer Gibson played the Kykuit pipe organ. As a reminder that the deceased had never lacked detractors, state troopers scoured Pocantico Hills for trespassers as the service progressed. Around the world, employees in the offices of all Standard Oil successor firms observed five minutes of silence. On May 27, Rockefeller’s body returned to Cleveland and was lowered into the earth between the two Baptist women who had so devotedly believed in him, Eliza and Cettie. Because of fears that vandals might desecrate the grave, Rockefeller’s casket was placed in a bombproof tomb, sealed by heavy slabs of stone.

Having given away most of his money, Rockefeller left behind an estate of \$26.4 million, showing that he had recouped his stock-market losses after the 1929 crash. Most of his estate took the form of U.S. Treasury notes, though he had retained, for sentimental reasons, one share of Standard Oil of California marked “Certificate No. 1.” The fabulous oil wealth of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would be tapped within a year of Rockefeller’s death, ensuring the preeminent place of petroleum in the twentieth-century economy. Sixty years after their founder’s death, four of the Standard Oil successor firms—Exxon, Mobil, Amoco, and Chevron—numbered among the fifty largest companies on earth.

To an extent that would have seemed inconceivable in Ida Tarbell’s heyday, the newspaper obituaries dwelled on Rockefeller the benign philanthropist, not Rockefeller the ferocious trust king. He was “the world’s greatest philanthropist and organizer in the science of giving,” said one editorial.<sup>24</sup> Most striking was that the laudatory comments emanated from across the political spectrum and included those who had jousting with him in the past. Attorney Samuel Untermyer issued this paean to the elusive witness he had interrogated: “Next to our beloved President, he was our country’s biggest citizen. It was he who visualized as did no other man the use to which great wealth could wisely be put. Because of him the world is a better place in which to live. Blessed be the memory of World Citizen No. 1.”<sup>25</sup>

In truth, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., had left behind a contradictory legacy. An amalgam of godliness and greed, compassion and fiendish cunning, he personified the ambiguous heritage of America’s Puritan ancestors, who had encouraged thrift and enterprise but had also spurred overly acquisitive instincts. He had extracted mixed messages from his religious training as well as from his incongruously matched parents. Not surprisingly, he had served as an emblem of both corporate greed and philanthropic enlightenment.

Starting in the 1870s, Rockefeller’s stewardship of Standard Oil had signaled a new era in American life that had both inspired and alarmed the populace. His unequalled brilliance and rapacity as a businessman had squarely confronted the country with troubling questions about the shape of the economy, the distribution of wealth, and the proper relationship between business and government. Rockefeller perfected a monopoly that indisputably demonstrated the efficiency of large-scale business. In creating new corporate forms, he charted the way for the modern multinational corporations that came to dominate economic life in the twentieth century. But in so doing he also exposed the manifold abuses that could accompany untrammelled economic power, especially in the threat to elected government. As architect of the first great industrial trust, he proved the ultimately fragile nature of free markets, forcing the government to specify the rules that would ensure competition and fair play in the future.

The fiercest robber baron had turned out to be the foremost philanthropist. Rockefeller accelerated the shift from the personal, ad hoc charity that had traditionally been the province of the rich to something both more powerful and more impersonal. He established the promotion of knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, as a task no less important than giving alms to the poor or building schools, hospitals, and museums. He showed the value of expert opinion, thorough planning, and competent administration in nonprofit work, setting a benchmark for professionalism in the emerging foundation field. By the time Rockefeller died, in fact, so much good had unexpectedly flowered from so much evil that God might even have greeted him on the other side, as the titan had so confidently expected all along.

Although Junior moved into Kykuit after Rockefeller's death, he knew that his father was inimitable, and so he decided to retain the *Jr.* after his name. As he was often heard to say in later years, "There was only one John D. Rockefeller."<sup>26</sup>



# NOTES

## ABBREVIATIONS

AN—Allan Nevins Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, New York

CUOH–ABF—Columbia University Oral History Collection, Abraham B. Flexner interview

CUOH–PM—Columbia University Oral History Collection, Paul Manship interview

FSL—Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

HDL—Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

IMT—Ida Minerva Tarbell Papers, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Drake Well Museum Collection, Titusville, Pennsylvania

RAC—Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. Papers of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other family members

RAC–CAS—Rockefeller Archive Center, Charles A. Strong Papers

RAC–FTG—Rockefeller Archive Center, Frederick T. Gates Papers

SOCMB—Standard Oil Company Minute Books, BP America, Cleveland, Ohio

UC–JDR—University of Chicago, John D. Rockefeller Papers

UC–UPP—University of Chicago, University Presidents’ Papers

B = Box

F = File

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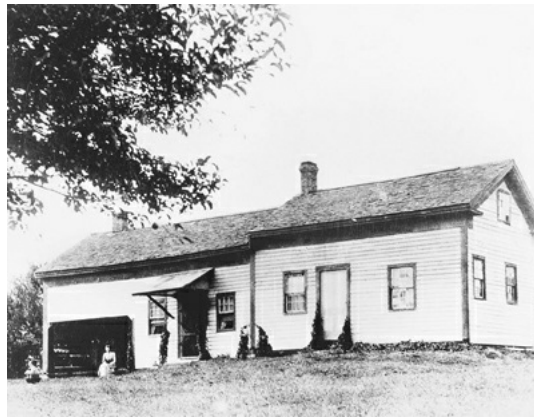
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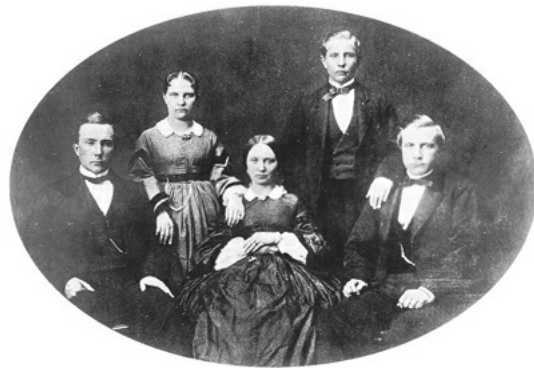




**Lucy Avery Rockefeller, the doughty grandmother of John D. Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**John D. Rockefeller's humble birthplace in Richford, New York. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



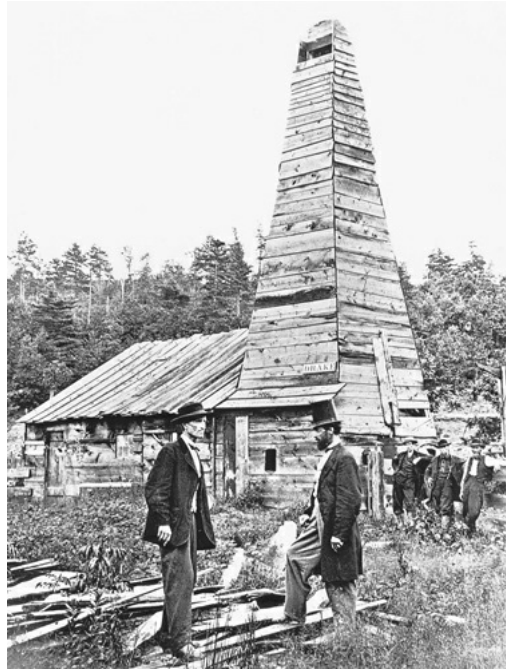
**The five children of William and Eliza Rockefeller. Seated, from left: John, twenty, Mary Ann, sixteen, and William, eighteen. Standing: Lucy, twenty-one, and Frank, fourteen. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Lucy Henry Spelman, Rockefeller's mother-in-law, and Harvey Buel Spelman, his father-in-law. The Spelmans were staunch temperance advocates and abolitionists. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The inseparable Spelman sisters: Lucy, also known as “Lute” (left), and Laura. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**A top-hatted “Colonel” Edwin Drake stands before the landmark well he drilled in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. (Courtesy of the Drake Well Museum)**



**After the Civil War, Rockefeller & Andrews occupied second-floor offices in the Sexton Block in Cleveland. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The storied oil boomtown of Pithole, which sprang up miraculously in 1865 and vanished within a decade. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The stately Rockefeller home at 424 Euclid Avenue in Cleveland. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller's rambling retreat at Forest Hill, which was briefly run by the family as a hotel. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**





**A studio portrait of a polished John D. Rockefeller in 1884. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**A family picnic at Forest Hill, circa 1880. Rockefeller stands at far left. Daughters Bessie, left, and Edith, right, sit directly behind the table, while Alta lounges impishly below. Cettie sits at far left and Grandmother Spelman at far right.(Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



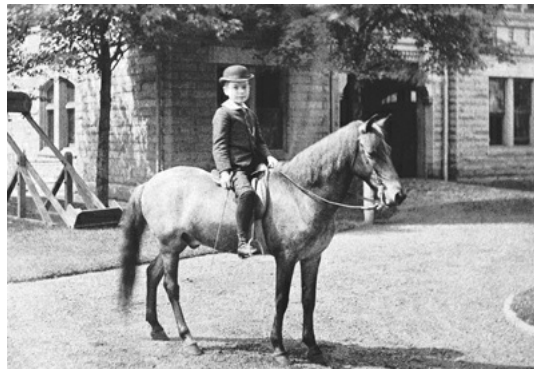
**Rockefeller dines on sardines al fresco during an 1899 camping trip in the American West. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller sits erect on the steps of brother William's estate, Rockwood Hall, flanked to the rear by daughter Alta, left, and William's daughter Emma; in the foreground, from left, sit William's children Percy and Ethel and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The first graduating class of Spelman Seminary, 1887, which was founded to educate freed women slaves and their daughters.** (Courtesy of the Spelman College Archives)



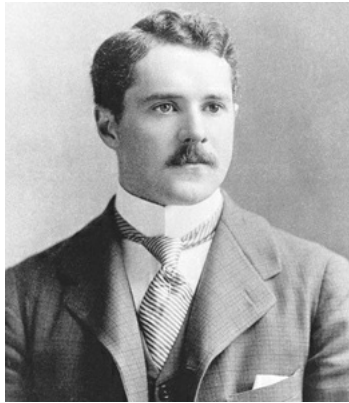
**John D. Rockefeller, Jr., sits astride his first pony, which was hand-picked by his father.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**John D. Rockefeller, Jr., circa 1880, with his sole childhood friend, Harry Moore, son of the Forest Hill housekeeper.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Alta Rockefeller on the day of her wedding to Ezra Parmalee Prentice.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Harold Fowler McCormick, dreamer and businessman.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Edith Rockefeller McCormick holds aloft John Rockefeller McCormick, whose early death from scarlet fever led to the founding of an institute for infectious diseases in Chicago.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Senior's massive house at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, foreground, and Junior's still grander adjoining house at 10 West Fifty-fourth, on the site now occupied by the Museum of Modern Art. Their carriage house is visible in the foreground. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**For their bedroom at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, John and Cettie Rockefeller retained the richly exotic furnishings of their predecessor, Arabella Worsham, the mistress of Collis P. Huntington. Such luxury was not their usual style. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, whom Lincoln Steffens dubbed “the political boss of the United States.” (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



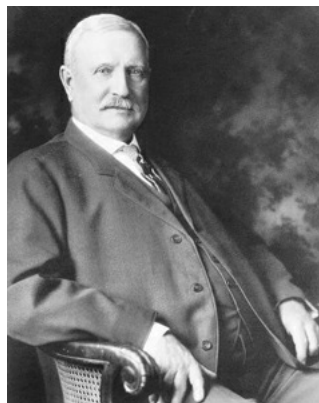
**The Aldrich sisters in 1910. From left: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, Elsie Aldrich, and Lucy Aldrich.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



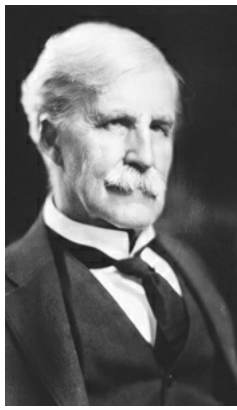
**The Aldrich family. From left: Abby, Lucy, Senator Aldrich, Winthrop (?), and Mrs. Aldrich.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**William Rockefeller.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Frank Rockefeller.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Frederick T. Gates in his later years.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The only existing photo that shows John D. with his father, William Avery Rockefeller, who sits rather awkwardly to the left, while Edith holds John Rockefeller McCormick on her lap, circa 1897.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The aging Eliza Davison Rockefeller bore a comical resemblance to her famous son in his later years.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The tombstone of William Avery Rockefeller— a.k.a. Dr. William Levingston—in Freeport, Illinois.** (Courtesy of Heather Brownfield)



**The cover of *McClure's Magazine* containing the malevolent “character sketch” by Ida Tarbell that so deeply wounded Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Drake Well Museum)**



**Rockefeller en route to testify in an antitrust case against Standard Oil, November 18, 1908. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller goes to court, escorted by John G. Milburn, a Standard Oil lawyer in the federal antitrust suit. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**John D. Archbold, Rockefeller's combative protégé and successor.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Rockefeller (center) pauses at Forest Hill with some favorite golf cronies. From left: Dr. Hamilton F. Biggar, Elias M. Johnson, Capt. Levi T. Scofield, and Dr. Charles A. Eaton.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)

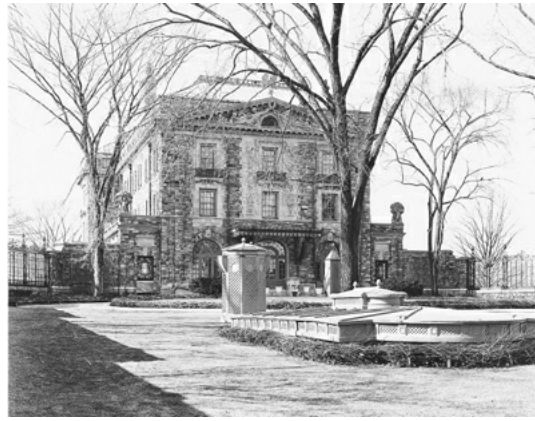


**An eerily hairless Rockefeller holds an unidentified grandchild, September 23, 1904.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)

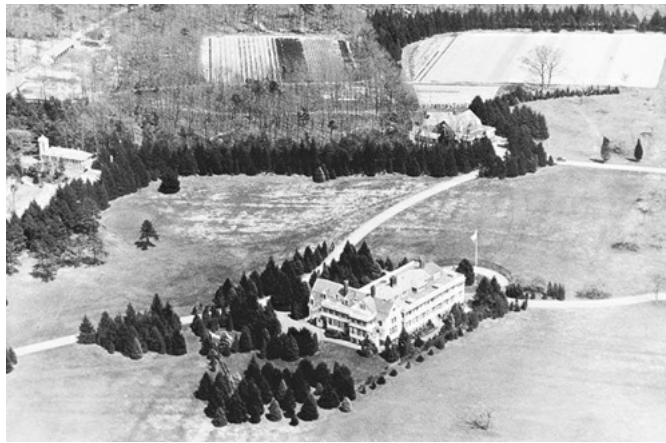




**The first version of Kykuit, completed in 1908 and found wanting by John and Cettie. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



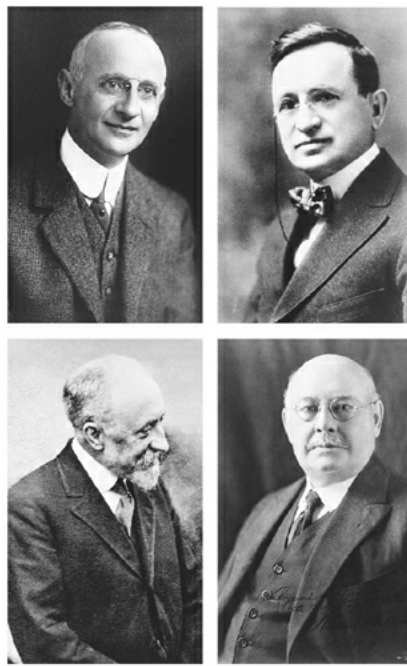
**The more compact and elegant second version of Kykuit, finished in 1913 and today open to the public. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**An aerial view of John D.'s golf hideaway in Lakewood, New Jersey. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller, nattily attired, strolls among the sheep that browsed outside his Golf House residence in Lakewood. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Chief lieutenants of the Rockefeller philanthropies: (top, left) Dr. Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; (top, right) Wickliffe Rose, head of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission; (bottom, left) Starr J. Murphy, legal adviser to the Rockefeller Family Office; and (bottom, right) Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Abby Aldrich and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., circa 1916. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The Rockefellers *could* be playful on occasion. Abby Aldrich and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., costumed for a fancy dress ball at Louis Tiffany's**

**home, probably around 1910. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**John D. Rockefeller, Jr., leaves hearings on the Ludlow Massacre, held at New York's City Hall in January 1915. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Junior takes the stand to testify about Ludlow. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**A photographer captured an impromptu encounter between Junior and labor organizer Mother Jones—a vocal critic of Colorado Fuel and Iron—at the January 27, 1915, hearings. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



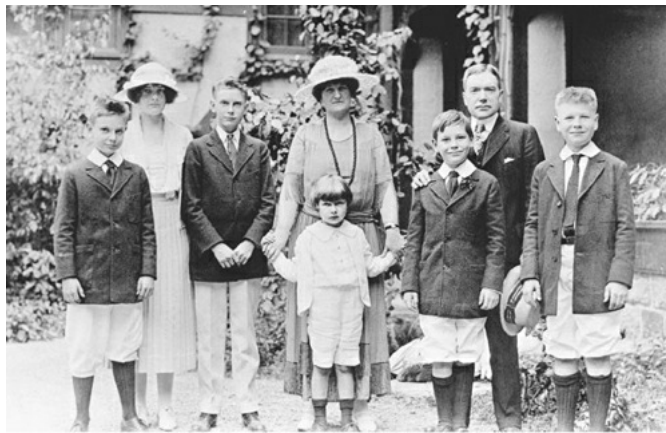
**Publicist Ivy Lee worked to rehabilitate the tarnished Rockefeller name after the Ludlow disaster. (Courtesy of the Princeton University Library)**



**Rockefeller sits wedged between two ladies in the backseat of his touring car. His hands often strayed during the afternoon drives. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Jo Davidson sculpts an equally stony-faced Rockefeller in 1924. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Abby Aldrich and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., with their children in Seal Harbor, Maine, 1921. From left to right: Laurance, Babs, John 3rd, David, Winthrop, and Nelson. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller with Bessie's grandchildren, Elizabeth and John de Cuevas, Ormond Beach, 1933. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller's winter home in Ormond Beach, Florida, called The Casements. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller trades one-liners with Will Rogers in Ormond Beach, February 1927. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller and daughter Alta at Ormond Beach, 1931. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller, in trademark goggles, smacks a ball down the fairway at Ormond Beach, December 24, 1932. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



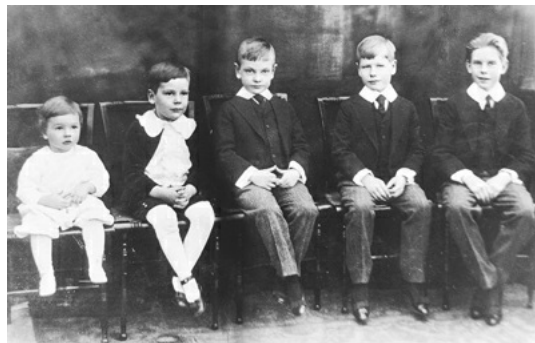
**Abby and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., tour the Grand Tetons in October 1931.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Junior bashfully greets the Rockettes at Radio City Music Hall, December 30, 1937.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Junior and Senior pose with Nelson and his first son, Rod-man.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The sons of Abby and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in their Eton collars. Left to right: David, Winthrop, Laurance, Nelson, and John 3rd.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**A formal family dinner party at 740 Park Avenue in Manhattan, March 1949. Standing, from left to right: Irving H. Pardee, David, Nelson, Winthrop, and Laurance Rockefeller. Seated: John 3rd and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The wives at the same dinner party. From left to right: Abby (Babs) Rockefeller Pardee, Peggy McGrath Rockefeller, Mary “Tod” Rockefeller, Blanchette Hooker Rockefeller, Barbara “Bobo” Sears Rockefeller, and Mary French Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**A photo taken on December 17, 1931, that shows the seamed, leathery face of John D. Rockefeller in his final decade. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



## RON CHERNOW

### TITAN

Ron Chernow’s first book, *The House of Morgan*, won the National Book Award, the Ambassador Award for the year’s best study of American culture, and was named one of the 100 best nonfiction books of the century by the Modern Library. His second book, *The Warburgs*, won the Eccles Prize as the Best Business Book of 1993 and was also selected by the American Library Association as one of that year’s best nonfiction books. In reviewing his recent collection of essays, *The Death of the Banker*, *The New York Times* called the author “as elegant an architect of monumental histories as we’ve seen in decades” and chose the paperback original as one of the year’s Notable Books.



## ALSO BY RON CHERNOW

*The House of Morgan*  
*The Warburgs*  
*The Death of the Banker*

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# ROCKEFELLER

## Campaigning For The New World Order

**Gary Allen**, a graduate of Stanford University, is the author of several best-selling books, including *Communist Revolution In The Streets*; *Nixon's Palace Guard*; *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*; and, *Richard Nixon: The Man Behind The Mask*, the definitive study of the ambition and conspiratorial activities of our current President. Mr. Allen, a former instructor of history and English, is active in numerous humanitarian, anti-Communist, and business enterprises. A film writer, author, and journalist, he is a Contributing Editor to AMERICAN OPINION.

■ TIE down the safety valves, wire the accelerator to the floor, break out the Hadacol and drink a toast to P.T. Bar-num. This is it, folks. It is time for Nelson Rockefeller's last stand. (And maybe America's.) You see, Nelson Rockefeller of New York is sixty-six years old, and even though he looks a decade younger, the election of 1976 will be his last chance to become President. By 1980, the former boy wonder of the "Liberal" Republicans will be seventy-two years old — an age almost universally considered too advanced for the Presidency.

Time passes even more effectively than Bob Griese. It seems like only yesterday that Nelson Rockefeller was the odds-on favorite for capturing the 1964 G.O.P. Presidential nomination. Then he divorced his wife for a married woman and the ensuing scandal knocked his Presidential aspirations into a cocked top hat. But, it's a long, long time from May (1964) to December (1976), and the days grow short (for seeking political office) when you reach sixty-six. It's now or

never, and the deluge of propaganda has begun.

In order to free himself for an all-out campaign for the Presidency, Nelson Rockefeller resigned his post as governor of New York on December 12, 1973. Imagine resigning as chief executive of the nation's economically most powerful state — a job for which he had arduously campaigned four times, spending tens of millions of dollars! No Rockefeller would take such a step frivolously.

The former New York governor says he resigned in order to head up a factfinding commission. Does anybody believe him? Only those who believe the moon is made of refried beans. Not that the commission involved is small potatoes. It originally carried the grandiloquent title *National Commission On The Future of America In Its Third Century*, later modified to *National Commission On Critical Choices*. This "bipartisan" palanquin is supposed to bear academic and political gurus to the heights of Mt. Olympus, there in the clean, pure air of selfless idealism to arrive at "a clearer sense of national purpose."

Conservatives were quick to point out that the very idea of a *national purpose* is a collectivist concept. A national purpose requires national planning, which by definition supersedes individual planning. But in a free country the purposes of individuals come first, and it is the role of the government to protect the right of individuals to pursue their *own* goals. As usual, nonetheless, such objections by Conservatives were scarcely heard among the hurrahs emanating from the collectivists of the mass media.

The *New York Times* of December 12, 1973, provides us with some background on the origins of the new Rockefeller Commission:

*The Commission for Critical Choices, formed last month by the Governor at the request of President Nixon, is the outgrowth of a study commission first proposed by Mr. Rockefeller last December. At that time, the Governor announced that he would "undertake a major inquiry into the role of the modern state in our changing Federal system."*

In other words, Nelson Rockefeller resigned as governor of New York to head a Commission, to set collectivist goals, that was created by Richard Nixon at Mr. Rockefeller's own suggestion.

The Commission is actually two study groups; one on critical choices and the other on water quality. According to the same issue of the *Times*: "The two national commissions for which Governor Rockefeller is resigning to devote his full energies are composed of leaders of government, education and industry, each with a projected budget of \$20 million and each expected to complete its work within two years."

Yes, that's forty million dollars.

The forty-member Commission On Critical Choices (a million dollars a member?) includes a mixture of Establishment wheelhorses and flunkies, including Vice President Jerry Ford, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, and House Majority Leader Thomas O'Neill. Others on the panel are Daniel Moynihan, chief pitchman for President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan; Joseph Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.; John Knowles, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; Sol Linowitz, the manic

"Liberal" and former head of Xerox; and, William S. Paley, chairman of the board of C.B.S.\*

The staff of the Committee is even more loaded with "Liberals" than is the Committee itself. And as is usually the case with operations of this sort, the report will be written by the staff. Henry Diamond, a Ripon Republican, has taken over as the Commission's executive director at fifty thousand dollars per year.\*\* Equally indicative of the panel's prejudice is the fact that its study director is Stephen Berger, who will select those in charge of preparing the various studies to be released by the Commission. Berger is a "Liberal" Democrat and was a campaign manager in 1970 for the radical Richard Ottinger who lost to James Buckley in the 1970 Senate race in New York.

The final report will be released shortly before the Republican National Convention in 1976. The media will then tell us that Chairman Rockefeller is the only Presidential candidate who could carry out the recommendations of this "prestigious panel."

### The Commission Strategy

Despite the fact that nobody more sophisticated than Baby Snooks believes him, Nelson Rockefeller denies that he resigned as governor of New York to head the Commission as a strategic move in his latest campaign for the Presidency. "My only regret is that my undertaking these tasks has been interpreted as a political

\*Certainly no one was very surprised that C.B.S. carried a two-hour propaganda show on "The Rockefellers" during prime viewing time on Friday, December twenty-eighth. For a political candidate to buy that kind of time would cost an astronomical sum. But Rocky has friends. It didn't cost him a nickel.

\*\*The Ripon (not Ripoff) Society is a small group of young and very "Liberal" intellectuals out of Ivy League schools who bear no more philosophical resemblance to traditional Republicans than does George McGovern. Their every pronouncement is nonetheless given nationwide publicity by the press. As it happens, the Rockefellers finance the Ripon operation.

maneuver to seek the Presidency," he declares. "I am not a candidate for nomination for the Presidency or for any other political office. Whether I will become a candidate in the future, I do not know. I should like to keep my options open." But, he adds, "under no circumstances would I consider such a move before the latter part of 1975, or while I am chairman of these commissions." The resigning governor said of the 1976 election: "That seems far away."

There are, however, more than a few political advantages to the move. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, Rockefeller "smilingly said that as chairman of the commission he will be traveling all over the country. It was not lost on others that this will provide the Governor with many opportunities to seek widespread support."

The resignation strategy also relieves Nelson Rockefeller of the risk of running for an unprecedented fifth term as governor. As one of his advisors observed, "If he loses for governor, he's done in '76 in one day." And winning the governorship would be anything but a sure thing despite past successes. Voters might be cynical of a fifth-term race as a stratagem for another try at the Presidency. In the past, Rockefeller has benefitted from very weak opponents in a state with an overwhelming Democratic majority. There is no guarantee that such would be the case this time around. Also, New York is a fiscal disaster, and voters might take revenge on Rockefeller for tax hikes he instituted after promising in his last campaign that he would not do so.

Yet another reason for avoiding the gubernatorial race is Watergate. The public now thoroughly distrusts professional politicians. As John Goldman wrote of Rockefeller's advisors in the *Los Angeles Times* for August 17, 1973: "They believe the most effective way to seek the Presidency in the Watergate era might be as a private citizen-campaigner."

Also among the practical reasons Nel-

son Rockefeller must go through the charade of not being a candidate is money. You see, he expects that the federal treasury will come up with millions to finance his campaign-Commission. Daddy Oilbucks and the family have already pumped in a million from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, one of their tax-free piggy banks, and you are expected to produce the \$39 million balance. If Nelson Rockefeller were an



Nelson Rockefeller sent Kissing to Mr. Nixon.

avored candidate, it would be too transparent that you were being asked to finance a political campaign. But, a search for a "national purpose," that's a different matter. Barnum would have loved it.

In the meantime, the former governor can travel the country giving speeches to important civic and political gatherings, appearing on television, addressing himself to the issues facing the nation — all the while insisting that he is not doing it as a candidate, but as the public spirited chairman of the Rockefeller-sponsored National Commission On Critical Choices For Americans.

And, there is yet another angle. The Federal Election Campaign Act, which took effect in 1972, provides that no candidate for President or Vice President can use more than fifty thousand dollars of his own (or his family's) money in his campaign. This is yet another explanation for Rockefeller's insistence that he won't make up his mind about running for the nomination until late in 1975 - virtually on the eve of the primaries. This gives him two years for heavy spending before

the fifty-thousand-dollar limitation can be applied.

Certainly the Rockefellers are not penurious when it comes to bankrolling political campaigns. The Rockefeller family is said to have made campaign contributions of \$25 million, and probably "considerably more," between 1952 and 1970. On May 4, 1972, United Press International reported: "This estimate included \$20 million to \$22 million in family contributions to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's failing bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1964 and his four successful campaigns for the governorship of New York."

According to the Citizens Research Foundation, some \$4.5 million of family money went into Nelson's 1970 gubernatorial campaign. That kind of spending for the Rockefellers is the equivalent of my buying a cup of coffee for a friend. If need be, I can even afford a second round. But it *is* pleasant when somebody else pays for the main course, and the Rockefellers are delighted to let the taxpayers pick up the check for brother Nelson's campaign-Commission.

So Nelson Rockefeller has a well-financed vehicle for pursuing the nomination. But does he really want it? After all, following his unsuccessful pursuit of the brass ring in 1968, he announced that "the old avidity is gone." Has the "old avidity" returned?

Is a four-pound robin fat? Does King Kong like big bananas?

The *New York Times* of December 16, 1973, says that when Nelson Rockefeller was asked when he first thought of running for the White House, he replied:

\*It is now obvious that the Goldwater of 1964 never existed. Conservatives fell in love with his battery of talented and ideologically Conservative ghost writers. It was those ghost writers in the sky (among whom were such able men as Brent Bozell, ghost of *Conscience Of A Conservative*) that captured the nation's imagination. Which explains why Barry Goldwater never seemed quite so sharp in person as he did in print.

"Ever since I was a kid. After all, when you think of what I had, what else was there to aspire to?" It seems to be far too common among those born to super wealth that they crave super power.

### The Great Charade

Rockefeller does have some serious problems, however. One of the biggest is his reputation for being a McGovernite "Liberal" in a party whose workers still *pine for the Barry Goldwater of 1964.\** *Life* magazine of March 29, 1968, described Nelson's dilemma:

***The most important one [of Nelson Rockefeller's political problems] was the basic dislike which the Republican party held and still holds for him. From the start of his career in government, he was regarded as a New Dealer turned traitor to his class and as a spender; a quarter-century ago crusty old-line Republicans were sneering, "Nelson Roosevelt!"***

And the Republican faithful well remember what Rocky said about Barry and his Conservative supporters back in those hopeful days of 1964. They remember that it wasn't the battleship *L.B.J.* which torpedoed the good ship *Goldwater*, but a submarine from his own navy. Rocky and his entourage called the Barrybackers everything but human beings. Nobody who attended the bloodletting at the San Francisco Cow Palace is likely ever to forget it. At least, so one would think. Thus Rocky's number one job has been to convince the rank and file of his own party that he is the New Nelson, faster than a speeding welfare mother, able to leap tall bureaucracies at a single bound. Nelson Rockefeller has even dusted off some of Barry Goldwater's 1964 speeches and *is* busy delivering them out on the hustings. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported on December 4, 1973:

*Nevertheless, there are some purely political reasons for Mr. Rockefeller's improved standing with the party's right wing. The most oft-mentioned is that the New Yorker, cognizant that conservatives dominate the party, carefully has moved to the right.*

*Indeed, Mr. Rockefeller himself lends support to this notion. Although he denies any clear shift, he has been warming the hearts of Republican faithful around the country in recent speeches by railing against welfare cheaters and government bureaucracy, and by promoting his tough new anti-drug law that mandates life imprisonment for convicted drug pushers. After one of these forays into Iowa, Robert Ray, that state's moderate Republican governor, recalls that one of the party's old-line conservatives came up and volunteered: "Rockefeller would make a great President, wouldn't he?"*

One can almost hear Henry Mencken, the sage of Baltimore, guffawing in the hereafter. It was Mencken who once observed that no one would ever go broke overestimating the gullibility of the American public. All Rocky had to do was to direct his expensive speech writers to make him sound like George Wallace with a Dartmouth education, and wait for the party faithful to be struck by a lapse of memory. Rockefeller's writers know the Conservative clichés as well as anyone. Of course Nelson has had to resist the temptation to laugh *or sneer as he speaks* them.

In the months preceding his resignation, Governor Rockefeller toured the Midwest, hitting the rubber chicken circuit from Des Moines to Minot, playing the role of *Just Plain Nelse*, the barefoot boy from Pocantico Hills. On the tour, he regaled his audiences with such breathtaking rhetoric as the following from his

speech in Minot, North Dakota, on November 26, 1973: *"We must get back to the fundamental moral and ethical values on which this country grew to greatness."* In Des Moines on October twentieth he roared: *"I decided in New York State that we were going to get the cheats and chiselers off the taxpayers' back."* And so it went, with everything from appeals for strict interpretation of the Constitution to yelps for spiritual revival and that old-time religion.

The confidence game is working as planned. Even poor Barry Goldwater, never known for his depth, has searched his psyche and announced: *"Recently Rockefeller has moved to the right."* The *Wall Street Journal* of December 4, 1973, says of Goldwater that Nelson is "one of his top choices for the next Republican nominee." After all, as Barry Goldwater explained: *"I think Mr. Nixon leans toward Rockefeller for the '76 nomination."*

One of Rockefeller's key themes on his tour through the boondocks (America west of the Hudson) was the increasing need for "fiscal responsibility" to "bring government spending under control." All of this, of course, is music to the ears of the G.O.P. faithful, but it is hardly the same tune Rockefeller has played as governor of New York since 1959. Unfortunately for Rocky the statisticians at *Barron's* have been keeping score. Editor Robert Bleiberg reports in that financial newspaper for December 17, 1973:

*... As we have said before ("Rocky Road," May 6, 1968), Nelson Rockefeller has spent the taxpayer's money as if it were his own. Since he moved to Albany a decade ago, New York's expenditures have nearly tripled, while New Yorkers - local businessmen in particular - have been saddled with the heaviest tax burden in the U.S....*

*Since then, things have gone*

*from bad to worse. In the past five years both the state budget and the tax burden have mounted by more than half. New Yorkers remain far and away the most heavily taxed Americans, while the relative decline of the Empire State, political and economic alike, proceeds apace....*

*"Hello Dolly" was a great campaign song for LBJ. To judge by the record, Nelson Rockefeller ought to run with "Buddy Can You Spare A Dime?"*

*Those who live and work in New York State will clamor to sing along Since 1959, the state budget has increased from \$1.9 billion to the \$8.8 billion estimated for the current fiscal year, ending March 31, 1974, not far behind New York City's disastrous financial spiral Under Governor Rockefeller, taxes have been imposed or increased at least every other (usually non-election) year; in 1959, 1963, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1969, 1971, and 1972. Since Rocky took office, the maximum rate on the personal income tax has more than doubled, from 7% to a ponderable 15%; last year, moreover, a 2.5% surcharge (temporarily suspended) was decreed Over the same period, the state gasoline levy has advanced from four to eight cents a gallon, the cigarette tax from three to fifteen cents per pack. A state sales tax, which now runs to 4%, and a host of nuisance taxes (including the notorious "hot dog" tax on meals costing less than one dollar) have gone on the books.*

During the past fifteen years, reports Bleiberg of Barron's, New York's tax load has been multiplied nearly five times, from \$94 per capita to \$460, under the man who now proclaims his desire to bring fiscal sanity to Washington. Accord-

ing to the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, a privately financed legislative watchdog in Albany, "state and local taxes are 12% higher than the next highest state and 50% above the U.S. average." As for New York State's debt, it has exploded from less than one billion to nearly ten billion dollars — including several billion of so-called moral obligations, issued without voter approval.\*

Barron's tabs Rockyland as "the nation's costliest and least efficient welfare state." It notes that under the Rockefeller regime the Welfare rolls have soared from 513,681 per month to 1.8 million. At last cOunt, one out of every ten New Yorkers was on the dole. A statewide audit of nine thousand cases selected by the New York State Department of Social Services found that 11.3 percent of those receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (A.F.D.C.) were ineligible, while 23.2 percent were overpaid. The fraud rate: 34.5 percent. And keep in mind that the Welfarecrats, themselves, picked the contestants to be surveyed in this game.

As for outlays to the state's vast education bureaucracy, termed a major rathole by Barron's, New York has under Rockefeller been spending \$1,584 per pupil in elementary and secondary schools - seventeen percent higher than the second-biggest spender (New Jersey), a staggering fifty-three percent above the national average, and enough to pay tuition for every little tyke in New York at the prestigious Concord Academy where Jacqueline Onassis sends Caroline Kennedy. Robert Bleiberg concludes:

\*Having buried New York in debt, and raised taxes as high as is feasible, Rockefeller wants Washington to bail out his sinking ship of state. He has for some time been the nation's most powerful advocate of federal Revenue Sharing. Victims of bad state government can now escape astronomical taxes by crossing state lines. Rockefeller would end this by having the federal government do the bulk of the taxing and then send a portion of it back to state and local government so that taxpayers cannot escape short of leaving the country.



***Tax and tax; spend and spend; elect and elect For 15 years, the old New Deal formula has worked famously for the retiring Governor, less well for his state....***

***Americans may face Critical Choices - but Governor Rockefeller scarcely ranks among them***

Despite his record of profligacy, we can expect that over the next three years the Establishment's mass media will regale us with tales of Nelson Rockefeller's magnificent qualifications for the Presidency based upon the efficient and enlightened job he did as governor of New York.

The Family That Preys Together

***But, to consider him by himself is grossly to underestimate the power of Nelson Rockefeller. He is but the most visible of four brothers who operate as a team. A fifth brother, Winthrop, died of cancer last year after two terms as governor of Arkansas. For whatever reasons, he seems to have been the least disciplined of the Rockefeller clan and the team appears not to have been diminished by his demise.***

The Rockefeller Brothers specialize in the fields of oil, high finance, politics, foreign and domestic policy, ecology, education, and religion. They have tremendous leverage in the mass media. Their power, prestige, and influence is felt in almost every important aspect of our lives — particularly those involved with the molding of public opinion. And ***all of these factors can be brought to bear*** in assuring the success of Nelson's assault on the Presidency.

For three generations the Rockefellers have been driven by a lust for money and power which *outrips even the* imaginations of normal people. John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937), while still a relatively young man, founded the Standard Oil Company. By mergers and ruthless crushing of competition, largely through kick-

backs from the railroad industry, his corporation dominated the U.S. oil refining industry. But the senior Rockefeller was not altogether satisfied. His goal, "a dream of conquest" some called it, ***was to own not only the largest, but*** the only, refineries in the world. Called upon to justify his methods, he is said to have remarked: "Competition is a sin."

The senior Rockefeller was a master Machiavellian who began by scheming against local competitors and wound up scheming with cartelists for economic control of the world. Ferdinand Lund-berg notes in *The Rich And The Super-Rich*: "As the history of Standard Oil by any author, pro or con, clearly shows,



(1937) David, Nelson, Winthrop, Laurance, John.

Rockefeller was of a deeply conspiratorial, scheming nature, always planning years ahead with a clarity of vision that went far beyond anything any of his ***associates had to offer.***"

The "deeply conspiratorial" methods which worked so well in building his oil empire also proved effective in consolidating political power. The founding Rockefeller's son-in-law, Senator Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island (Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller's maternal grandfather), introduced the graduated income tax on the floor of the U.S. Senate in a ploy which put a tax on the accumulation of capital by potential Rockefeller competitors — a tax which the Rockefellers, themselves, largely escaped. For, at about the same time Judge Kenesaw Landis was ***ordering the breakup of Standard Oil, the wily old John D.*** was killing several flying feathered objects with a single stone. He

avoided taxes by creating four great tax-exempt foundations, and used them as repository for his "divested" interests in the various Standard Oil entities. It had the net effect of taking his wallet out of his left pocket and putting it into his right, since he controlled the foundations to exactly the same extent he continued to control his Standard Oil properties. And, in the switch, Rockefeller had made his assets non-taxable so that they might be passed down through the generations without being ravaged by the estate and gift levies which everyone else had to pay. As Lundberg observed, old John D. Rockefeller planned ahead.

The Rockefeller family maintains a battery of interlocking foundations and trusts, allowing the secretive descendants of the "deeply conspiratorial" John D. Rockefeller to guard the family's vast assets from prying eyes of the tax collector and other interested parties. "Any real clues as to the wealth of the brothers," says *Fortune*, "have been vigilantly guarded since their birth. None of the terms of the trusts established for them by their father has ever been revealed, and even the names of the trustees are known only to the family and a few key advisors. . . ."

Through their multiple foundations the Rockefeller family invested its money where it would have the most influence and do the family the most good. And by far the chief beneficiaries of its "charities" have been the Rockefellers.

One would assume that, since the Rockefellers are thought of as *capitalists*, they would have used their fortune to foster the philosophy of individual liberty. But, just the opposite is true. We have been unable to find a single project in the history of the Rockefeller foundations which promotes free enterprise. Indeed, except in the fields of health and science (and some of these grants are highly questionable) almost all of the Rockefeller grants have been used directly or indirectly to promote economic and

social collectivism. It would take a book to chronicle in detail how the Rockefellers have used their tax-free cash to promote such collectivism in almost every segment of American life. (As chance would have it, your correspondent has just begun such a book.)

### The Great Monopoly

Reasonable men ask what could motivate the Rockefellers to finance collectivist efforts which seem so totally at odds with their own interests. They forget that John D. Rockefeller was a Machiavellian who boasted that he hated competition. Whenever he could, Rockefeller used the government to promote his own interests and hinder his competitors. Monopoly capitalism is impossible unless you have a government with the power to strangle would-be competitors. The Rockefellers want a centralized all-powerful government because they can more easily control it at its apex. In the past they have managed this through front men, but if Nelson Rockefeller is elected President they will have direct control over the immensely powerful machinery of the Executive Branch of our government — machinery which their lieutenants and allies have for so long labored to create.

One of the first fields into which the Rockefeller foundations moved was education. You should be able to guess why. John D. Rockefeller put his assistant Fred Gates in charge of his tax-free General Education Board. Gates tipped the Rockefeller philosophy on education in the Board's *Occasional Paper No. 1*, which declared:

*In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our moulding hands. The present educational conventions fade from our minds, and unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk.*

Later, this General Education Board expanded its scope to take into its "moulding hands" the city folk as well. To this end the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, which have often had interlocking directorates, began in the early Thirties to supply large amounts of money to propagate the philosophy of John Dewey and his Marxist educationists. As Rene Wormser, who served as counsel to the House Special Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, has observed:

***Research and experimental stations were established at selected universities, notably Columbia, Stanford, and Chicago. Here some of the worst mischief in recent education was born. In these Rockefeller-and-Carnegie-established vineyards worked many of the principal characters in the story of the suborning of American education. Here foundations nurtured some of the most ardent academic advocates of upsetting the American system and supplanting it with a Socialist state...***

***Whatever its earlier origins or manifestations, there is little doubt that the radical movement in education was accelerated by an organized Socialist movement in the United States.***

At the same time the National Education Association, the country's chief lobby for socialized education, was also financed mainly by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations. It too threw its considerable weight behind the Dewey philosophies. As an N.E.A. report declared in 1934: "A dying laissez faire must be completely destroyed and all of us, including the 'owners,' must be subjected to a large degree of social control." Teachers laboring to resist the Dewey fanatics were quickly shouted down by propagandists financed by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations.

The Rockefellers not only used their money to seize the high ground in America's centers of teacher training, they also spent millions of dollars to create textbooks to undermine student beliefs in patriotism and free enterprise. In his **book, *Foundations: Their Power And Influence***, Rene' Wormser notes Rockefeller grants, for instance, to produce a series of public school textbooks called *Building America*. These were so obviously Communist propaganda that the California Legislature refused to appropriate money for them and issued a Report saying that they were not only designed to downgrade America, but "contain purposely distorted references favoring Communism." It was no "mistake," but a conscious effort of the Rockefellers to sell Communism. As Congressman Eugene E. Cox observed, the Rockefeller foundations were long ago dedicated to financing "individuals and organizations whose business it has been to get Communism into the private and public schools."

Meanwhile, the Rockefellers poured millions of dollars into the infamous London School of Economics, founded as an indoctrination center by Sidney Webb, father of the Fabian Socialist Society. They also financed its American counterpart, the New School for Social Research. The interior walls of this Rockefeller enterprise were decorated by Communist muralist Ocozco with portraits of Lenin, Stalin, and marching Soviet soldiers. And the Rockefellers went *as far as to* bankroll the Yenching University in Peiping and fill it with Red professors who recruited and trained (among others) a Communist named Chou En-lai.

Other fields in which the Rockefellers have invested their tax-free dollars include religion, where they have financed the Union Theological Seminary of New York, which has done so much to turn the clergy Leftward. And they have also been instrumental in supporting the National Council of Churches, which has for years parroted the Moscow Line while

claiming to represent millions of Protestants.

The family has also been deeply involved in racial agitation. Nelson is among *the many Rockefellers who are life members of the collectivist N.A.A.C.P.* The Rockefellers were key angels behind the late Martin Luther King. Nelson believes it is difficult to be too militant. Before me as I write is an *Associated Press report* dated August 24, 1967. It is headlined: "Rocky Sees Progress In Rioting." The story says that the governor disagreed with a warning from intelligence officers in the wake of the Harlem and Watts riots that "the United States is in danger" of racial strife. Rockefeller claimed: "I'm very optimistic. The racial situation is a sign of progress."

So-called "Metro Government" is another collectivist project in which the Rockefellers have invested scores of millions. In a nutshell, Metro is the governing of an area or region by a central body of "experts" - planners who are usually appointed and vested with great powers, and who are not directly accountable to the people. Metro policies and programs, goals and methods, appear in a variety of forms. But the basic strategy involves merging and consolidation of city or town governments into ever larger collectives. Cities are merged with other cities and/or with a county; the counties are merged with other counties; eventually even state lines are to be erased. The distinguished columnist Jo Hindman, who has for fifteen years been the leading Conservative expert on this business, sums it up this way:

*Metro proposes to collect independent units of municipal government under a big super-government and to maintain control of such bodies through something described as "appointed executive" administration. Since these proposed metropolitan districts frequently cross state lines, the very concept*

*of government units corresponding to them makes hash of our Constitution which vests all reserved governing powers in the several states. \**

It is not by accident that the Rockefeller Foundation has provided hundreds of millions to promote such collectivist efforts. It has been run until recently by John D. Rockefeller III, an openly avowed revolutionary. He has even written a book about it entitled *The Second American Revolution*, reviewed in *Business Week* of April 7, 1973, under the title, "Guess Who's Coming To The Revolution." *Business Week* affects amazement, declaring: "This is strong stuff from a pillar of the Establishment ...." But the editors of *Business Week* know very well that it is the elitists of that Establishment who are creating the collectivist state in America to strengthen their own control. As Professor Antony Sutton of the prestigious Hoover Institute has said of Rockefeller's *The Second American Revolution*: "This book reflects the collectivism of the Establishment and calls for a series of collectivist measures .... This is in full measure an organic theory of the state as reflected in Hitlerism and Stalinism."

While John D. Rockefeller HI has been busy financing the revolution from the Rockefeller Foundation, brother Laur-ance labors in another vineyard. He is not only *involved in the family's* many business interests but is founder of the American Conservation Association. One of his most recent projects has been to organize and finance ecology freaks and bug chasers into a political pressure group

*\*A major step towards metro government was taken by Richard Nixon on February 12, 1973, with Executive Order 11647. Without so much as consulting the Congress, President Nixon had by Executive Order divided the United States into ten federal regions to be run by "Federal Regional Councils." The Federal Regional Councils represent a major step toward the era of Big Brother predicted by George Orwell in his book Nineteen Eighty-Four.*

powerful enough to help create the energy crisis that has proved so profitable to Rockefeller interests. Laurance also heads the Citizens Advisory Committee On Environmental *Quality*, which has a task force dealing with land use and urban development. The findings of that Rockefeller task force are summarized as follows by Wolf von Eckardt of the *Washington Post*: "We need . . . more comprehensive planning and more effective controls to make the plans stick. The foremost need, however, is a change in our national attitude toward private property rights. That is a matter of legal doctrine which calls for new interpretations by the courts in light of our urgent social and environmental needs."

In other words, concern about the environment is to be used as an excuse for socialism. And the Rockefeller task force report provides this rationalization for putting Big Brother (particularly if Nelson gets to be Big Brother) in charge of your property:

*Americans have thought of urbanization rights as coming from the land itself, "up from the bottom" like minerals or crops. It is equally possible to view them as coming "down from the top," as being created by society and allocated by it to each land parcel.*

Guess what "down from the top" means. And this from the lovable hypocrites who are always telling us how much they believe in democracy. What the Rockefellers are planning for us is a dictatorship of the aristocracy disguised as a socialist Welfare State.

Still, important as all of these brothers are, we have not yet met the tribal chief. Surprisingly, the captain of the Rockefeller team is the youngest; he is also the smartest and most ambitious of the brothers. David Rockefeller heads the Chase Manhattan Bank, the nation's most politically powerful financial institution.

And it would be the height of naivete to believe that Chase Manhattan will not employ all of the vast leverage at its disposal in behalf of Nelson's assault on the Presidency. Congressman John Rous-selot counts among his close friends professional campaign managers who in the past have managed Nelson Rockefeller's Presidential primary campaigns. Congressman Rousselot reports: "They inform me that the key decisions in those campaigns were made by David, not Nelson." It is David, not Nelson, who guides even the political fortunes of the family.

Today David Rockefeller is a money magnate, wielding unprecedented power, expanding or inhibiting the economies of whole nations by his day-to-day decisions. The power David wields, one of his biographers says, "crosses all borders, can make or destroy governments, start and stop wars, profoundly influence everyone's life — including yours." *Time* magazine once described him as "one of that little group of men who sit at the financial hub of the world's wealthiest nation and by their nods give the stop or go sign to enterprises from Bonn to Bangkok." One prominent Delaware banker compared the relative powers of the top Rockefeller and the President in these words: "Let me put it this way. I don't think Richard Nixon tells David what to do. If anything, it's the other way around."

By 1973, the Chase had accumulated over \$39 billion in assets. A House Banking Subcommittee reveals that Chase Manhattan, through its combined trust departments, holds enough *stock* in fifty-five major corporations in the United States to exercise some measure of control. The board of directors of the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan consists of the richest and most powerful men in America. Collectively they own or control well over one hundred billion dollars. The Pat-man Subcommittee Report reveals that Chase Manhattan has minority stock con-

trol in Columbia Broadcasting System and "interlocking directorates" with the *New York Times* and the American Broadcasting Company.

You can expect Nelson Rockefeller's candidacy to receive a good press in those quarters. You can also expect that many businessmen and corporations in debt directly or indirectly to Chase Manhattan Bank will open their wallets to support Nelson's candidacy. The fund raising doubtless won't be as heavy-handed as was that of the CREEPs for Nixon, but one may reasonably assume that it will be even more spectacularly successful.

### International Policy

While the Rockefellers have arduously worked on the domestic scene to promote their own elitist control of a socialist Welfare State, their primary interests have been in the field of foreign affairs. When one looks at the international holdings of this family, it is not hard to understand their personal interest.

In addition to its \$39 billion in admitted assets, the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan, according to the *New York Times*, has "a major portion of their business carried on through affiliated banks overseas . . . not consolidated on the balance sheet." And *Time* magazine reports: "The Chase has 28 foreign branches *of its own, but more important, it has a globe-encircling string of 50,000 correspondent banking offices.*" **Fifty thousand correspondent banks** around the world! Absolutely unbelievable. But true.

This gives the Rockefellers the *ability* to create an international monetary crisis overnight. Suspicious souls argue that they have been making use of their every ability, yo-yoing the price of gold, dollars, and foreign currencies. Lending credence to these suspicions is the fact that Undersecretary of the Treasury Paul A. Volcker, the man chiefly responsible for our disastrous monetary policies

during both the *Johnson and Nixon* Administrations, is a former vice president of the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank. Under Volcker's "brilliant and enlightened" leadership the dollar has gone from the world's mainstay currency to a twice devalued piece of paper no longer backed by gold. Both Volcker and his "former" boss, David Rockefeller, are outspoken opponents of gold. Both know better.

Every time an international monetary storm blows up, hundreds of millions of



David and the Rockefeller-trained Chou En-Lai.

**dollars flow into European banks and the value of the dollar in relation to the other currencies of the world changes. When the storm subsides, insiders have made enormous amounts of money. Who triggers these monetary crises which have occurred regularly since 1967? It wasn't your Uncle Max from Hackensack. That the Rockefellers were deeply involved, through the Chase Manhattan Bank and its overseas facilities, seems more than reasonable.**

While international banking is probably the Rockefellers' most important business, the family is better known to the public for its oil properties. Petroleum is now the most important single commodity in world trade. Besides its use as a fuel for motor vehicles, it is the most *important* source of energy and the most important raw material for the manufacture of chemicals. As George Schuyler has said, "Where *oil is*, there is the fatherland." The cornerstone of the Rockefeller fortune has always been, and continues to be, *Standard Oil*.

The Rockefellers control three of the seven largest oil companies in the world, including the largest (Standard of New Jersey), now called Exxon. The *New York Times* of September 13, 1951, reported that Standard Oil of New Jersey then controlled 321 companies, including Humble Oil and Creole Petroleum, themselves among the largest corporations in the world. And, of course, the Rockefellers *control, directly and indirectly*, Standard of California, Standard of Indiana, and Socony-Mobil (which was formerly Standard of New York). Standard of New Jersey (Exxon) also operates major joint ventures with Royal Dutch Shell which is jointly controlled by conspiratorial British and Dutch interests — including those of the Bilderberg chieftain, Prince Bernhard of The Netherlands.

Standard has enormous holdings in the Middle East, but shares the territory with others. South America, however, has come to be considered somewhat of a Rockefeller preserve. Exxon is in Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Uruguay, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Peru. Mobil is in Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. Standard Oil of California is in the Canal Zone, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. Standard Oil of Indiana is in Colombia, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela.

All of this makes sense. The Rockefellers began by trying to create a national monopoly in oil. From there they extended their influence into our national government, where they pulled strings to benefit Standard Oil and their banking interests. Now that their interests are worldwide, they are seeking the same control over world politics that they have exercised at the national level. This is one explanation of why, since World War I, the Rockefellers have led in the promotion of a World Government which they call the "New World Order."

## World Government

John D. Rockefeller was so eager to trap the United States into the League of Nations that he donated money for the League building in Geneva. His countrymen escaped the noose the first time around, and did not join, but grandson Nelson was a delegate to the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Later, Nelson and his brothers donated the land for the United Nations complex along the East River in New York.

The Rockefellers hope to convert the United Nations into a full-blown World Government dominated by the brothers and their allies among the *Insiders* of the international Establishment. Certainly Nelson Rockefeller has made no attempt *to disguise* his own desires for world federalism, which he has regularly endorsed. The *Christian Science Monitor* for February 12, 1962, quotes Rockefeller as maintaining that the answer to the world's problems "can be found in the federal idea" *of an international superstate*. As a first step in this direction the former New York governor advocates "*movement towards some form of common taxation*" with other nations. All of which is rather ironic, since Nelson Rockefeller and his brothers are *so protected* by tax shelters as to pay practically no federal income tax.\*

Originally, most of the Rockefeller talk revolved around "regional alliances" of Free World nations which would evolve into a World Government. Now the Rockefellers boldly advocate amalgamation with the Communist world. As the Associated Press reported July 26, 1968: "New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller says as president he would work toward international creation of 'a new world order' based on East-West coopera-

**\*In July of 1967, Senator Robert Kennedy revealed that for the year of 1966, Nelson Rockefeller paid the grand total of \$685 in personal income taxes.**

tion instead of conflict. The Republican presidential contender said he would begin a dialogue with Red China, if elected, to 'improve the possibilities of accommodations' with that country as well as the Soviet Union."

It can hardly be surprising that Rockefeller's chief foreign policy advisor at the time, one Henry A. Kissinger, has since arranged to move President Nixon toward just such accommodation with the Communist world.

The Rockefellers have been working on this project for many years through the extremely powerful Council on Foreign Relations (C.F.R.). The elitist C.F.R. was established in the aftermath of World War I, when it became clear that America was not going to join the League of Nations, an early effort to create a formal **World Government**. Among the funding fathers of the C.F.R. were such potentates of international banking as J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Bernard Baruch, Paul Warburg, Otto Kahn, and Jacob Schiff. It was the *same clique* which had engineered the establishment of the Federal Reserve System; which had driven through the Marxist graduated income tax and arranged for its own tax-free foundations; which maneuvered the totally mad involvement of America in World War I; and, which promoted the effort to trap our country in the League of Nations.

Originally the C.F.R. was controlled by a consortium of Morgan partners and agents, but over the years Morgan influence has receded and the Rockefeller family has gained mastery of the organization. Chairman of the board of the Council on Foreign Relations is David Rockefeller. His predecessor was John J. McCloy, a Rockefeller agent par excellence. The same year McCloy became chairman of the board of the C.F.R., he also became chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Until quite recently, the Council on Foreign Relations avoided publicity with

near complete success. But a series of widely distributed exposes of its activities by Conservatives Dan Smoot, Cleon Skousen, Phoebe Courtney, and this author have forced it to assume new tactics. The game is now to admit that what we have said about the C.F.R. in the past was essentially true, but to create the impression that the Council is now racked with dissension and has lost its grip on the American government.

This is the view projected in an extensive article by *Times* staffer Anthony Lukas in the very Establishment *New York Times Magazine* of November 21, 1971. Lukas writes:

*From 1945 well into the sixties, Council members were in the forefront of America's globalist activism: the United Nations organizational meeting in San Francisco (John J. McCloy, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Joseph Johnson, Thomas Finletter and many others); as ambassadors to the world body (Edward Stettinius, Henry Cabot Lodge, James Wadsworth and all but three others); the U.S. occupation in Germany (Lucius Gay as military governor, McCloy again and James Conant as High Commissioners); NATO (Finletter again, Harlan Cleveland, Charles Spofford as U.S. delegates).*

*For the last three decades, American foreign policy has remained largely in the hands of men - the overwhelming majority of them Council members - whose world perspective was formed in World War II and in the economic reconstruction and military security programs that followed... The Council was their way of staying in touch with the levels of power...*

Such admissions from the *Times* seemed nothing short of revolutionary. For, despite the fact that members of the



C.F.R. have a virtual lock on the major communications media in our country, almost nothing had appeared about the group until Conservatives turned on the light. *Commenting on the secrecy*, Lukas admits:

*One of the most remarkable aspects of this remarkable organization, whose 1,500 members include most figures who have significantly influenced American foreign policy in the last 30 years, is how little is known about it outside a narrow circle of East Coast insiders. So far as I could determine, no graduate student has written a Ph.D. thesis on it. Most newspaper references are brief notations that some notable has spoken there (omitting what he said, for all Council proceedings are off the record).*

When an organization contains as many powerful individuals as does the C.F.R., holds its meetings "off the record," and receives almost no publicity, one might reasonably conclude that it has made secrecy its business.

Another fascinating fact about the Council is that while some of its key members were brought into the organization because of their expertise, power, or position, many have achieved fame, wealth, or power *because* of their membership. Lukas reminds us:

*... everyone knows how fraternity brothers can help other brothers climb the ladder of life. If you want to make foreign policy, there's no better fraternity to belong to than the Council.*

*When Henry Stimson - the group's quintessential member — went to Washington in 1940 as Secretary of War, he took with him John McCloy, who was to become Assistant Secretary in charge of personnel. McCloy has recalled:*

*"Whenever we needed a man we thumbed through the roll of Council members and put through a call to New York."*

*And over the years the men McCloy called in turn called other Council members....*

The avowed goal of the Council on Foreign Relations is a "New World Order" ... World Government. This explains why the Establishment, headed by the Rockefellers, is now pursuing "detente" with the Communists. The Rockefellers, of course, have been deeply involved with the Reds since the early days of the Bolshevik Revolution. We know, for example, that they built oil refineries for the Soviets; that they bought half of the enormous Caucasian oil fields after they had been declared nationalized; and, that the Chase Manhattan Bank sold Bolshevik bonds in America even before F.D.R. granted the Soviets formal recognition.

The *New York Herald Tribune* of August 12, 1964, tells us that David Rockefeller had just visited the Kremlin, the citadel of his supposed archenemies — evil Bolsheviks who are supposed to be working to take his wealth away from him and give it to the "little people." The *Tribune* reported: "The world's foremost Communist, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and one of its leading capitalists, David Rockefeller, met for two hours and fifteen minutes yesterday. Naturally, they talked about money." We don't know what was said, but we do know that very soon thereafter Khrushchev was fired. We don't know who has the power to fire the man who is supposed to be absolute dictator of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, but it gives rise to some interesting speculation.

Certainly we know that the Rockefellers, through their International Basic Economies Corporation, in which they are in partnership with Lenin Peace Prize-

winner Cyrus Eaton and the English Rothschilds, have been building war production facilities behind the Iron Curtain. (See the *New York Times* for January 16, 1967.) We know that the Rockefellers have an exclusive contract with the Soviet Government whereby I.B.E.C. acts as the Communists' agent for procuring patents in the United States.

And we know that David Rockefeller again met with the Communists in Moscow between July 7 and 11, 1971, to discuss the expansion of East-West trade. We know that following that conference the Soviet Government released this statement through the *Moscow News*:

*... on the matter of East-West commerce or trade, we have agreed that we should both attempt to eliminate the constraints that both governments have placed which prevent ease of trade. We have also agreed that this trend has already started, that the United States has taken some steps to alleviate this condition. And we will encourage commerce organizations of both countries to meet together to study the practical problems of negotiating trade agreements.*

The Rockefellers had not only been leaders in transferring invaluable American technology to the Soviets, but they actively promoted the expansion of aid and trade with the Soviet Union even as the bloodbath in Vietnam dragged on and on. And what was the result? The *London Sunday Times* for January 16, 1972, featured a story by its Washington correspondent, Harlow Unger, which begins:

*In one of the most far-reaching trade agreements since the end of the Second World War, America and Russia tomorrow will announce plans to expand trade and work towards normalisation of trade between the two nations. The agree-*

*ment could lead to a free flow of goods between the US and all the Iron Curtain countries by 1973.*

We know that *Business Week* for May 26, 1973, reported:

*Chase Manhattan Bank, headquartered in New York at 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, this week added a symbolic and prestigious address to its list of offices: 1 Karl Marx Square. The Chase's globetrotting chairman, David Rockefeller, flew to Moscow for the opening ceremonies and stopped in for a meeting at the Kremlin Palace with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin....*

*The Chase, which helped finance recent Soviet purchases of foundry equipment for the Kama River truck plant and last year's huge grain purchases from the U.S., is hopeful of generating additional business from its newest office....*

One would expect the Rockefellers to open up shop at the most prestigious (and as *Business Week* says "symbolic") address in town. You'll have to admit it beats 1984 Trotsky Terrace. Or as *Newsweek* magazine headlined its report: The Kremlin now has a "Comrade at Chase." *Newsweek* continued:

*Spurred by Russia's need for Western technology, U.S.-Soviet trade has tripled since 1971 and could approach \$1 billion for this year alone. So far, the biggest single trade deal on which work has begun is the \$172 million Kama River truck-manufacturing project, for which Chase and the US. Export-Import Bank shared the financing....*

So this year while the U.S. taxpayers cough up an astonishing eighty billion dollars ostensibly to defend themselves from the military-industrial complex of

the Soviet Union, the Rockefellers will be loaning the Soviets millions of dollars to improve their military-industrial complex so we will have to spend even more money in 1975. This is one of Nelson Rockefeller's major qualifications for not being President, but it was *not* a point raised by C.B.S. in its recent two-hour propaganda documentary on the Rockefellers.\*

We also know that David and Nelson Rockefeller have long called for the "normalizing of relations" and establishing "trade" with Mao Tse-tung and the Red Chinese. And we know that Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger have reversed the Republican platform and a hundred Nixon promises to follow that line also, by opening the door for trade with the butchers of Red China.

While Mr. Nixon's sudden cozying up to the Peking mob has attracted reams of comment and publicity, there is one aspect of all this which has attracted virtually no attention. I refer to the fact that large oil deposits have been found near the Senkaka Islands in the East China Sea, a territory claimed by both Nationalist and Red China, as well as by Japan. The *New York Times* of April 10, 1971, reported that the State Department had advised several American oil concerns to cease exploring the area. Reports within the oil industry indicate that Standard Oil was permitted to move in after the others left. Standard is as much Rockefeller property as Henry Kissinger, Mr. Nixon's top China advisor.

In dealing with Red China, so far, we have made numerous concessions and have asked none in return. Perhaps one of

the concessions "we" will receive will be drilling rights for Standard Oil. After all, David Rockefeller has been promoting an opening of Red China trade for the past five years. The plot thickens, as they say, and in this case oil is thicker than blood.

After all, we know from *U.S. News & World Report* of August 13, 1973, that Chase Manhattan Bank has entered into an agreement with the Bank of China "to handle the financing and mechanics of exports and imports with the United States," as David Rockefeller explained it upon returning from Peking. *Business Week* of July 14, 1973, quotes Frederick Heldring, vice chairman of Philadelphia National Bank, as stating: "Communists are often *very conservative [sic]*. They like to deal with the largest capitalist institutions. If you add Rockefeller in, you've got the equation."

Last year, for example, Moscow quietly requested that the Nixon Administration send David Rockefeller as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow. The second choice was Dr. Avmand Hammer, another millionaire *Insider*, whose father bankrolled the founding of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Both regretted that they had higher callings which required their presence elsewhere.

### Running The Show

When John D. Rockefeller was trying to monopolize the oil industry, there was one ploy which he used over and over again. That was to place his men inside competing firms or to bribe the employees of other firms. His descendants have played the same game with our government. It makes *no difference* whether there is a Democrat or Republican Administration, the Rockefeller people have held key positions. To the Rockefeller-C.F.R. elite *it makes no difference* which party is in power. Nelson was himself part of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations. In the Eisenhower Administration he helped to create the Department of Health, Education and

\*Nelson Rockefeller has never been exactly what you would call an anti-Communist. Harris Smith, on Page 367 of his book, *O.S.S.: The Secret history Of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972), reveals that Walter Bedell Smith, former chief of staff to General Eisenhower, Ambassador to Moscow, and Director of the C.I.A., "once warned Eisenhower that Rockefeller was a Communist."

Welfare, which now takes an even larger portion of the federal Budget than does defense. Eisenhower's first Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles (C.F.R.), was a Rockefeller cousin. Dulles' successor, Christian Herter (C.F.R.), had displayed the good sense to marry into the Standard Oil fortune.

On the recommendation of Nelson Rockefeller, John Kennedy named Dean Rusk of the C.F.R. to be his Secretary of State. Rusk took a leave of absence as head of the Rockefeller Foundation to accept the post. Kennedy appointed Chester Bowles as Under Secretary of State. Bowles (also of the C.F.R.) has been a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers **Fund and a director of the Rockefeller** Foundation. Democrat Kennedy then named Standard Oil executive Alexander Trowbridge (C.F.R.) as Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and President Johnson later promoted him to Secretary of Commerce. President Kennedy also named Roswell Gilpatric (C.F.R.), a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, as Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Richard Nixon appointed Nelson Rockefeller's attorney John Mitchell as Attorney General, and Mitchell ran the President's campaign for re-election and became his chief advisor on domestic policy. The President's chief advisor on foreign policy is now Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who came to the Nixon Administration from a staff position at the C.F.R., and had for ten years been on Nelson Rockefeller's payroll as a personal foreign policy advisor. It was Rockefeller who arranged for him to be appointed a virtual *Assistant* President for Foreign Affairs. Even Spiro Agnew had in early 1968 been national chairman of the Rockefeller For President Committee.

We sincerely hope our readers are beginning to see a pattern emerging.

Years ago, Nelson Rockefeller demanded, and received, the privilege of naming his own men to top administrative posts on all important Republican committees - including the vital National, Senatorial, Congressional, and Policy committees. His demand for top patronage was reluctantly agreed to after he threatened to cut off all Rockefeller and Rockefeller-controlled financial contributions. The effect on the Republican Party has been all too clear.

Herbert Brownell (C.F.R.) was a Rockefeller employee whom Eisenhower appointed Attorney General, whereupon Brownell *selected* hundreds of federal judges, district attorneys, and U.S. Marshals, and arranged to appoint Rockefeller men to the White House staff — including Max Rabb, Tom Stephen, Arthur Vandenberg Jr., and Bob Hampton. The latter was chief dispenser of White House patronage. It has been reliably estimated that over the years the **Rockefellers have placed at least five** thousand persons in important positions in the federal government. The Rockefeller influence and authority now runs from the very top throughout the Civil Service bureaucracy.

And now it is time for the *coup de grace*. As the Rockefeller Brothers prepare to merge us into a World Government, they are not content to have lieutenants and allies and agents at the controls. It is now time to bring on Brother Nelson. He can be stopped, of course, if enough Americans can be made to *realize what is happening*. Either way, we shall soon know a great deal more about the future of individual liberty in a sovereign United States of America. ■

# Kissinger and Rockefeller Connections to American Central Intelligence and the Origins of AIDS and Ebola

*A Speech Before the Citizens Against Legal Loopholes Rally*

*The Capitol Mall, Washington, D.C.*

*Labor Day Weekend, 1996*

*By Leonard G. Horowitz*

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*Dear Friends and Patriots,*

My name is Dr. Len Horowitz, and some time ago, probably Like many of you, I considered myself a lifelong liberal democrat. Fortunately, or unfortunately, that part of me died. When I realized the forces behind so-called liberal democracy were the flip side of the same corrupt coin as the republican political establishment, that is, I opened my eyes to witness a shadow government of military-medical-industrial dictators, the naive person I was had a stroke, keeled over, and praise the lord, died. And I didn't need to call Dr. Jack Kevorkian in to let it rest in Peace. What brought me to this realization and this meeting today is a unique story. Six years ago, most of you can recall, the highly publicized case of the Florida dentist who infected his patients with AIDS--the case of, the beautiful teenager, Kimberly Bergalis, who died shortly after testifying before Congress in a wheel chair. At the time I was serving as the chief professional advisor to the largest dental and medical catalog supply company in the world. The day the story broke I was assigned to develop patient and professional Educational materials to help allay the public's growing fear of visiting dental and medical offices in the age of AIDS. You may recall how terrified most people became about a routine trip to the dentist at that time. So I began by investigating the Centers for Disease Control and prevention's (CDCs) official investigation reports on the case. And to make a long story short, I found the reports to be scientifically bogus. I later learned that the government had covered-up key evidence in the tragedy in an effort to maintain the case a Unsolvable mystery In essence they had committed scientific fraud and misconduct and, in the process, concealed the most incriminating evidence against the dentist--a very bright, scientifically trained, ex-military dentist, who believed he was dying of a virus that the government had created. Yes, you heard me correctly, a virus that the government had created. Now, the problem I had was reconciling the fact that the dentist, though a psychopath, was no fool. And he held in his possession one of the most incriminating documents I had ever seen. A 1970 Department of Defense Appropriations request for \$10 million for the development of immune system ravaging Viruses for germ warfare. In fact, the document, which I lay before you today, reads like this: Within the next 5 to 10 years, it would probably be possible to make a new infective microorganism which could differ in certain important aspects from any known disease-causing organisms. Most important of these is that it might be refractory to the immunological and therapeutic processes upon which we depend to maintain our relative freedom from infectious disease. . . A research program to explore the feasibility of this could be completed in approximately 5 years at a total cost of \$10 million. . . . It is a highly

controversial issue and there are many who believe such research should not be undertaken lest it lead to yet another method of massive killing of large populations." In fact it was the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council (NAS-NRC) that had informed the Defense Department that this research was possible. Now, according to legal testimony given to government officials, this knowledge enraged the Florida dentist so much it moved him to intentionally inject his patients with HIV-tainted anesthetics. In essence, he did what all organized serial killers love to do, express a vendetta, like the mail-bomber, play games with the authorities, trap them in a catch-22, whereby they'd be damned if they told the truth, and called him a serial killer, because the whole world would want to know motive, and every reporter would ultimately find out as I did, what drove him crazy and who he really hated and ultimately attacked. And if they told a lie, or maintained the case, as they did, a mystery, it would hold America and all of health care hostage to irrational fear of routine health care in the age of AIDS. Now all of this I documented in three published scientific reports and my last book "Deadly Innocence: The Kimberly Bergalis Case-- Solving the Greatest Murder Mystery in the History of American Medicine." I present these publications and documents here for your critical examination. So Dr. Acer created a crime, a mystery, that couldn't be solved, without implicating the government and causing a larger mystery to be investigated. That is, the origin of AIDS and Ebola--the subject of my last three years of research, and why I have come before you today. In fact, I investigated the Department of Defense's germ warfare appropriations request and learned that the option to develop synthetic biological agents--bioweapons as alternatives to nuclear weapons--came from Dr. Henry Kissinger, who was gradually placed in his position of authority as National Security Advisor under Richard Nixon, the most powerful man in government, by Nelson Rockefeller and his affiliates at the Council on Foreign Relations. Moreover, I traced where the money went. It went, in fact, to a firm called Litton Bionetics, a subsidiary of the mega-military contractor Litton Industries, whose President, Roy Ash, was being considered as an alternate to Henry Kissinger for the National Security Advisor post. Instead, Roy Ash became Richard Nixon's chairman of the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organizations, and Assistant to the President of the United States. And Litton Industries was given over \$5 billion in military contracts during the first term of the Nixon administration, \$10 million of which went towards the development of AIDS-like viruses. A mere drop in the bucket. But before I tell you exactly what was done with your \$10 million of taxpayer money, some background on Kissinger and Rockefeller's influence is in order. Among Henry Kissinger's most influential patrons as he worked his way up the ladder of success to become Nixon's Deputy to the President for National Security, was Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, the son of Standard Oil, that is Exxon, heir John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The Rockefeller family's involvement in the medical-industrial complex, health science research, and American politics is clearly important. Before World War II, major administration of medical research, or financing by federal agencies, had been generally opposed by America's scientific community. In fact, it was only during times of war that organizations like the NAS or the NRC received major funding. Both the NAS, established during the Civil War, and the NRC, set up during the First World War, were largely ignored in times of peace. Between 1900 and 1940, private foundations and universities financed most medical research. According to Paul Starr, author of *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The rise of a sovereign profession and the making of a vast industry*, the most richly endowed research center, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was established in New York in 1902 and by 1928 had received from John D. Rockefeller \$65 million in endowment funds. In contrast, as late as 1938, as little as \$2.8 million in federal funding was budgeted for the entire U.S. Public Health Service. Therefore, it is easy to see that Rockefeller family investment in health science research predated, and far surpassed, even the federal governments. More than the New Deal, the Second World War created the greatest boom in federal government and private industry support for medical research. Prior to the war, American science and medicine was heavily influenced by German models. This precedent was bolstered during the 1930s when the Nazis purged Jewish scientists from

German universities and biological laboratories. These changes, according to Starr, significantly altered the course of American health science and medicine. Many of Germany's most brilliant Jewish researchers immigrated to the United States just as the movement burgeoned to privatize war related biological and medical research. At this time, the Rockefeller led medical-industrial complex was fully poised to influence, and take advantage of, Congress's first series of measures to promote cancer research and cancer control. In 1937, the new federal legislation authorized the establishment of the National Cancer Institute under the National Institutes of Health, and, for the first time, the Public Health Service to make grants to outside researchers. The Rockefellers exercised significant control over the outcomes of these grants and research efforts through the foundations they established. Following the war, Henry Kissinger, who had become General Alexander Bolling's German translator and principle assistant (Bolling, of course, was the Godfather to the Joint Intelligence Objectives Agency that ran "Project Paperclip," the secret exfiltration of approximately 2,000 high level Nazis, about 900 of whom were military scientists and medical researchers, including Erich Traub, Hitler's top biological weapons developer and virus expert. Bolling also served as a high ranking member of the Inter-American Defense Board, a Washington based group that delivered Walter Emil Schreiber, Hitler's chief medical scientist, the "Angel of Death" Joseph Mengele, and his assistant, "the butcher of Lyon," Klaus Barbie, among others, to safe Havens in South America where they worked on CIA projects.) In fact it was Henry Kissinger's job to seek and find such Nazis that might be of service to America, and Kissinger became the chief of Army Counter-Intelligence in this regard. He trained other agents to hunt down Nazis at the European Command Intelligence School in Oberammergau, not to be tried for war crimes necessarily, but rather to serve U.S. military rather than Russian interests. It was this operation that principally spirited the creation of the CIA as a cover agency for the powerful Gehlen Org, the German intelligence agency run by Reinhard Gehlen--an organization whose power superseded even the Nazi SS because of its prewar connections with German military intelligence. After Hitler, Gehlen served Allen Welsh Dulles, whose "Operation Sunshine" brought Nazis into the U.S. spy service. You may be interested to know who paid for the importation of Nazis into American central intelligence, the military, and industry? Three groups: The first was "The Sovereign Military Order of Malta" (SMOM), perhaps the most powerful reactionary segment of European aristocracy, that for almost a thousand years, starting with the crusades in the Twelfth Century, funded military operations against countries and ideas considered a threat to its power; Second was the Nazi war chest that was largely funneled through the Vatican and the Rockefeller owned Chase Manhattan Bank, whose Paris branch conducted business as usual throughout the Nazi occupation of France, and thirdly, some of us and our parents--American taxpayers. Moreover, during this period, the Council on Foreign Relations, along with the CIA, grew in power under the leadership of Nelson Rockefeller, and in 1955, while serving as President Eisenhower's assistant for international affairs, Rockefeller invited Kissinger to discuss national security issues at the Quantico (Virginia) Marine Base. Following their meeting, according to Walter Isaacson's biography of Kissinger, the diplomat became Rockefeller's closest intellectual associate, and soon after, Kissinger authored several military proposals for Eisenhower to consider. Unimpressed, Eisenhower turned them down. As a result, Rockefeller sent Eisenhower his resignation and then launched a Special Studies Project that explored the critical choices America faced militarily in the coming years. Kissinger agreed to direct this new project and published a 468-page book on his findings. The treatise proposed that tactical nuclear weapons be developed and a bomb shelter [be built] in every house in preparation for limited thermonuclear war. The willingness to engage in nuclear war when necessary is part of the price of our freedom, Kissinger argued. So those of you my age can recall the anxiety grade school students felt while drilling for possible nuclear attacks. You can thank Kissinger and the Rockefeller-led military-industrialists for this "price for freedom." Eisenhower, you may remember, warned America that the gravest threat to world security, democracy, and even spirituality, was the growing military-industrial

complex. And the Rockefellers and Kissinger played leading roles in its evil expansion. Bent on creating what President Bush openly heralded as a "New World Order," few people realize the current international alignment of economic powers is a direct result of actualizing Henry Kissinger's contemporary manifesto tribute to the Sovereign Military Order of Malta entitled "The Meaning of History." In this Kissinger 1955 Harvard doctoral thesis he argues that the concept of peace on earth is naive. Peace must be secured by the creation of small wars around the planet on a continuing basis so as to maintain an international order of economic powers, and of course, keep the military industrialists happy. In my latest book, "Emerging Viruses: AIDS & Ebola--Nature, Accident, or Intentional?", I traced Dr. Erich Traub's movements to the U.S. Naval Medical Research Institute, where he conducted experiments on animals to determine the lethal doses of more than forty strains of highly infectious viruses. Within ten years, the Navy's Biomedical Research Laboratory, in association with the University of California, along with Litton Bionetics, became a chief supplier of viruses and cell cultures for NCI researchers throughout the world. Funding for this work was largely controlled by the NCI, Rockefeller and Sloan Foundations. A search through Sloan Foundation's annual reports, on file in Manhattan's New York Public Library, revealed nine ghastly and incriminating reasons that, most incredibly, tied all the elements of my "Emerging Viruses" investigation together. The Sloan Foundation: (1) supported black educational initiatives consistent with the COINTELPRO Black Nationalist Hate Group campaign (you may recall reports last year that in surveys of 1,000 Southern Christian African Americans, two-thirds reported their belief that the AIDS epidemic may be genocide, while one-third was convinced it was; (2) the Sloan Foundation administered mass-media- public-persuasion experiments completely consistent with the CIA's Project MKULTRA efforts to develop brainwashing technologies and drugs to affect large populations; (3) funded much of the earliest cancer research involving the genetic engineering of mutant viruses; (4) began major funding of the National Academy of Sciences, Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory (for neuroscience and molecular genetics research), the Salk Institute (for viral research), and the Scientists Institute for Public Information between 1968 and 1970; (5) funded population control studies by Planned Parenthood-World Population, New York, N.Y.; (6) funded the Community Blood Council of Greater New York, Inc., the council of doctors who established the infamous New York City Blood Bank which allowed more than 10,000 hemophiliacs and countless others to become infected with HIV because they allegedly didn't want to spend \$150 million to screen the blood; (7) maintained Laurence S. Rockefeller, the director of the Community Blood Council of Greater New York, the international blood bankers and the president of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, as chairman of the board of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, and a trustee for the Sloan Foundation; (8) gave in excess of \$20,000 annually to the Council on Foreign Relations; and (9) maintained among its marketable securities, 16,505 shares of Chase Manhattan Bank stock (in 1967, which it apparently sold by 1970 probably to avoid conflict of interest charges) along with 24,400,530,000 shares issued by Merck & Co., Inc. (the company whose President, George W. Merck, was director of America's biological weapons industry, and whose hepatitis B and polio vaccines most plausibly transmitted AIDS throughout the world). Also in "Emerging Viruses: AIDS & Ebola," you will learn exactly what was done with the \$10 million Congress gave the DOD for the development of AIDS-like viruses, because I published the relevant contracts. You will learn that Dr. Robert Gallo, the famous NCI molecular biologist, pardoned by President Clinton last year for scientific fraud and misconduct, and credited with the discovery of the AIDS virus, set about to develop immune system ravaging, AIDS-like viruses, along with other Litton Bionetics researchers. You will learn that they took monkey viruses that were humanly benign, recombined them with DNA, RNA, and enzymes from other animal viruses that caused leukemias, lymphomas, and sarcomas, and then to get them to jump species, they cultured these new mutant viruses in human white blood cells in some studies, and human fetal tissue cells in other studies, to produce immune-system-destroying, cancer-causing viruses that could enter humans and produce virtually identical effects to what the



AIDS virus is currently doing in people around the world. Indeed, it was contaminated live viral vaccines that spread this disease and likely others, including chronic fatigue, certain leukemias, and possibly Gulf War Syndrome as well, to vast populations. In fact, today's live viral vaccines, including the oral polio vaccine required by law be given to our children, are still littered with simian (monkey) virus contaminants since they are developed in monkey kidney cells, and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration turns a blind eye to as many as 100 live monkey virus contaminants per vaccine dose, and is barred from telling health professionals and even health scientists this truth because of pharmaceutical industry dictated proprietary laws and non-disclosure agreements. In the end, the research question I asked, "Did these viruses, AIDS and Ebola, evolve naturally, were they accidentally produced, or were they intentionally created and deployed?" I conclude, unquestionably, they are not natural. I leave you the reader, and concerned citizens of America and the world, to decide whether it was a horrible accident or treacherous covert population control experiment. I ask all of you to consider the pain and cost of the current and coming plagues, including the escalating rates of virus-linked cancers like prostate and breast cancer, certain leukemia's and lymphomas and other vaccine contaminant related illnesses including hyperactivity disorders in children and escalating sudden infant death rates. I believe you will realize that the pain and cost of denial and indifference to this horrible reality is far greater than the toll your political action might cost. I therefore urge you to join our growing grassroots network of health consumers, professionals, scientists, patriots, and concerned citizens in our search for answers and solutions. I urge you to help us pressure Congress for a full investigation of these published facts, and to allocate the funding needed to effect appropriate solutions to these urgent health care problems. Let me end by giving you, and our home viewers, two resources to contact in this effort. The first is Tetrahedron's toll free citizen action and document order hotline 800-336-9266. And the other is our Internet web site address where you can link to various supporting organizations and individuals. That address is <http://www.tetrahedron.org>. Thank you very much, and God bless.

# Rockefeller Syndicate - Secret Govt

The following is on the historical perspective of just the Rockefeller and Rothschild connections and in no way attempts to cover every aspect, but will suffice to give you a basis on which to understand how pervasive the Web of influence is and that it is a good deal MORE than "merely a conspiracy". Just WHO makes up the ILLEGAL SHADOW GOVERNMENT, YOUR HIDDEN MASTERS. Some have looked for shadows of the old illuminati; they look amiss, not seeing that which is all around them. If you know not the "who" and the "why", efforts will be mis-directed. This is NOT a "conspiracy", nay, it is a very cold and calculated NETWORK of individuals whose intent is nothing short of implementation of a "New World Order"; an oligarchic rein in which \*you\* serve as little more than slaves in their "technocracy". This network has every intention to implement a cashless society, for it is they who control every aspect of finance and banking over the entire globe. They have had about 100 years to perfect their plans and put them into practice.

Please understand that the Bilderbergers, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Tri-lateral Commission, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Roundtables, the "Club of Rome", etc are ALL bound by common denominators of long-standing families ties, and interests and come together as a \_single\_ policy making body that is known today as "The Committee of 300" . This has also been known as "The Olympians", the "Policy Committee".

Don't be mis-led by labels such as "Rockefeller" or "Rothschild"; for these are simply the families who have the mechanisms of control already set in place, but of themselves are not the entire network; that being the "Committee of 300". It is THEY who control the UN, who tell the heads of nations "when to jump and how high", they who are behind the world's illicit drug trade via the CIA and the old British East India links. They who manage the IMF, set policy at GATT conferences. It is they who ARE the "Shadow Government". It is they who manage the CIA, NSA, DIA, the same group that took out JFK and have MURDERED around 173 people in their efforts to suppress the truth about all the links, they who were behind the assassination of RFK, MLK, they who are behind the suppression of truth regarding the MIA's; It is the same group behind E. Howard Hunt, John Singlaub, Ollie North, the very same group who brought down Richard Nixon in Watergate, the same group behind the persecution of the Christic Institute, the same people who were behind Nugan-Hand, the same group that groomed Jimmy Carter for the Presidency,

the same group who ARE the "Military-Industrial complex", the same group behind the total militarisation of NASA, the same group who ARE "MJ-12", were behind the "Jason Group", the same behind Project Blue Book, The Condon Committee, the same who started up the NSA, who are responsible for the MURDER of Danny Casalaro, the same group responsible for the world-wide DISINFO campaign regarding the TRUTH of UFO sightings and contacts. The very SAME group who OWN THE MEDIA, ie, The Washington Post, NBC (General Electric), ABC, CBS, The New York Times, etc. The same group behind the Warren Commission, ad nauseum.

Many American conservatives believe as a matter of faith that the Rockefellers and the Council on Foreign Relations exercise absolute control over the government and the people of the U.S. This thesis can be accepted as a working formula if one remains conscious of the larger issues. Two writers for whom the present writer (E.M) has great respect, Dr. Emanuel Josephson and Morris Bealle, insisted on focusing on the Rockefellers and excluding all other aspects of the World Order. This severely limited the effect of their otherwise groundbreaking work on the Medical Monopoly. This writer advanced a contrary view in "The World Order," fixing upon the Rothschild monetary power, which reached a point of world control by 1885, and its London policy group, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, as the policy makers for what has essentially been, since 1900, a re-established colonial government, functions primarily through the Council on Foreign Relations, but only as the subsidiary of RIIA and through the Rockefeller Foundation, which controls government functions, the educational establishments, the media, the religions and the state legislatures.

It is true that the American colonials have "free elections," in which they have the absolute right to vote for one of two opposing candidates, both of whom have been handpicked and financed by the Rockefeller syndicate. This touching evidence of "democracy" serves to convince most Americans that you are indeed a free people. You even have a cracked Liberty Bell in Philadelphia to prove it. American youths have been free since 1900 to be marched off to die in Hegelian wars in which both combatants received their instructions from the World Order. You are free to invest in a stock market in which the daily quantity, price and value of the monetary unit is manipulated and controlled by a Federal Reserve System which is answerable only to the Bank of England. It has maintained its vaunted "independence" from your government control, but this is the only independence it has ever had.

The realization that you do indeed live under the dictates of the "Rockefeller Syndicate" can well be the starting point of the long road back of a genuine struggle for American independence. In exposing "the Rockefellers" as agents of a foreign

power, which is not merely a foreign power, but a genuine world government, you must realize that this is not merely a group dedicated to making money, but a group which is committed to maintaining the power of a colonial form of government over the American people. Thus the ancient calumny of John D. Rockefeller as a man obsessed by greed (a category in which he has plenty of company) obscures the fact that from the day the Rothschilds began to finance his march towards a total oil monopoly in the United States from their coffers at the National City Bank of Cleveland, Rockefeller was never an independent power, nor does any department of the Rockefeller Syndicate operate as an independent power. You know that the Cosa Nostra, or Mafia, with which the Syndicate is closely allied, has somewhat autonomous power in the regions which have been assigned to that particular "family" by the national directors, but this always implies that that family remains under total control and answerable for everything which occurs in its territory.

Similarly, the Rockefeller Syndicate operates under clearly defined spheres of influence. The "charitable" organizations, the business companies and the policy groups, always meld into a working operation, nor can any department of the Syndicate strike out on its own or formulate an independent policy, no matter what may be its justification.

The Rockefeller Syndicate operates under the control of the world financial structure, which means that on any given day, all of its assets could be rendered close to worthless by adroit financial manipulation. This is the final control, which ensures that no one can quit the organization. Not only would he be stripped of all assets, but he would be under contract for immediate assassination. The Department of Justice is well aware that the only "terrorists" operating in the United States are the agents of the World Order, but they prudently avoid any mention of this fact.

The world financial structure, far from being an unknown or hidden organization, is actually well known and well defined. It consists of the major Swiss Banks; the survivors of the old Venetian-Genoese banking axis; the Big Five of the world grain trade; the British combine, centered in the Bank of England and its chartered merchant banks, functioning through the Rothschilds and the Oppenheimers and having absolute control over their Canadian colony through the Royal Bank of Canada and the Bank of Montreal, their Canadian lieutenants being the Bronfmans, Belzbergs, Reichmanns and other financial operators; and the colonial banking structure in the U.S., controlled by the Bank of England through the Federal Reserve System; the Boston Brahmin families who made their fortunes in the opium trade, including the Delanos and others and the Rockefeller Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank,

American Express, the present form of the old Rothschild representatives in the U.S., which includes Kuhn, Loeb Company and Lehman Brothers.

It is notable that the Rockefeller Syndicate is far down on the list of the worlds financial structure. Why then is it of such importance? Although it is not the crucial factor in financial decision in the Western Hemisphere, it is the actual working control mechanism of the American colony. The Rockefeller family themselves, like the Morgans, Schiffs and Warburgs, have faded into insignificance, but the mechanism created in their name roars along at full power, still maintaining all of the functions for which it was organized. Since he set up the Trilateral Commission, David Rockefeller has functioned as a sort of international courier for the World Order, principally concerned with delivering working instructions to the Communist bloc, either directly, in New York or by traveling to the area. Laurence Rockefeller is active in the operation of the Medical Monopoly, but his principal interests are in operating various vacation spas in tropical areas. They are the two survivors of the "Fortunate Five," the five sons of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Abby Aldrich. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. died in an institution in Tucson, Arizona and was hastily cremated. John D. Rockefeller III died in a mysterious accident on a New York Parkway near his home. Nelson Rockefeller, named after his grandfather, died in the arms of a TV journalist. It was later revealed that he had also been in the arms of another TV journalist at the same time; the death was hushed up for many hours. It was generally believed that he ran afoul of his Columbian drug connection, the disagreement hardly being trivial; it involved several billion dollars in drug profits which had not been properly apportioned. Winthrop Rockefeller died an alcoholic in the arms of his black boy friend. He had been interviewed on television by Harry Reasoner to explain his hasty move from New York to Arkansas. Winthrop learned that his black boy friend, an Army sergeant who apparently taught him the mysteries of drill, refused to live in New York. To celebrate this alliance, Winthrop Rockefeller gave magnificently to Negro causes, including the Urban League building on East 48th Street in New York. A plaque on the second floor notes that it was his gift; it might well have stated "From Hadrian to his Antinous."

We do not wish to imply that the Rockefellers no longer have influence, but that the major policy dictates of the Rockefeller Syndicate are handed down by other caps, of whom they continue to be a visible force. Through the person of David Rockefeller, the family is sometimes called "the first family of the Soviet Union." Only he and Dr. Armand Hammer, the moving force behind USTEC, have permanent permission to land their private planes at the Moscow Airport. Others would suffer the fate of KAL 007. David Rockefeller's most significant trip to the Soviet Union may have been the fateful day when he landed in Moscow, having been told to inform Khrushchev that

he was "through". The Russians are very health conscious, and a scientist had sent information to Khrushchev that the use of chemical fertilizers in the Soviet Union presented a threat to the people. Khrushchev then announced a major change in the Soviet farm policy, centering around a reduction in the use of chemicals. This was upsetting to the head of the world's Chemical Fertilizer trust, David Rockefeller, and he responded with a terse one word command, "Out".

Both the Rockefeller family fortune and the considerable portion set aside in the foundations of the Rockefeller Syndicate are effectively insulated against any type of government control. FORTUNE magazine noted August ,1986, that John D. Rockefeller Jr. had created trusts in 1934 which now amounted to some \$2.3 billion; another 200 million had been set aside for the Abby Rockefeller branch. The five sons had trusts which in 1986 amounted to \$2.1 billion. These trusts had originally amounted to only \$50 million each, showing the increase in their assets as well as inflation during the ensuing half century. FORTUNE estimated the 1986 total Rockefeller wealth as \$3.5 billion of which \$900 million was in securities and real estate. They owned 45% of the Time Life Building; Nelson Rockefeller's International Basic Economy Corporation had been sold to a British company in 1980. For years, the Rockefeller family had deliberately kept the rents low in its major holding, Rockefeller Center, a \$1.6 billion investment yielding an annual return of 1% . This was a convenient manuever for tax purposes, and a good one at that.

Much of the Rockefeller wealth might be attributed to old John D.'s rapacity and ruthlessness; its origins are indubitably based in his initial financing from the National City Bank of Cleveland, which was identified in Congressional reports as one of the three Rothschild banks in the United States and by his later acceptance of the guidance of Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb Company, who had been born in the Rothschild house in Franfort and was now the principal Rothschild representative (but unknown as such to the public) in the United States.

With the seed money from the National City Bank in Cleveland, old John D. Rockefeller soon laid claim to the title of the "most ruthless American". It is more than likely that it was this quality which persuaded the Rothschilds to back him. Rockefeller realized early in the game that the oil refinery business, which could offer great profits in a short time, also was at the mercy of uncontrolled competition. His solution was a simple one--crush all competition. The famous Rockefeller dedication to total monopoly was simply a business decision. Rockefeller embarked on a campaign of coercing all competing oil refineries out of business. He attacked on a number of fronts, which is also a lesson to all would be entrepreneurs. First, he would send a minion, not known to be working for Rockefeller, with an offer to buy

the competing refinery for a low price, but offering cash. If the offer was refused, the competitor would then come under attack from a competing refinery which greatly undercut his price. He might also suffer a sudden strike at his refinery, which would force him to shut down. Control of labor through unions has always been a basic Rockefeller technique. Like the Soviet Union, they seldom have labor trouble. If these techniques failed, Rockefeller would then be saddened by a reluctant decision to use violence; beating the rival workers as they went to and from their jobs, or burning or blowing up the competing refinery.

These techniques convinced the Rothschilds that they had found their man. They sent their personal representative, Jacob Schiff, to Cleveland to help Rockefeller plan further expansion. At this time, the Rothschilds controlled 95% of all railroad mileage in the United States, through the J.P. Morgan Company and Kuhn Loeb Company, according to official Department of Commerce figures for the year 1895. J.P. Morgan mentions in his "Who's Who" listing that he controlled 50,000 miles of U.S. railways. Schiff worked out an elaborate rebate deal for Rockefeller, through a dummy corporation, South Improvement Company. These rebates ensured that no other oil company could survive in competition with the Rockefeller firm. The scheme was later exposed, but by that time Rockefeller had achieved a virtual monopoly of the oil business in the U.S. The daughter of one of his victims, Ida Tarbell, whose father was ruined by Rockefeller's criminal operations, wrote the first major expose of the Standard Oil Trust. She was promptly denounced as a "muckracker" by the poseur, Theodore Roosevelt, who claimed to be a "trustbuster." In fact, he ensured the dominance of the Standard Oil Trust and other giant trusts.

During the next half century, John D. Rockefeller was routinely caricatured by socialist propagandists as the epitome of the ruthless capitalist. At the same time, he was the principal financier of the world Communist movement, through a firm called American International Company. Despite the fact that the House of Rothschild had already achieved world control, the sound and the fury was directed exclusively against its two principal representatives, John D. Rockefeller and J.P. Morgan. One of the few revelations of the actual state of affairs appeared in TRUTH magazine, Dec 16, 1912, which pointed out that "Mr. Schiff is head of the great private banking house of Kuhn, Loeb Company (I knew some of you bright readers would finally pick up that these names are all attached to the greatest pharmaceutical firms in the world--even into your very vitamin supplement business!), which represents the Rothschild interests on your side of the Atlantic. He is described as a financial strategist and has been for years the financial minister of the great impersonal power known as Standard Oil." Note that the name of Rockefeller was not mentioned in the quote.

Because of these concealed factors, it was a relatively simple matter for the American public to accept the "fact" that the Rockefellers were the preeminent power in your country. This myth was actually clothed in the apparel of power, the Rockefeller Oil Trust becoming the "military-industrial complex" which assumed political control of the nation; the Rockefeller Medical Monopoly attained control of the health care of the nation, and the Rockefeller Foundation, a web of affiliated tax exempt creations, effectively controlled the religious and educational life of the nation. The myth succeeded in its goal of camouflaging the hidden rulers, the Rothschilds.

After Eustis Mullins and a few others, had been exposing this charade for some twenty-five years a new myth began to be noised about in American conservative circles, effectively propagated by active double agents. This myth found a host of eager believers, because it heralded a growing crack in the monolithic power which had been oppressing all the peoples of the world. This "new" revelation was that a struggle to the death for world power had developed between the Rockefellers and the Rothschilds. According to this startling development, one faction or the other, depending on which agent you were listening to, had gained control of the Soviet Union and would use its power as the basis for achieving the overthrow of the other faction. The sudden death of several members of the Rockefeller family was cited as "proof" that such a struggle was taking place, although no Rothschild is known to have succumbed during this "war." This ignored the general understanding that Nelson Rockefeller had been "eliminated" as the result of losing deposit slips for several billion dollars of drugs from the Columbian cartel, or that the other Rockefeller deaths showed no trace of a "Rothschild connection."

Having maintained extensive files on this situation for several decades, the writer (E.M.), could not believe anyone could be so misinformed as to think that "the Rockefellers" were now trying to seize power from the Rothschilds, at a time when the influence of members of the Rockefeller family was already in great decline, their family finances being handled by John J. McCloy, and other faithful retainers; none of the retainers would have been willing to engage in a genuine power struggle, as they were faceless managers who lived only for their weekly paycheck. They had no ambitions of their own. Nevertheless, many hopeful Americans grasped at the will-o-the-wisp notion the Rockefellers were now "good Americans" who were willing to risk all to overthrow the Rothschilds. Amazingly enough, this pernicious story persisted for almost a decade before being relegated to the curiosities of history.



Like J.P. Morgan, who had begun his commercial career by selling the U.S. Army some defective guns, the famous Hall carbine affair, John D. Rockefeller also was a war profiteer during the Civil War; he sold unstamped Harkness liquor to Federal troops at a high profit, gaining the initial capital to embark on his drive for monopoly. His interest in the oil business was a natural one; his father, William Rockefeller had been "in oil" for years. William Rockefeller had become an oil entrepreneur after salt wells at Tarentum, near Pittsburgh, were discovered in 1842 to be flowing with oil. The owners of the wells, Samuel L. Kier, began to bottle the oil and sell it for medicinal purposes. One of his earliest wholesalers was William Rockefeller. The "medicine" was originally labelled "Kier's Magic Oil". Rockefeller printed his own labels, using "Rock Oil" or "Seneca Oil", Seneca being the name of a well known Indian Tribe. Rockefeller achieved his greatest notoriety and his greatest profits by advertising himself as "William Rockefeller, the Celebrated Cancer Specialist". It is understandable that his grandsons would become the controlling power behind the scenes of the world's most famous cancer treatment center and would direct government funds and charitable contributions to those areas which only benefit the Medical Monopoly. William Rockefeller spared no claim in his flamboyant career. He guaranteed "All Cases of Cancer Cured Unless They Are Too Far Gone". Such were the healing powers that he attributed to his magic cancer cure that he was able to retail it for \$25 a bottle, a sum then equivalent to two month's wages. The "cure" consisted of a few well known diuretics, which had been diluted by water. This carnival medicine show barker could hardly have envisioned that his descendants would control the greatest and the most profitable Medical Monopoly in recorded history.

As an itinerant "carnie", a traveling carnival peddler, William Rockefeller had chosen a career which interfered with developing a stable family life. His son, John, rarely saw him, a circumstance which has inspired some psychological analysts to conjecture that the absence of a father figure or parental love may have contributed to John D. Rockefeller's subsequent development as a money mad tyrant who plotted to maim, poison and kill millions of his fellow Americans during almost a century of his monopolistic operations and whose influence, reaching up from the grave, remains the most dire and malignant presence in American life. This may have been a contributing factor--however, it is also possible that he was totally evil. It is hardly arguable that he is probably one of the most Satanic figures in American history. Evil being defined as anything that moves the spiritual aspect of beingness away from God as influenced through another.

It has long been a truism that you can find a horse thief or two in any prominent American family. In the Rockefeller family, it was more than true in the case of

William who seemed to have faithfully followed the precepts of the Will of Canaan throughout his career, "love robbery, love lechery". He fled from a number of indictments for horse stealing and you know how serious that is, finally disappearing altogether as William and Rockefeller and magically re-emerging as a Dr. William Levingston of Philadelphia, a name which he retained for the rest of his life. An investigative reporter at Joseph Pulitzer's New York World received a tip that was followed up. The World then disclosed that William Avery Rockefeller had died May 11, 1906 in Freeport, Illinois, where he was interred in an unmarked grave as Dr. William Levingston.

William Rockefeller's vocation as a medicine man greatly facilitated his preferred profession of horse thief. As one who planned to be in the next county by morning, it was a simple matter to tie a handsome stallion to the back of his wagon and head for the open road. It also played a large part in his vocation as a woman-chaser; he was described as being "woman-mad".

On June 28, 1849, he was indicted for raping a hired girl in Cayuga, New York; he later was found to be residing in Oswego, New York and was forced once again to decamp for parts unknown. He had no difficulty in financing his woman-chasing interests from the sale of his miraculous cancer cure and from another product, his "Wonder Working Liniment", which he offered at only two dollars a bottle. It consisted of crude petroleum from which the lighter oils had been boiled away, leaving a heavy solution of paraffin, lube oil and tar, which comprised the "liniment". William Rockefeller's original miracle oil survived until quite recently as a concoction called Nujol, consisting principally of petroleum and peddled as a laxative. It was well known that Nujol was merely an advertising sobriquet meaning "new oil", as opposed apparently, to "old oil". Sold as an antidote to constipation, it robbed the body of fat-soluble vitamins, it being a well-established medical fact that mineral oil coated the intestine and prevented the absorption of many needed vitamins and other nutritional needs. Its makers added carotene as a sop to the health-conscious, but it was hardly worth the bother. Nujol was manufactured by a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, called Stanco, whose only other product, manufactured on the same premises, was the famous insecticide, Flit.

Nujol was hawked from the Senate Office Building in Washington for years during a more liberal interpretation of "conflict of interest". In this case, it was hardly a conflict of interest, because the august peddler, Senator Royal S. Copeland, never had any interests other than serving the Rockefellers. He was a physician whom Rockefeller had appointed as head of the New York State Department of Health and

later financed his campaign for the Senate. Copeland's frank display of commercialism amazed even the most blase' Washington reporters.

He devoted his Senate career to a daily program advertising Nujol. A microphone was set up in his Senate office each morning, the first order of business being the Nujol program, for which he was paid \$75,000 a year, an enormous salary in the 1930's and more than the salary of the President of the United States. Senator Copeland's exploits earned him a number of nicknames on Capital Hill. He was often called the Senator from the American Medical Association, because of his enthusiastic backing for any program launched by the AMA and Morris Fishbein. More realistically, he was usually referred to as "the Senator from Standard Oil". He could be counted on to promote any legislation devised for the greater profit of the Rockefeller monopoly. During congressional debate on the Food and Drug Act in 1938, he came under criticism from Congresswoman Leonor Sullivan, who charged that Senator Copeland, a physician who handled the bill on the Senate floor, frankly acknowledged during the debate that soap was exempted from the law because the soap manufacturers, who were the nation's largest advertisers, would otherwise join with other big industries to fight the bill. Congresswoman Sullivan complained that, "Soap was officially declared in the law not to be a cosmetic. The hair dye manufacturers were given a license to market known dangerous products, just so long as they placed a special warning on the label - but what woman in a beauty parlor ever sees the label on the bulk container in which hair dye is shipped?"

Just as the elder Rockefeller had spent his life in the pursuit of his personal obsession, women, so his son John was equally obsessed, being money-mad instead of woman-mad, totally committed to the pursuit of ever-increasing wealth and power. However, the principal accomplishments of the Rockefeller drive for power, the rebate scheme for monopoly, the chartering of the foundations to gain power over American citizens, the creation of the central bank, the Federal Reserve System, the backing of the World Communist Revolution and the creation of the Medical Monopoly, all came from the Rothschilds or from their European employees.

We cannot find in the records of John D. Rockefeller that he originated any of these programs. The concept of the tax exempt charitable foundation originated with the Rothschild minion, George Peabody, in 1865. The Peabody Educational Foundation later became the Rockefeller Foundation and many of you should recall that item. Not that you might have been around then but it continues to inadvertently be referred to as such.

It is unlikely that even the diabolical mind of John D. Rockefeller could have conceived of this devious twist. A social historian has described the major development of the late nineteenth century, when charitable foundations and world Communism became important movements, as one of the more interesting facets of history, perhaps equivalent to the discovery of the wheel or fire. This new discovery was the concept developed by the rats, who after all have rather highly developed intelligences, that they could trap people by baiting traps with little bits of cheese. The history of mankind since then has been the rats catching humans in their traps. Socialism -- indeed, any government program -- is simply the rat baiting the trap with a smidgeon of cheese and catching himself a human.

Congressman Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, noted from the floor of Congress that the establishment of the Rockefeller Foundation effectively insulated Standard Oil from competition. The controlling stock had been removed from market manipulation or possible buyouts by competitors. It also relieved Standard Oil from most taxation, which then placed a tremendous added burden on individual American taxpayers. Although a Rockefeller relative by marriage, Senator Nelson Aldrich, Republican majority leader in the Senate, had pushed the General Education Board charter through Congress, the Rockefeller Foundation charter proved to be more difficult. Widespread criticism of Rockefeller's monopolistic practices was heard, and his effort to insulate his profits from taxation or takeover was seen for what it was. The charter was finally pushed through in 1913 (the significant Masonic numeral 13 -- 1913 was also the year of the progressive income tax and of the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act). Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, another Senator from Standard Oil (there were quite a few), ramrodded the Congressional approval of the charter. The charter was then signed by John D. Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Henry Pratt Judson, president of the Rockefeller established University of Chicago, Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute, Starr Jameson, described in "Who's Who" as "personal counsel to John D. Rockefeller in his benevolences", and Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University.

The Rockefeller Oil Monopoly is now 127 years old, yet in 1911, the Supreme Court, bowing to public outrage, had ruled that it had to be broken up. The resulting companies proved to be no problem for the Rockefeller interests. The family retained a two per cent holding in each of the "new" companies, while the Rockefeller foundations took a three per cent holding in each company. This gave them a five per cent stock interest in each company; a one per cent holding in a corporation is usually sufficient to maintain working control.

The involvement of the Rockefellers in promoting the World Communist Revolution also developed from their business interests. There was never any commitment to the Marxist ideology; like anything else, it was there to be used. At the turn of the century, Standard Oil was competing fiercely with Royal Dutch Shell for control of the lucrative European market. Congressional testimony revealed that Rockefeller had sent large sums of money to Lenin and Trotsky to instigate the Communist Revolution in 1905. His banker, Jacob Schiff had previously financed the Japanese in their war against Russia and had sent a personal emissary, George Kennan to Russia to spend some twenty years in promoting revolutionary activity against the Czar.

When the 1905 revolution failed, Lenin was placed "in storage" in Switzerland until 1907. Trotsky was brought to the U.S., where he lived rent free on the Standard Oil property at Bayonne, New Jersey, its tank field. When the Czar abdicated, Trotsky was placed on a ship with three hundred Communist revolutionaries from the Lower East Side of New York. Rockefeller obtained a special passport for Trotsky from Woodrow Wilson and sent Lincoln Steffens with him to make sure he was returned safely to Russia. For traveling expenses, Rockefeller placed a purse containing \$10,000 in Trotsky's pocket.

On April 13, 1917, when the ship stopped in Halifax, Canadian Secret Service officers immediately arrested Trotsky and interred him in Nova Scotia. The case became an international cause celebre, as leading government officials from several nations frantically demanded Trotsky's release. The Secret Service had been tipped off that Trotsky was on his way to take Russia out of the war, freeing more German armies to attack Canadian troupes on the Western Front.

Prime Minister Lloyd George hurriedly cabled orders from London to the Canadian Secret Service to free Trotsky at once - they ignored him. Trotsky was finally freed by the intervention of one of Rockefeller's most faithful stooges, Canadian Minister Mackenzie King, who had long been a "labor specialist" for the Rockefellers. King personally obtained Trotsky's release and sent him on his way as the emissary of the Rockefellers, commissioned to win the Bolshevik Revolution. Thus, Dr. Armand Hammer, who loudly proclaimed his influence in Russia as the friend of Lenin, has an insignificant claim compared to the role of the Rockefellers in backing world Communism.

Although Communism, like other "isms", had originated with Marx's association with the House of Rothschild, it enlisted the reverent support of John D. Rockefeller because he saw Communism for what it is, the ultimate monopoly, not only controlling the government, the monetary system and all property, but also a

monopoly which, like the corporations it emulates, is self-perpetuating and eternal. It was the logical progression from his Standard Oil monopoly.

An important step on the road to world monopoly was the most far-reaching corporation invented by the Rothschilds. This was the international drug and chemical cartel, I. G. Farben. Called "a state within a state" , it was created in 1925 as Interessen Gemeinschaft Farbeindustrie Aktien Gesellschaft, usually known simply as I. G. Farben, which simply meant "The Cartel". It had originated in 1904, when the six major chemical companies in Germany began negotiations to form the ultimate cartel, merging Badische Anilin, Bayer, Agfa, Hoechst, Weiler-ter-Meer, and Greisheim-Electron. The guiding spirit, as well as the financing, came from the Rothschilds, who were represented by their German banker, Max Warburg of M. M. Warburg Company, Hamburg. He later headed the German Secret Service during World War I and was personal financial advisor to the Kaiser.

When the Kaiser was overthrown, after losing the war, Max Warburg was not exiled with him to Holland; instead he became the financial advisor to the new government.

Monarchs may come and go, but the real power remains with the bankers. While representing Germany at the Paris Peace Conference, Max Warburg spent pleasant hours renewing family ties with his brother, Paul Warburg, who, after drafting the Federal Reserve Act at Jekyll Island, had headed the U.S. banking system during the war. He was in Paris as Woodrow Wilson's financial advisor.

I. G. Farben soon had a net worth of six billion marks, controlling some five hundred firms. Its first president was Professor Carl Bosch. During the period of the Weimar Republic, I.G. Farben officials, seeing the handwriting, began a close association with one called Adolf Hitler, supplying much needed funds and political influence.

The success of the I.G. Farben cartel had aroused the interest of other industrialists. Henry Ford was favorably impressed and set up a German branch of Ford Motor Company. Forty percent of the stock was purchased by I.G. Farben. I.G. Farben then established an American subsidiary called American I.G., in cooperation with Standard Oil of New Jersey. Its directors included Walter Teagle, President of Standard Oil, Paul Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb Company and Edsel Ford, representing the Ford interests. John Foster Dulles, for the law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, became the attorney for I.G., frequently traveling between New York and Berlin on cartel business. His law partner, Arthur Dean, is now director of the \$40 million

Teagle Foundation which was set up before Teagle's death. Like other fortunes, it had become part of the network.

Tavistock + Esalen = "New Age"

Rothschild + Rockefeller = FED

UN + Maitreya = "Twilight Zone"

"A democracy cannot be both ignorant and free" - Thomas Jefferson

THE SCHEME TO MAKE JAY ROCKEFELLER AS "PRESIDENT"  
by Sherman H. Skolnick 10/31/00 skolnick@ameritech.net

There has been a long-time scheme to put in a Rockefeller as "President", or King, in the U.S. WITHOUT AN ELECTION

1. Laying the ground-work for the orchestrated Watergate Affair, in the late 1960s, the Rockefellers pushed through the 25th Amendment, to cure the gap in the U.S. Constitution as to how if a President is dead in office [or assassinated], or unfit to continue to serve, how the Vice President takes over and becomes President and automatically removes the unfit President.

2. I was the first to go public with part of the scheme. Elected Vice President Spiro Agnew was removed by a bribery scandal known before he was elected on the Nixon/Agnew ticket, 1972. At the time one of the only ways I could be heard was at college lectures where I spelled out the scheme six months before it happened. "I did not read that today in the New York Times, Mr. Skolnick. Where the hell did you get those details?" Naive college students would shout at me during the question and answer period. By October, 1973, Agnew was forced to resign and President Nixon appointed under the newly-minted 25th Amendment, as the new Vice President, WITHOUT AN ELECTION, Gerald Ford. Ford previously sat on the Warren Commission fraudulently stating a "lone assassin" murdered President Kennedy. [Nixon had been part of the Dallas plot.]

3. When Nixon was forced to resign in 1974, former Warren Commission member, Gerald Ford, without an election became President. Ford, in turn, WITHOUT AN ELECTION, under the Rockefeller-instigated 25th Amendment, appointed Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President. Who remembers Nelson Rockefeller's testimony, upon being ratified by the U.S. Senate? Rockefeller stated that the key members of his family, including himself, had PAID NO INCOME TAXES IN THE PREVIOUS ELEVEN YEARS. The oil-soaked, richest family in the world, does not and did not support the realm, the infrastructure of America, with the payment of taxes. You see why this land is so heavily in debt. [When candidates for election appear on my Television show I ask them, if elected, would they tax the ultra-rich who now, by corruption and malign influence, PAY NO TAXES. I never get a straight answer.]

4. In 1975, there were three genuine plots to assassinate President Gerald Ford. A BATF undercover agent, supplied with a large caliber gun by them, came within a hair of blowing away Ford. That was would-be assassin Sarah Jane Moore missing her target because a disabled vet hit her elbow as she was seeking to public execute Ford. My sole publicity device, other than college speeches, at the time, was a recorded phone message. As best I could, with a series of phone lines, I tried to give out the details of the three plots. Without a legal formality, the U.S. Secret Service put false busy signals onto those lines, to block my supposed First Amendment Free Speech rights. When I threatened, in my wheelchair, to picket the phone company headquarters, a kind phone company bureaucrat explained to me, "Mr. Skolnick, we only follow orders of the Secret Service. They, not us, are blocking your phone recorded message." So, Nelson Rockefeller came within a would-be assassin's bullet of being President WITHOUT AN



ELECTION. I attempted as best I could to spell out the other two genuine 1975 plots against President Ford.

5. For at least five years now on the web, on the radio, wherever I was allowed to be heard, I have spelled out various plots to assassinate Vice President Albert Gore, Jr., install John D. Rockefeller 4th as Vice President, and then shove out Clinton, so Rockefeller, under the 25th Amendment instigated by his family, could be President, or King, WITHOUT AN ELECTION. Are the sheep of America so dumbed down that they would VOTE a Rockefeller in as President, considering that family's infamous history? Just before the year 2000 presidential election, the Rockefeller-sponsored- PBS, ran a two-part series, more or less praising the Rockefeller Family, or explaining away their long-time crimes against the American people. Such as the plot to run two commercial aircraft into Air Force Two with Gore onboard in July, 1999.

To be cute, John D. Rockefeller 4th, great grandson of oldman John D. Rockefeller, founder of the infamous Standard Oil Trust, calls himself "Jay". I dare point out that all documents have been destroyed showing William ROCKEFELLER Clinton as the illegitimate great grandson of the criminal patriarch of the Rockefeller fortune. It is a simple reason why Clinton, despite his treason and crimes, has not been prosecuted and jailed. Jay's wife, Sharon Percy Rockefeller, has been a kingpin in so-called "public" radio, which I call National Petroleum Radio. She reportedly is part of numerous secret joint accounts in the Harris Bank, Chicago, in the Mid-East construction business, in the hundreds of millions of dollars, with Osama bin Laden. The White House said if they could "find" bin Laden's accounts, they would freeze them since they describe him as the "world's leading 'terrorist' ". In October, 1998, I and a TV Show associate of mine confronted top dogs of Harris Bank with details. Don't heckle me with naive statements why you did not hear of this in the oil-soaked monopoly press.

6. I have strong reasons from profound sources to believe that a so-called "Emergency" may follow the year 2000 Presidential Election. And that there is a further scheme to install Jay Rockefeller as the unelected "President" or "King" of the U.S., all without having him on the Presidential Election ballot. Prior to the year 2000 Presidential Election, so-called "pollsters" and "pundits" made quite an effort to unhinge the brain of the average American, with a barrage of "polls". The only "poll" or pole I respect is the one fire-men slide down from upstairs in the Fire Station when the bell rings.

Since my stories are often so far ahead of the "parade", they are often misunderstood by those without our benefit of some one million documents, records, tapes, and details. I do not reveal sources. I do not want to hear one of my sources later was in a plane that somehow blew up or that his or her body was found floating in the canal. To protect my sources, I have in 40 years as an activist been eight times jailed for contempt of court for refusing to divulge sources or how exactly we investigate deep plots and corruption.

Will there be an orchestrated "constitutional crisis" favoring installing a Rockefeller as "President" or "King"? At least in Moscow, in the past, when there was a so-called "emergency", they would play somber, symphonic music on the radio for 24 hours. Just another story suppressed by the liars and whores of the press. You know, the ones with the 50 dollar hairdoes and the nickel heads. Stay tuned.

